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The Victoria History of the Counties of England

EDITED BY WILLIAM PAGE, F.S.A.

A HISTORY OF RUTLAND

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME I

The publisher regrets that a few pages of this
scarce copy are slightly soiled as it had to be made
up from old sheet stock.

THE
VICTORIA HISTORY
OF THE COUNTIES
OF ENGLAND
RUTLAND



LONDON
ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE
AND COMPANY LIMITED

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H.M. Printers of London*

INSCRIBED
TO THE MEMORY OF
HER LATE MAJESTY
QUEEN VICTORIA
WHO GRACIOUSLY GAVE
THE TITLE TO AND
ACCEPTED THE
DEDICATION OF
THIS HISTORY

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General Editor—WILLIAM PAGE, F.S.A.

GENERAL ADVERTISEMENT

THE VICTORIA HISTORY of the Counties of England is a National Historic Survey which, under the direction of a large staff comprising the foremost students in science, history, and archaeology, is designed to record the history of every county of England in detail. This work was, by gracious permission, dedicated to Her late Majesty Queen Victoria, who gave it her own name. It is the endeavour of all who are associated with the undertaking to make it a worthy and permanent monument to her memory.

Rich as every county of England is in materials for local history, there has hitherto been no attempt made to bring all these materials together into a coherent form.

Although from the seventeenth century down to quite recent times numerous county histories have been issued, they are very unequal in merit; the best of them are very rare and costly; most of them are imperfect and many are now out of date. Moreover, they were the work of one or two isolated scholars, who, however scholarly, could not possibly deal adequately with all the varied subjects which go to the making of a county history.

In the VICTORIA HISTORY each county is not the labour of one or two men, but of many, for the work is treated scientifically, and in order to embody in it all that modern scholarship can contribute, a system of co-operation between experts and local students is applied, whereby the history acquires a completeness and definite authority hitherto lacking in similar undertakings.

The names of the distinguished men who have joined the Advisory Council are a guarantee that the work represents the results of the latest discoveries in every department of research, for the trend of modern thought insists upon the intelligent study of the past and of the social, institutional, and political developments of national life. As these histories are the first in which this object has been kept in view, and modern principles applied, it is hoped that they will form a work of reference no less indispensable to the student than welcome to the man of culture.

THE SCOPE OF THE WORK

The history of each county is complete in itself, and in each case its story is told from the earliest times, commencing with the natural features and the flora and fauna. Thereafter follow the antiquities, pre-Roman, Roman, and post-Roman; ancient earthworks; a new translation and critical study of the Domesday Survey; articles on political, ecclesiastical, social, and economic history; architecture, arts, industries, sport, etc.; and topography. The greater part of each history is devoted to a detailed description and history of each parish, containing an account of the land and its owners from the Conquest to the present day. These manorial histories are compiled from original documents in the national collections and from private papers. A special feature is the wealth of illustrations afforded, for not only are buildings of interest pictured, but the coats of arms of past and present landowners are given.

HISTORICAL RESEARCH

It has always been, and still is, a reproach that England, with a collection of public records greatly exceeding in extent and interest those of any other country in Europe, is yet far behind her neighbours in the study of the genesis and growth of her national and local institutions. Few Englishmen are probably aware that the national and local archives contain for a period of 800 years in an almost unbroken chain of evidence, not only the political, ecclesiastical, and constitutional history of the kingdom, but every detail of its financial and social progress and the history of the land and its successive owners from generation to generation. The neglect of our public and local records is no doubt largely due to the fact that their interest and value is known to but a small number of people, and this again is directly attributable to the absence in this country of any endowment for historical research. The government of this country has too often left to private enterprise work which our continental neighbours entrust to a government department. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that although an immense amount of work has been done by individual effort, the entire absence of organization among the workers and the lack of intelligent direction has hitherto robbed the results of much of their value.

In the VICTORIA HISTORY, for the first time, a serious attempt is made to utilize our national and local muniments to the best advantage by carefully organizing and supervising the researches required. Under the direction of the Records Committee a large staff of experts has been engaged at the Public Record Office in calendaring those classes of records which are fruitful in material for local history, and by a system of interchange of communication among workers under the direct supervision of the general editor and sub-editors a mass of information is sorted and assigned to its correct place, which would otherwise be impossible.

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CARTOGRAPHY

In addition to a general map in several sections, each History contains Geological, Orographical, Botanical, Archaeological, and Domesday maps; also maps illustrating the articles on Ecclesiastical and Political Histories, and the sections dealing with Topography. The Series contains many hundreds of maps in all.

ARCHITECTURE

A special feature in connexion with the Architecture is a series of ground plans, many of them coloured, showing the architectural history of castles, cathedrals, abbeys, and other monastic foundations.

In order to secure the greatest possible accuracy, the descriptions of the Architecture, ecclesiastical, military, and domestic, are under the supervision of Mr. C. R. PEERS, M.A., F.S.A., and a committee has been formed of the following students of architectural history who are referred to as may be required concerning this department of the work :—

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Palæontology. R. LYDEKKER, F.R.S., F.L.S., F.G.S.

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Roman Remains. F. HAVERFIELD, M.A., LL.D., F.S.A., and others

Anglo-Saxon Remains. C. HERCULES READ, LL.D., F.S.A., REGINALD A. SMITH, B.A., F.S.A., and others

Domesday Book and other kindred Records. J. HORACE ROUND, M.A., LL.D., and other Specialists

Architecture. C. R. PEERS, M.A., F.S.A., W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, M.A., HAROLD BRAKSPEAR, F.S.A., A.R.I.B.A., and others

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Topographical Accounts of Parishes and Manors. By Various Authorities

Agriculture. SIR ERNEST CLARKE, M.A., Late Sec. to the Royal Agricultural Society, and others

Forestry. JOHN NISBET, D.ÆC., and others

Industries, Arts and Manufactures }
Social and Economic History } By Various Authorities

Ancient and Modern Sport. E. D. CUMING, the REV. E. E. DORLING, M.A., and others

Cricket. SIR HOME GORDON, BART.



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SCALE

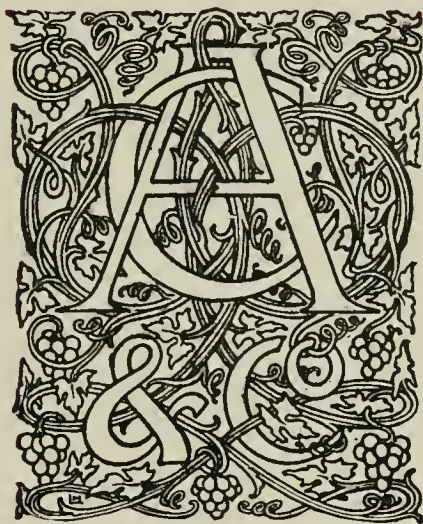
ANGLO SAXON ANTIQUITIES
FROM RUTLAND

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THE
VICTORIA HISTORY
OF THE COUNTY OF
RUTLAND

EDITED BY
WILLIAM PAGE, F.S.A.

VOLUME ONE



LONDON
ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE
AND COMPANY LIMITED
1908

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PREFACE

THE county of Rutland covers so small an area that it is difficult in dealing with its history not to trespass over the borders. This has been particularly felt with regard to the articles on the natural history of the county. Its size also militates against any great individuality, and hence perhaps the reason why its history has not been completely written since James Wright issued his *History and Antiquities of the County of Rutland* in 1684, with additions in 1687 and 1714. Thomas Blore commenced to write *The History and Antiquities of the County of Rutland*, but only vol. 1, pt. 2, which comprises the East Hundred and Hundred of Casterton Parva, was published in 1811, the value of which was increased by the drawings of his more eminent son Edward Blore the architect.

The editor wishes especially to thank Mr. V. B. Crowther-Beynon M.A., F.S.A., for his assistance in many ways, but particularly in reading the proofs of the articles in this volume, and thus adding to the accuracy of the work in a manner that only one with so intimate a knowledge of the county could do. The editor also desires to express his indebtedness to Mr. J. Horace Round, M.A., LL.D., for his suggestions with regard to the article on the Domesday Survey; to Mr. W. Hinman Wing, M.A., F.S.A., and the Rev. E. A. Irons, M.A., for much help; to Mr. W. Denison Roebuck, F.L.S., and Mr. W. J. Lucas, B.A., F.E.S., for the revision of some of the natural history articles, and to the Society of Antiquaries for illustrations.

TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS

Abbrev. Plac. (Rec. Com.)	Abbreviatio Placitorum (Record Commission)	Chartul.	Chartulary
Acts of P.C.	Acts of Privy Council	Chas.	Charles
Add.	Additional	Ches.	Cheshire
Add. Chart.	Additional Charters	Chest.	Chester
Admir.	Admiralty	Ch. Gds. (Exch. K.R.)	Church Goods (Exchequer King's Remembrancer)
Agarde	Agarde's Indices	Chich.	Chichester
Anct. Corresp.	Ancient Correspondence	Chron.	Chronicle, Chronica, etc.
Anct. D. (P.R.O.) A 2420	Ancient Deeds(Public Record Office) A 2420	Close	Close Roll
Ann. Mon.	Annales Monastici	Co.	County
Antiq.	Antiquarian or Antiquaries	Colch.	Colchester
App.	Appendix	Coll.	Collections
Arch.	Archæologia or Archæological	Com.	Commission
Arch. Cant.	Archæologia Cantiana	Com. Pleas.	Common Pleas
Archd. Rec.	Archdeacons' Records	Conf. R.	Confirmation Rolls
Archit.	Architectural	Co. Plac.	County Placita
Assize R.	Assize Rolls	Cornw.	Cornwall
Aud. Off.	Audit Office	Corp.	Corporation
Aug. Off.	Augmentation Office	Cott.	Cotton or Cottonian
Ayloffé	Ayloffé's Calendars	Ct. R.	Court Rolls
		Ct. of Wards	Court of Wards
		Cumb.	Cumberland
		Cur. Reg.	Curia Regis
Bed.	Bedford	D.	Deed or Deeds
Beds.	Bedfordshire	D. and C.	Dean and Chapter
Berks	Berkshire	De Banc. R.	De Banco Rolls
Bdle.	Bundle	Dec. and Ord.	Decrees and Orders
B.M.	British Museum	Dep. Keeper's Rep.	Deputy Keeper's Reports
Bodl. Lib.	Bodley's Library	Derb.	Derbyshire or Derby
Boro.	Borough	Devon	Devonshire
Brev. Reg.	Brevia Regia	Dioc.	Diocese
Brit.	Britain, British, Britannia, etc.	Doc.	Documents
Buck.	Buckingham	Dods. MSS.	Dodsworth MSS
Bucks	Buckinghamshire	Dom. Bk.	Domesday Book
		Dors.	Dorsetshire
Cal.	Calendar	Duchy of Lanc.	Duchy of Lancaster
Camb.	Cambridgeshire or Cambridge	Dur.	Durham
Cambr.	Cambria, Cambrian, Cambrensis, etc.		
Campb. Chart.	Campbell Charters	East.	Easter Term
Cant.	Canterbury	Eccl.	Ecclesiastical
Cap.	Chapter	Eccl. Com.	Ecclesiastical Commission
Carl.	Carlisle	Edw.	Edward
Cart. Antiq. R.	Cartæ Antiquæ Rolls	Eliz.	Elizabeth
C.C.C. Camb.	Corpus Christi College, Cambridge	Engl.	England or English
Certiorari Bdles. (Rolls Chap.)	Certiorari Bundles (Rolls Chapel)	Engl. Hist. Rev.	English Historical Review
Chan. Enr. Decree R.	Chancery Enrolled Decree Rolls	Enr.	Enrolled or Enrolment
Chan. Proc.	Chancery Proceedings	Epis. Reg.	Episcopal Registers
Chant. Cert.	Chantry Certificates (or Certificates of Colleges and Chantries)	Esch. Enr. Accts.	Escheators Enrolled Accounts
Chap. Ho.	Chapter House	Excerpta e Rot. Fin. (Rec. Com.)	Excerpta e Rotulis Finium (Record Commission)
Charity Inq.	Charity Inquisitions	Exch. Dep.	Exchequer Depositions
Chart. R. 20 Hen. III. pt. i. No. 10	Charter Roll, 20 Henry III. part i. Number 10	Exch. K.B.	Exchequer King's Bench
		Exch. K.R.	Exchequer King's Remembrancer
		Exch. L.T.R.	Exchequer Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer

TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS

Exch. of Pleas, Plea R.	Exchequer of Pleas, Plea Roll	Memo. R. . . .	Memoranda Rolls
Exch. of Receipt .	Exchequer of Receipt	Mich.	Michaelmas Term
Exch. Spec. Com. .	Exchequer Special Commis- sions	Midd.	Middlesex
		Mins. Accts. . .	Ministers' Accounts
		Misc. Bks. (Exch. K.R., Exch. T.R. or Aug. Off.)	Miscellaneous Books (Ex- chequer King's Remem- brancer, Exchequer Treas- ury of Receipt or Aug- mentation Office)
Feet of F.	Feet of Fines	Mon.	Monastery, Monasticon
Feod. Accts. (Ct. of Wards)	Feodaries Accounts (Court of Wards)	Monm.	Monmouth
Feod. Surv. (Ct. of Wards)	Feodaries Surveys (Court of Wards)	Mun.	Muniments or Munimenta
Feud. Aids . . .	Feudal Aids	Mus.	Museum
fol.	Folio		
Foreign R. . . .	Foreign Rolls	N. and Q. . . .	Notes and Queries
Forest Proc. . .	Forest Proceedings	Norf.	Norfolk
		Northampt. . .	Northampton
Gaz.	Gazette or Gazetteer	Northants . . .	Northamptonshire
Gen.	Genealogical, Genealogica, etc.	Northumb. . . .	Northumberland
Geo.	George	Norw.	Norwich
Glouc.	Gloucestershire or Gloucester	Nott.	Nottinghamshire or Notting- ham
Guild Certif. (Chan.)	Guild Certificates (Chancery)	N.S.	New Style
Ric. II.	Richard II.		
		Off.	Office
Hants	Hampshire	Orig. R.	Originalia Rolls
Harl.	Harley or Harleian	O.S.	Ordnance Survey
Hen.	Henry	Oxf.	Oxfordshire or Oxford
Heref.	Herefordshire or Hereford		
Hertf.	Hertford	p.	Page
Herts	Hertfordshire	Palmer's Ind. . .	Palmer's Indices
Hil.	Hilary Term	Pal. of Chest. . .	Palatinate of Chester
Hist.	History, Historical, Historian, Historia, etc.	Pal. of Dur. . . .	Palatinate of Durham
Hist. MSS. Com. .	Historical MSS. Commission	Pal. of Lanc. . . .	Palatinate of Lancaster
Hosp.	Hospital	Par.	Parish, parochial, etc.
Hund. R.	Hundred Rolls	Parl.	Parliament or Parliamentary
Hunt.	Huntingdon	Parl. R.	Parliament Rolls
Hunts	Huntingdonshire	Parl. Surv.	Parliamentary Surveys
		Partic. for Gts. .	Particulars for Grants
Inq. a.q.d. . . .	Inquisitions ad quod damnum	Pat.	Patent Roll or Letters Patent
Inq. p.m.	Inquisitions post mortem	P.C.C.	Prerogative Court of Canter- bury
Inst.	Institute or Institution	Pet.	Petition
Invent.	Inventory or Inventories	Peterb.	Peterborough
Ips.	Ipswich	Phil.	Philip
Itin.	Itinerary	Pipe R.	Pipe Roll
		Plea R.	Plea Rolls
Jas.	James	Pop. Ret.	Population Returns
Journ.	Journal	Pope Nich. Tax. (Rec. Com.)	Pope Nicholas' Taxation (Re- cord Commission)
		P.R.O.	Public Record Office
Lamb. Lib. . . .	Lambeth Library	Proc.	Proceedings
Lanc.	Lancashire or Lancaster	Proc. Soc. Antiq. .	Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries
L. and P. Hen. VIII.	Letters and Papers, Hen. VIII.	pt.	Part
Lansd.	Lansdowne	Pub.	Publications
Ld. Rev. Rec. . .	Land Revenue Records		
Leic.	Leicestershire or Leicester	R.	Roll
Le Neve's Ind. .	Le Neve's Indices	Rec.	Records
Lib.	Library	Recov. R.	Recovery Rolls
Lich.	Lichfield	Rentals and Surv. .	Rentals and Surveys
Linc.	Lincolnshire or Lincoln	Rep.	Report
Lond.	London	Rev.	Review
		Ric.	Richard
m.	Membrane		
Mem.	Memorials		

TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS

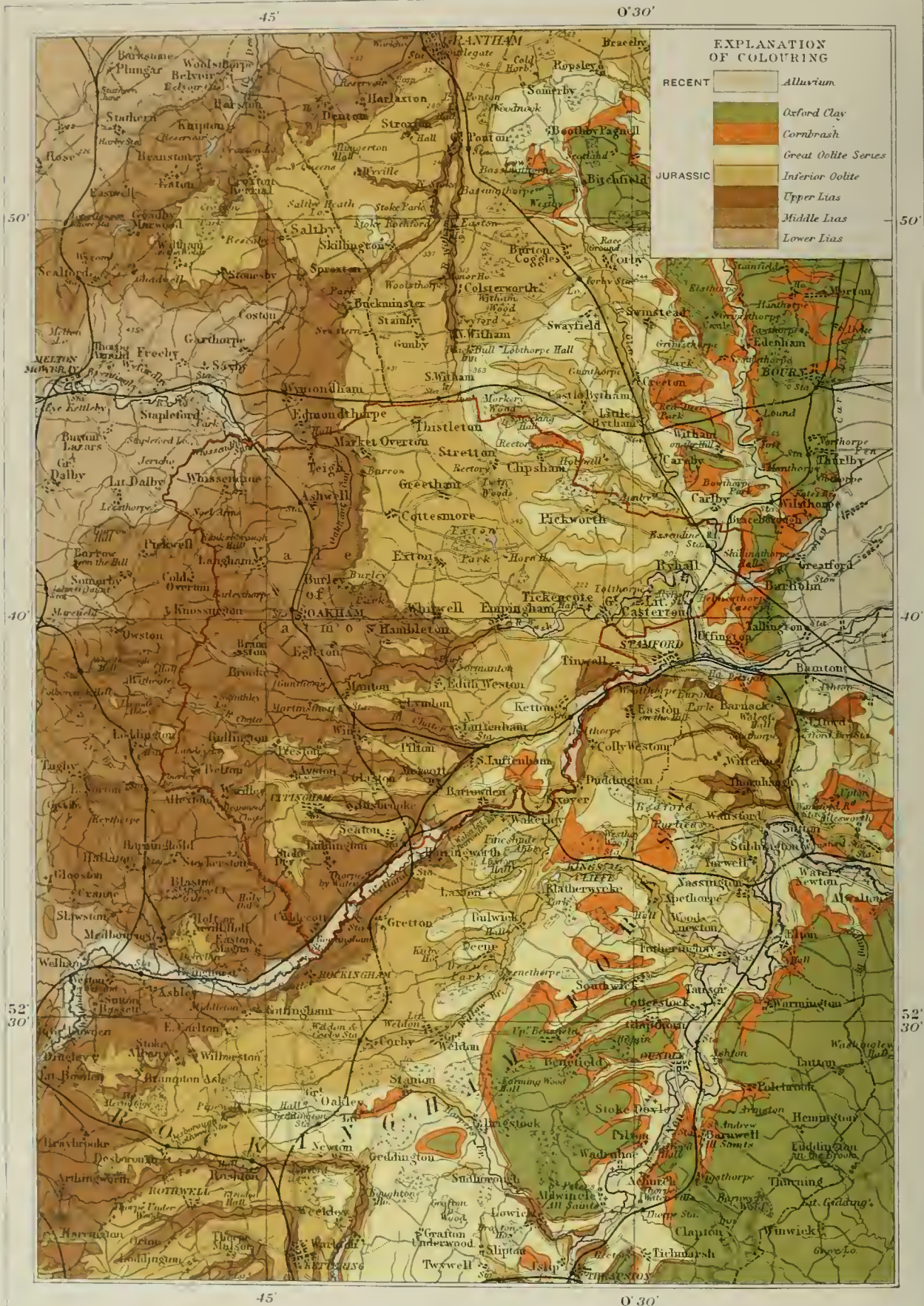
Roff.	Rochester diocese	Topog.	Topography or Topographi- cal
Rot. Cur. Reg.	Rotuli Curia Regis	Trans.	Transactions
Rut.	Rutland	Transl.	Translation
		Treas.	Treasury or Treasurer
		Trin.	Trinity Term
Sarum	Salisbury diocese	Univ.	University
Ser.	Series		
Sess. R.	Sessions Rolls	Valor Eccl. (Rec.	Valor Ecclesiasticus (Record Com.) Commission)
Shrews.	Shrewsbury	Vet. Mon.	Vetusta Monumenta
Shrops	Shropshire	V.C.H.	Victoria County History
Soc.	Society	Vic.	Victoria
Soc. Antiq.	Society of Antiquaries	vol.	Volume
Somers.	Somerset		
Somers. Ho.	Somerset House	Warw.	Warwickshire or Warwick
S.P. Dom.	State Papers Domestic	Westm.	Westminster
Staff.	Staffordshire	Westmld.	Westmorland
Star Chamb. Proc.	Star Chamber Proceedings	Will.	William
Stat.	Statute	Wilts	Wiltshire
Steph.	Stephen	Winton.	Winchester diocese
Subs. R.	Subsidy Rolls	Worc.	Worcestershire or Worcester
Suff.	Suffolk		
Surr.	Surrey	Yorks	Yorkshire
Suss.	Sussex		
Surv. of Ch. Liv- ings (Lamb.) or (Chan.)	Surveys of Church Livings (Lambeth) or (Chancery)		

A HISTORY OF
RUTLAND

GEOLOGICAL MAP

HISTORY OF RUTLAND

BASED ON THE MAPS OF THE GEOLOGICAL SURVEY



The Edinburgh Geographical Institute

J.G. Bartholomew

GEOLOGY

THE county of Rutland occupies a portion of the undulating uplands which lie between the great low-lying plain of the Fenland on the east and the somewhat higher inland plain formed by the outcrop of the Liassic clays on the west. The uplands, which rise in places to 600 and 700 feet above the sea, owe their existence to the outcrop of certain limestones which will be described in the following pages.

A sketch map of the geology of Rutland was published by Dr. W. Smith in 1821, but little attention was given to the rocks of this county until they were examined by Professor J. W. Judd for the Geological Survey. His map (engraved on the Ordnance Survey sheet 64) was issued in 1872, and his memoir on 'The Geology of Rutland,' published in 1875, contained a full description of its geological structure as well as a comparison of its rocks with those of more southern counties. It is this map and memoir that form the chief source of our information on the subject. The western border of the county from Belton to Whissendine, coming within the area of sheet 156 of the new series of Ordnance maps, receives some notice in the recent official explanation of that sheet by Mr. Fox-Strangways entitled, 'The Geology of the Country near Leicester' (*Mem. Geol. Survey*, 1903).

The rocks which come to the surface and form the subsoils of Rutlandshire belong to two very different series, formed at two widely separate periods of geological time, the Jurassic and the Pleistocene. There are no strata referable to the intervening Cretaceous, Eocene, Oligocene, Miocene and Pliocene periods.

Those of the Jurassic rocks which come within the limits of the county belong to the groups known as the Lias and the Lower Oolites, and like most of the formations in this part of England they dip to the eastward, that is to say the beds are not horizontal but are tilted and so inclined that they pass one under the other to the eastward. Consequently the older beds are found in the western part of the county and the newer in the eastern part, the latter in their turn passing below the higher Jurassic beds which form the floor of the Fenland.

This regular dip of the Jurassic beds is only interrupted here and there by small faults or displacements. The most notable of these faults crosses the valley of the Welland from near Ketton to Duddington, and as it has an upthrow on the eastern side the beds which are brought to the surface on that side are older than those found on the western side.

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Smaller displacements occur near Pilton, Edith Weston and Whitwell and again near Clipsham to the northward.

The Pleistocene deposits, unlike the Jurassic rocks, have no regular dip or inclination, but rest irregularly and unconformably on the older rocks, and occur at all levels from the hill-tops to the valley-floors. Under the head of Pleistocene it is convenient to include the newest river-gravels and the recent alluvium, though some prefer to exclude these from the Pleistocene series and to group them as Neolithic or Recent.

The following is a tabular view of the different rock-groups and those subdivisions which are generally recognized as occurring in the county of Rutland.

Period	Formation	Character of the Strata	Approximate thickness in feet
Pleistocene	Postglacial	River alluvium, Valley-gravels	0 to 20
	Glacial	Boulder-clays, Gravels and sands	up to 200
Jurassic	Lower Oolites	Great Oolite	<div> <div>Cornbrash</div> <div>about 15</div> </div>
		Great Oolite Clays	15 to 30
		Great Oolite Limestone . .	about 20
		Upper Estuarine Beds . . .	20 to 30
	Lias	Inferior Oolite	<div> <div>Lincolnshire Limestone . .</div> <div>up to 80</div> </div>
		Upper	<div> <div>Northampton Sands</div> <div>up to 30</div> </div>
		Clays and Limestones . . .	about 180
		Middle	<div> <div>Marlstone Rock</div> <div>100 to 150</div> </div>
		Lower	<div> <div>Clays and Sands</div> <div>about 800</div> </div>
		Clays	about 800

The main physical features of the county of Rutland, as also of the adjoining areas to the north and south of it, are due to the sculpturing action of rain and running water operating on an inclined series of rocks which vary in hardness and in the capacity of resisting such erosion. It is safe to say that if the rocks were not so diverse in lithological characters, or if they were not inclined to the east, the physical features of the country would have been different. The most resistant rocks in the succession above given are the Marlstone Rock, the Northampton Sands and the Lincolnshire Limestone ; these form two ridges with steep slopes or escarpments which run nearly north and south through the counties of Northampton, Rutland and Lincoln. Very little of the outer or Marlstone ridge comes within the limits of Rutland, but the escarpment of the Inferior Oolite runs through the middle of the county, though crossed and broken through by the valley of the Welland and those of its tributary streams. Some isolated hills are formed by tracts of Great Oolite or by patches of Boulder-Clay.

THE LOWER AND MIDDLE LIAS

The oldest formation which comes to the surface in Rutland is the clay of the Lower Lias, but this is only found over a small tract in the

GEOLOGY

north-eastern corner of the county, though it occupies a large area in the adjoining county of Leicester.

The Middle Lias consists of the following succession of beds arranged in descending order :—

	Thickness in feet.
5. The Rock-bed or Marlstone Rock	6 to 18
4. Sandy shales and light blue clays with bands of ironstone balls	about 30
3. Blue clay, with flattish septarian concretions	20 to 30
2. Blue micaceous clays with septaria and many fossils	} 50 to 70
1. Beds of soft ferruginous and micaceous sandstone alternating with light blue clays	

The four lower groups form the zone of *Ammonites margaritatus*, which thus has a thickness of from 100 to 120 feet. The Marlstone Rock forms a separate zone, that of *A. spinatus*.

The lower clays of the *A. margaritatus* zone are found only in the north-west corner of the county by Whissendine, Ashwell and Teigh ; they yield many fossils, of which the commonest are *A. margaritatus*, *Belemnites elongatus*, *Cardium truncatum*, *Modiola scalprum* and *Pleuromya costata*. The higher beds are exposed in some brickyards near Oakham and Langham and also at Belton west of Uppingham, but fossils are rare in them.

The Marlstone Rock is a ferruginous limestone, often passing into good workable ironstone. In its natural unweathered state it is a hard crystalline rock of a blue or green colour, but near the surface it is oxidized and weathered into a soft brown rubbly stone. It consists of several beds, some of which are harder than others, and they are usually crowded with fossils ; the shells of *Rhynchonella tetrabedra* and *Terebratula punctata* are especially abundant and often form calcareous masses or agglomerations, the interior of every shell being filled with crystalline calcspar. Other common fossils are *Belemnites paxillosus*, *B. elongatus*, *Pecten æquivalvis*, *P. dentatus*, *Hinnites abjectus* and *Avicula inæquivalvis*.

This rock has been quarried both as a building-stone and as iron-ore. Its main outcrop enters the county about two miles south-west of Whissendine, passing first north-eastward and then southward into the vale of Catmose by Langham and Oakham to Egleton and Nether Hambleton. Inliers of it and of the underlying shales are found in the valley of the Gwash near Braunston, in the higher part of the valley of the Chater, and again round Belton, Wardley and Stockerston in that of the Eye brook ; this last tract is shown as part of the main outcrop on the old map (sheet 64), but a recent revision of this district by Mr. Fox-Strangways has led him to think that the outcrop of the Marlstone Rock is continuous beneath the drift from Tugby through Skeffington.¹

Where the Rock-bed forms the subsoil, as in the Vale of Catmos, the soil is of a bright red-brown colour, and being highly productive is almost everywhere ploughed and cropped, being thus in marked contrast to the adjacent slopes of Upper Lias clays which are usually left in the state of pasture land.

¹ See 'Geology of the County near Leicester,' *Mem. Geol. Survey*, p. 36 (1903).

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THE UPPER LIAS

This division occupies a considerable area in the western half of the county, though its surface is largely concealed by the Pleistocene deposits. It consists entirely of clays, which form the steep slopes beneath the escarpments of the Inferior Oolite : this mass of clay has a thickness of from 160 to 180 feet and is divisible into two zones, a lower zone of *Ammonites serpentinus*, which is only a few feet thick, and an upper zone of *A. communis*, which includes the rest of the division.

Between the Middle and Upper Lias there are usually a few inches of red or yellow sandy clay which is known as the 'Transition bed' and yields a mixture of fossils belonging to the two divisions. Above it are the 'Paper Shales,' 12 to 18 inches of bluish-grey shale including one or more lenticular layers of argillaceous limestone ; these beds yield remains of fish and insects chiefly in the form of scales and fragments. The fish belong to the genera *Lepidotus*, *Leptolepis* and *Pachycormus*, but complete specimens are rare. The shales are succeeded by a grey marly clay and a layer of hard ferruginous limestone in which Ammonites are abundant, the commonest being the species known as *A. serpentinus*, *A. exaratus*, *A. communis* and *A. Holandrei*.

The zone of *A. communis* has at the base a few feet of bluish marly clay, at the top of which are some thin layers of limestone containing an abundance of the characteristic Ammonite. Above this band come about 60 feet of dark blue clays without fossils. Then comes another fossiliferous band distinguished by the abundance of small spiral univalve shells, especially *Cerithium armatum*, and by the prevalence of *Ammonites fibulatus* and *Nucula Hammeri*. These have been termed the Lower Leda Beds or Cerithium Beds by Mr. Beeby Thompson.¹

Clays without fossils succeed and are surmounted by others in which fossils occur ; the latter are the Upper Leda Beds which may possibly belong to a higher zone than that of *A. communis*, since Mr. Thompson has pointed out that they contain some fossils which are characteristic of the zone of *A. jurensis* in Yorkshire.

The Upper Lias clays furnish good material for the manufacture of bricks, tiles and drain-pipes.

THE NORTHAMPTON SANDS

There is evidence that the Upper Lias had undergone a certain amount of erosion before the deposition of the Northampton Sands, for the base of the latter often contains pebbles of argillaceous stone which have evidently been derived from the Lias, and are covered with *Serpulae* or bored by lithodomus molluscs. This break in the succession is not however one of great magnitude, on the contrary it can only be a part of the zone of *A. jurensis*, which is missing, for that ammonite is found in the Northampton Sands.

¹ In papers on the Lias of Northamptonshire in the *Journal of the North Nat. Hist. Soc.* vols. iii, iv, and v. (1884-8).

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In Rutlandshire these sands comprise beds of sandy ironstone at the base (from 6 to 12 feet thick) which pass up through brown ferruginous sandstone and brown sand into fine white sand with thin layers of grey clay and lignite ; these upper beds are from 10 to 20 feet thick and are known as the Lower Estuarine Series.

The main outcrop of the Northampton Sands enters Rutland near Barrowden in the valley of the Welland and forms part of the ridge which runs northward by Morcott and Luffenham to Whitwell, Burley and Market Overton. There are however some extensive outliers to the west of this line, one large irregular outlier forming the ridges which extend from Seaton and Morcot to and beyond Uppingham ; others occur round Ridlington, Pilton, Manton and Hambleton. The sands are everywhere a source of water-supply (see p. 13), and springs occur at frequent intervals along their line of outcrop.

The ironstone, when quarried at some depth from the surface or traversed in sinking wells, is a hard compact rock of a blue or greenish colour, consisting mainly of carbonate of iron and largely composed of small round grains which are formed of concentric layers, so that the rock has an oolitic structure. Near the surface however it has been oxidized and altered by the percolation of water, so that it presents a very different aspect, being then a brown porous or cellular rock consisting entirely of hydrated peroxide of iron. The transition from the one aspect to the other can sometimes be seen in a deep quarry, for at some depth from the surface each block of stone will be found to contain a centre of grey or bluish carbonate of iron, and still lower down there is more of the blue and less of the brown ironstone in every block, till at last the whole mass consists of the carbonate, which is solid and heavy, while the brown ore is light and is called 'kale' by the quarrymen and well-sinkers.

Near Uppingham and also at some other places the lowest beds are more calcareous and less ferruginous than those which overlie them, and have been extensively quarried for building purposes ; at Uppingham there is from 6 to 8 feet of such stone.

Where the rock is oxidized the fossils have been destroyed, but in the blue rock shells are sometimes abundant ; they are almost all of marine genera, and the commonest are *Ammonites Murchisonæ*, *Belemnites giganteus*, the bivalves *Astarte elegans*, *Lucina Wrighti*, *Ceromya bajociana*, *Pholadomya fidicula*, and the sea-urchin *Pygaster semisulcatus*. These fossils show that the rock represents the lower part of the Inferior Oolite of the south-west of England, namely the zones of *Ammonites opalinus* and *A. Murchisonæ*.

In the overlying sands fossils are rare, but shells of *Cyrena* have been found in some places, and plant remains with vertical casts of their root-lets are not unfrequent ; moreover the thin layers of lignite have been formed by the decay of vegetation, and each layer is underlain by a thin seam of clay, just as in the Coal Measures beds of coal are generally underlain by beds of clay. It is clear that the whole group of beds was

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formed in close proximity to land, probably in the estuary of a large river or in lagoons adjoining such an estuary.

THE LINCOLNSHIRE LIMESTONE

This formation has received its name from the fact of its being most fully developed in Lincolnshire, and though it extends southward through Rutland and part of Northamptonshire it becomes rapidly thinner to the southward and finally disappears near Kettering and Maidwell. It is believed to represent the upper part of the Inferior Oolite of Gloucestershire.

There is a complete passage from the Northampton Sands to the Lincolnshire limestone, and the passage-beds consist of sandy and shaly limestones which have been used for roofing-slates and are known as 'Collyweston Slate' from the village of that name south-west of Stamford. These beds are from 2 to 10 feet thick and exhibit on the surfaces ripple-markings, worm-tracks and plant-remains, clear indications of their having been deposited in shallow water, but that this was the water of the open sea is proved by the purely marine fossils which they contain; among these may be mentioned the Gasteropods *Malaptera Bentleyi* and *Natica cincta*, with the bivalves *Gervillia acuta*, *Pecten lens*, *Lucina Wrighti* and *Trigonia impressa*.

These passage-beds are succeeded by shelly limestones and oolitic freestones, which have a thickness of about 80 feet near Stamford and have been quarried in many places for building-stone. They exhibit various tints of yellow, grey and brown, and contain a great variety of fossils. The shelly limestones are indeed entirely composed of small shells and broken fragments of shells with broken spines and plates of Echinoidea (sea-urchins) and the joints of Crinoidea (sea-lilies). In these beds the univalve shells (Gasteropoda) are generally water-worn, and the bivalve shells are single valves, often rolled or broken; hence it is inferred that the beds are banks of dead shells, drifted and brought together by the action of currents on the sea floor.

Other beds are largely or entirely composed of small oolitic grains; these form some of the best freestones, and do not contain many fossils, except those of very small size. There is still a third variety of rock called by Professor Judd the 'coralline facies,' which is a marly limestone, compact or but slightly oolitic in texture and abounding in corals. Some of these beds appear to have been actually parts of coral reefs, and have yielded corals belonging to the genera *Isastræa*, *Thamnastræa*, *Thecosmilia* and *Latimæandra*, as well as many Brachiopoda and Mollusca, such as *Terebratula maxillata*, *Pinna cuneata*, *Modiola sowerbyana*, *Ceromya bajociana*, *Pholadomya fidicula* with species of *Natica* and *Nerinæa*. Cephalopoda are rare, but *A. Murchisonæ*, *A. Blagdeni* and *A. subradiatus* have been recorded.

In referring to the accompanying map, and to that of the Geological Survey (sheet 64), from which it is reduced, it must always be remem-

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bered that the rocks indicated are not everywhere exposed at the surface. This is especially the case with the Lincolnshire Limestone, large tracts of which are buried beneath accumulations of Boulder-Clay and Gravel. It so happens however that more of it is exposed in Rutland than in the adjacent part of Northampton, and as it underlies the greater part of the eastern half of the county from Barrowden on the south to Thistleton on the north, and from Barnsdale Hill on the west to Stamford on the east, it will be seen that this limestone is a prominent feature in the geology of the county.

The limestone produces a light soil of a bright red colour, and Professor Judd has remarked that the county probably acquired its name of Rutland (i.e. red land) from the prevalent colour of its soil, for not only the Lincolnshire Limestone, but the Northampton Sands and the Marlstone Rock (see p. 3.) also produce red soils, and these soils have been washed down the clay slopes below the outcrops of the rocks which produce them.

The Lincolnshire Limestone has been extensively quarried for building-stone at Ketton, Casterton, Stamford and Clipsham, as well as at Barnack, Wittering and Wansford in Northamptonshire. Professor Judd remarks that the freestones are of greater value when quarried from under the clays of the Upper Estuarine Series, that of Ketton being specially famous for its strength and durability. This Ketton stone is a bed of yellowish oolite from 3 to 4 feet thick, and has been employed in many of the ancient and modern buildings at Cambridge, Bury St. Edmunds, Bedford and Stamford, and also in Ely and Peterborough Cathedrals.

THE GREAT OOLITE SERIES

Throughout the counties of Northampton, Rutland and Lincoln the Great Oolite presents a regular sequence of beds, consisting of four well marked groups, two of which are limestones and two are clays. In ascending order these groups are known as (1) Upper Estuarine Series; (2) Great Oolite Limestone; (3) Great Oolite Clay, and (4) Cornbrash. Only a small portion of the main outcrop of these beds comes within the limits of Rutland, but outliers of them form hills near Barrowden, Ketton, Casterton, Pickworth and Clipsham.

(1) THE UPPER ESTUARINE SERIES.—At the base of this group there is generally a layer of brown nodular ironstone, which either rests directly on the Lincolnshire Limestone or is separated from it by a thin layer of white marly clay. Though only from 1 to 3 feet thick this ironstone is generally a conspicuous feature in exposures of this horizon, and the upper surface of the Limestone shows signs of having suffered a certain amount of erosion before the formation of the ironstone. Such current erosion may have been caused by a slight general uplift of the area of deposition and a consequent shallowing of the water, or by the deflection of the current from a neighbouring river. In whatever way the change was brought about it is certain that the whole area, which

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had previously been the floor of a clear open sea in which even corals could exist, was suddenly converted into an estuary or a bay of shallow water which was constantly turbid with the mud and silt carried into it by one or more rivers.

The beds above the ironstone band consist of variously coloured clays—blue, black, green, grey and white—with occasional courses of sandy limestone and layers of fibrous carbonate of lime called ‘beef’ by the quarrymen. In some of these beds the fossils are marine, including shells of *Ostrea*, *Modiola*, *Cardium* and *Cuspidaria*; in others they belong to freshwater genera such as *Unio*, *Cyrena* and *Paludina*; while the black carbonaceous clays generally contain plant remains and pieces of wood. The usual thickness of this set of beds is from 20 to 30 feet.

(2) GREAT OOLITE LIMESTONE.—This division consists of alternating beds of whitish limestone and marly clay with occasional layers made up of small oysters (*O. Sowerbyi* and *O. subrugulosa*). The limestones are usually soft, white and marly, but are sometimes more or less shelly. They are seldom oolitic, and thus differ from those of the Lincolnshire Limestone. When protected by any thickness of clay the beds are bluish and hard. There is always a complete passage downward into the Estuarine clays and upwards into the Great Oolite clays. Many of the fossils which occur in these beds range up into the Cornbrash, but there are a few which by their special abundance serve to characterize the Great Oolite; these are the oysters above mentioned, with *Modiola imbricata*, *Homomya gibbosa*, and *Clypeus Mulleri*. In some places too the palatal teeth of a kind of shark (*Strophodus*) are not uncommon and are called fossil slugs by the workmen. Corals are sometimes found, a species belonging to the genus *Isastrea* being abundant near Essendine.

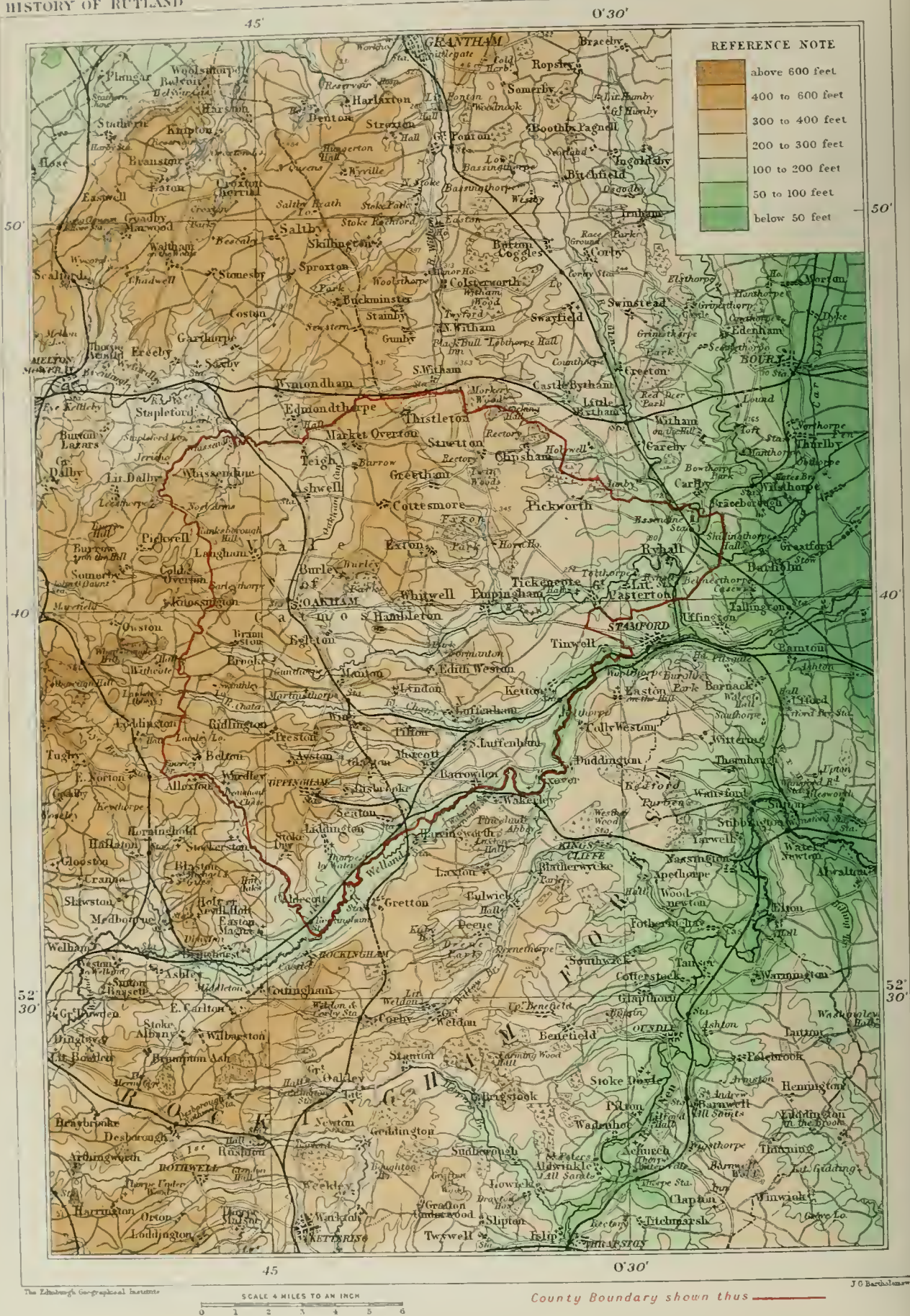
The Great Oolite Limestone caps the slopes and spurs of the Upper Estuarine clays, forming flat-topped tabular hills, which give a distinct character to the scenery of the district in which they occur. The soils of these beds are of high value to the farmer in consequence of the mixture of calcareous and argillaceous matter which they contain; being heavier and more retentive than that of the Lincolnshire Limestone they are more favourable in seasons of drought.

(3) GREAT OOLITE CLAY.—This was called the Blisworth Clay by Mr. S. Sharp,¹ but the name has not yet been generally adopted.

Its component beds are of various colours—blue, purple, green and yellow, with occasional layers of calcareous or ferruginous nodules. Fossils are not common in this part of the series, but there are sometimes thin seams made up of a small oyster-like shell (*Placunopsis socialis*), and bones of the large dinosaurian reptile called *Cetiosaurus* have been found at Banthorpe and Essendine north-east of Stamford.

These clays vary in thickness from 15 to 30 feet, but they seldom form a band of any width, only a steep slope between the two plateaus

¹ See *Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc.* xxvi, 380.



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of the Great Oolite Limestone and the Cornbrash ; only very small tracts of them come within the county of Rutland.

(4) THE CORNBRAsh.—This exhibits more constant characters than any other member of the Great Oolite Series. Its usual appearance is that of an earthy and shelly limestone, somewhat ferruginous and very fossiliferous. When quarried under a covering of clay it is always of a blue colour and exceedingly hard, but where it has been exposed to the percolation of water from the surface it has a light brown colour and breaks up into small flat slabs, each of which is usually coated with a stalagmitic deposit. The rock thus weathered and disintegrated is locally termed *kale*. Its thickness appears to be from 8 to 15 feet.

Only a few small tracts of Cornbrash occur within the limits of the county, its main outcrop lying for the most part just outside the boundary of our area, but running within it by Belmesthorpe and Banthorpe. The largest tract is the outlier on Barrowden Hill, another occurs north of Clipsham and there are two small patches near Ryhall.

Though fossils are abundant in the Cornbrash they consist chiefly of Echinoderms, Brachiopoda and bivalve mollusca ; Gasteropoda are rare and Cephalopoda are not very common. The most characteristic species are *Ammonites macrocephalus*, *Avicula echinata*, *Ostrea flabelloides*, *Pecten vagans*, *Terebratula intermedia*, *Waldbeimia lagenalis*, *Holectypus depressus* and *Nucleolites clunicularis*. The rock appears to have been formed in a tranquil sea at the commencement of an epoch of great subsidence. Towards the border of the Fenland it passes beneath the great clay formation which is known as the Oxford Clay.

THE GLACIAL DEPOSITS

As mentioned on p. 2, these deposits belong to a much more recent period of geological history than do the Jurassic rocks on which they lie. Moreover they were not formed by the ordinary processes of deposition, but have been accumulated in a more irregular and tumultuous manner by the operation of ice in ponderous masses, though opinions differ as to the conditions under which the ice acted. Some think that the British Islands were raised to a high level above the sea, that an ice-sheet was gradually formed over their northern portions, and that Boulder-Clay is a terrestrial deposit left by the passage of this ice-sheet across the country ; others believe that the passage of the ice was assisted by a gradual submergence which enabled masses of ice coming from several directions to rise higher and higher over the land and to carry rock-debris from lower to higher levels.

The manner in which the Glacial deposits occur proves that the main features of the country, the hills and escarpments, the great plains and some of the valleys, had been developed before the beginning of the Glacial period. The greater part of England had been dry land throughout the Oligocene, Miocene, and Pliocene periods, and its surface had been sculptured into hill and vale, plain and plateau. Over this surface the

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Glacial deposits were spread out like a mantle, though the covering was doubtless of varying thickness, being thin on the steeper slopes and thick on the lower plains and in the valleys, which latter were often completely filled up by the mass of debris which was driven into them by the ice. The Glacial deposits vary also in composition and include stony clays, gravels (coarse and fine), loam and sand. In Rutland Boulder-Clay is the prevalent deposit, the patches of gravel and sand being few and small.

BOULDER-CLAY.—This material, where it is thick and unweathered, consists of a stiff clay usually bluish or grey in colour, and crowded with fragments of many kinds of rocks which are of all sizes from a small stone to a boulder as big as a cottage. Sometimes even masses of 50 to 200 yards in length are found. Many of these rock-fragments exhibit the bevelled, smoothed and striated surfaces which are characteristic of ice-borne stones. In the western and central parts of the county most of the stones and boulders are of local origin derived from the Lias Marlstone, the Northampton Ironstone and the Lincolnshire Limestone, but on the eastern side of the county and in the adjoining parts of Northampton and Lincoln chalk and flint are the most abundant materials in the Boulder-Clay; occasionally indeed chalk enters so largely into the composition of the clay itself that it becomes a whitish marl, and even the plants growing on its surface are species which flourish best on chalky soils. The other rocks which occur in the clay come chiefly from the Carboniferous system such as Coal Measure sandstone, Millstone Grit, and Carboniferous Limestone, but there are also occasional pieces of slate, quartzite, granite and basic igneous rocks.

It is evident that the ice which accumulated such a collection of stones was not a glacier of the ordinary kind, coming from a single basin of drainage, but was either a wide spread sheet of ice or portions of several such sheets detached and driven by winds and currents on to a sinking land. The chalk and flint probably came from the Wolds of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, the Carboniferous rocks came from the Pennine Hills and their borders,¹ and within the district itself the boulders of Jurassic rocks seem to have travelled from west to east.

Of the larger transported masses, those of Marlstone, of Lincolnshire Limestone and of Chalk are the most noteworthy. Professor Judd observes² that masses of the Marlstone Rock-bed have been carried over deep valleys and in some cases for a distance of about 30 miles. By the detrition of the surrounding clay these huge boulders of Marlstone and Limestone often form bosses which rise above the adjacent land, and some are so large that stone-pits have been opened in them. A few equally large masses of Chalk have been noticed, one such occurring near Rid-

¹ It has been suggested however that the fragments of Palæozoic and igneous rocks were derived from an older Boulder Clay, and it is believed that remnants of these more ancient glacial deposits occur near Leicester (see 'The Geology of the County near Leicester,' *Mem. Geol. Survey*, 1903, p. 48).

² 'Geology of Rutland,' *Mem. Geol. Survey*, p. 247.

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lington north-west of Uppingham, and being quarried in 1821 gave rise to the idea that the Chalk formation was actually present in Rutland.¹

Owing to the long continued erosion by rain and rivers to which the country has been exposed since the formation of the Boulder-Clay much of this material has been removed, and the portions which remain appear as isolated tracts varying in size from a wide spreading area of more than 20 square miles to one of only a few hundred yards in length. One of the largest tracts of Boulder-Clay is that on the confines of Rutland and Leicestershire, and this tract is also instructive as showing the manner in which the pre-glacial surface of the country is draped by the Glacial Clay. It rises from the valley of the river Eye west of Melton Mowbray, and extends southward across the plain of the Lower Lias to the slopes of the Middle Lias between Pickwell and Whissendine; climbing these it spreads over the high ground around Cold Overton, Knossington and Ouston Woods, and though it is cut through by the head waters of the river Gwash, tongues of it cap the ridges on each side of the Gwash valley as far as Gunthorpe on the northern side and Martinshorpe on the southern side. East of Martinshorpe it passes on to the Northampton Sands, and near Manton an isolated patch rests on the Lincolnshire Limestone. Still further east, by Edith Weston and Normanton, tracts of Boulder-Clay lie on the top of the Limestone escarpment, and finally on Bushey Closes (west of Ketton) another patch of it climbs to the top of the Great Oolite Limestone.

Other spreads of Boulder-Clay occur in the northern part of the county, the largest of them extending in a very irregular manner from Empingham Wood by Stretton to the Morkery Woods and South Witham. The contrast between the warm red soil of the Lincolnshire Limestone and the cold clay land with its numerous woods is very striking. A similar contrast presents itself near Uppingham, where the outlier of Northampton Sand is capped by Boulder-Clay on the ridge south-west of the town.

GLACIAL GRAVEL AND SAND.—These deposits are intimately associated with the Boulder-Clay, occurring sometimes below it, sometimes as lenticular beds in the clay, and sometimes as patches which apparently overlie it, though some of these may be intercalated beds exposed by the removal of superjacent clay. The gravels consist of the same rocks as occur in the Boulder-Clay, rounded pieces of hard chalk being generally abundant, as also are flints and stones from Jurassic rocks; of less common occurrence are Carboniferous rocks, and there are occasionally fragments of granite and other igneous rocks from the north of England. The gravel is generally rudely stratified, and the beds are sometimes bent up and contorted as if by the impact of ice. In some places they include or pass into coarse reddish sand, which generally exhibits the phenomena of current bedding in a marked degree.

¹ See Lonsdale in *Phil. Trans.* vol. lxxxi. pt. 2, p. 281; Fitton in *Trans. Geol. Soc.* ser. 2, vol. iv. pp. 308, 383.

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There are only four places within the limits of Rutland where such gravels occur. The first is a patch about half a mile in length on the slope of the hill near Stoke Dry south of Uppingham. The second is near Belton, where there are five small isolated patches of gravel lying on the Upper Lias, and as similar gravel underlies the Boulder-Clay of Barrow Hill to the north-west these gravels are believed to be part of the same set of beds—one of them indeed seems to pass beneath the glacial clay on which Lambley Lodge is situated. The third locality is south of Oakham on the Brook Mill ridge, where four small tracts of gravel and sand have been mapped as overlying the Boulder-Clay.

The fourth locality is around Holywell in Lincolnshire, where there are several small patches of a peculiar gravel, some of them occurring in that county and some of them in Rutland. One of the latter is on the south side of Newell Wood and has been quarried for gravel, which is evenly stratified and consists almost entirely of waterworn pebbles of Lincolnshire Limestone with some from the harder beds in the Northampton Sands; above the gravel there is an irregular bed of reddish-brown sand surmounted by a few feet of light-grey Boulder-Clay. All the other neighbouring patches of gravel are similarly composed of Limestone-pebbles without any admixture of chalk- or flint-pebbles, and some of them near Holywell Lodge are compacted by a calcareous cement into solid masses of conglomerate.

Other examples of these Limestone gravels occur in Northamptonshire, and Professor Judd has suggested that they are really of pre-Glacial date and are remnants of the valley-gravels formed by the rivers which drained eastward off the Limestone hills before the country was invaded by the ice of the Glacial period.

POST-GLACIAL DEPOSITS

After the glacial conditions had passed away rivers began once more to course freely over the surface of the country, cutting new valleys out of the mantle of Glacial deposits and gradually eating their way through these into the Jurassic rocks beneath. In this manner the present drainage system of the country was produced, and some of the later stages in the process are indicated by tracts of gravel in the existent valleys above the flood-levels of the present streams.

In Rutland however the tracts of such gravel are of small extent. The most considerable tract is that near Caldecott and Easton Mill in the valley of the Welland; much of the material seems to have been brought down by the Eye brook, which is bordered by a gravel deposit all the way from Stockerston to Caldecott, and thence a strip of gravel borders the alluvium of the Welland as far as Thorpe Mill. The materials of this gravel have been furnished mainly by the erosion of the Glacial deposits through which the Eye brook has cut its way, and which still form a continuous tract of several square miles in extent around its sources on the high land near Tilton-on-the-Hill (Leicestershire).

Small tracts of gravelly soil occur along the courses of the rivers

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Chater and Gwash, especially in their lower reaches, for a few miles above their respective junctions with the Welland. At the period when these gravels were formed the Fenland was a bay of the sea, and the estuary of the Welland came up to the point where it is joined by the Gwash. This estuary was gradually choked with gravel and sand, a great plain of which now extends eastward to Deeping and Peakirk.

The river gravels probably contain mammalian bones and fresh-water shells, but both seem rare in Rutland and no record of any has yet been published.

ALLUVIUM

Of this, the newest deposit in the county, Professor Judd writes as follows:—

The flat bottoms of the valleys of the existing rivers are covered with a fine black loam or silt which is still in process of formation, a constant accession to, and redistribution of, its material taking place as the result of ordinary river action. This loam is often crowded with the shells of those molluscs which live on terrestrial surfaces or in marshes. . . . The flats formed by these alluvial deposits (which are conspicuous in the valley of the Welland and the Gwash) are during the winter season for the most part under water; they are distinguished for their great fertility and constitute most admirable grazing lands.¹

WATER SUPPLY

The supply of pure water is a matter of prime importance to the population both of towns and of country places, and as most running streams are more or less polluted a few miles below their sources, and as springs are not always conveniently near, new wells and borings are continually being made. The existence of springs and the success of boring for water are both dependent upon the geological structure of the district, and consequently a few remarks on the subject of water supply will not be out of place in this article.

In the county of Rutland the two great sources of supply are the Lias Marlstone and the Inferior Oolite, the latter comprising the Northampton Sand and the Lincolnshire Limestone. The Marlstone is the chief source of supply in the north-western part of the county; thus Oakham has always derived its supply from springs issuing from this rock. Its modern waterworks also take their water from the same source, but the supply comes from springs at Braunston, in the valley of the Gwash, about two miles south-west of Oakham. Mr. Fox-Strangways informs me that these springs are now tapped by a boring 40 feet in depth, which traverses first a deposit of white tufa, then 15 feet of Upper Lias Clay and about the same thickness of Marlstone-rock.

The Inferior Oolite however is a much more important source, inasmuch as it includes a thickness of from 80 to 120 feet of permeable strata and consequently holds a much larger quantity of water; moreover it is available not only over the greater part of Rutland but over those parts of Lincolnshire and Northamptonshire which lie to the east-

¹ 'The Geology of Rutland,' *Mem. Geol. Survey*, p. 253 (1875).

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ward. It may be useful therefore if we indicate how the water gets into the Inferior Oolite, how some of it is thrown out in the form of springs, and how the rest flows eastward to serve as an underground reservoir for the towns and villages along the border of the Fenland.

A large part of the rainfall is absorbed by the sands and limestones of the Inferior Oolite, for not only is much rain absorbed directly it falls on the wide areas over which this formation is exposed, but much of that falling on the Great Oolite runs off till it reaches the Lincolnshire Limestone into which it quickly soaks. The runnels which carry the rain off the slopes of the Upper Estuarine clays often terminate in a *swallow-hole* at the junction of clay and limestone; these holes are sometimes open rifts, but more often are funnel-shaped depressions opening downwards into underground passages which have been made by the widening of the joints and fissures in the limestone. In some cases a large volume of water is thus carried off, and after heavy rains the noise of its descent into the swallow-hole can be heard for some distance. The same is the case with the water which runs off the tracts of Boulder Clay lying on the area of the Limestone. Even where water runs over the Limestone for a little distance it often disappears suddenly and joins the subterranean streams, but in a few cases it comes to the surface again lower down the watercourse; thus the brook which rises at Market Overton (a tributary of the river Witham) disappears near Thistleton to issue again above South Witham; the same is the case with the river Glen between Little Bytham and Careby just outside the limits of Rutland.

It is probable also that the streams which rise on the Liassic area contribute some portion of their volume to the stores of the Inferior Oolite by leakage along their channels as they flow over the Limestone to join the Welland. Thus in various ways a large quantity of water enters the combined mass of the Northampton Sand and the Lincolnshire Limestone and makes its way downward toward the base of the formation.

Of the water thus absorbed a portion is thrown out again in the form of springs along the boundary of the Northampton Sand and all round the outliers of this sand, because it cannot sink into the impervious clays of the Upper Lias. It is these springs which have determined the sites of most of the villages in this part of the county. Some of the water thus issuing is hard and deposits calcareous matter (tufa or travertin), having dissolved much carbonate of lime in its underground course; some are chalybeate springs, having dissolved iron from the ironstone beds, and a few of the latter, such as that in Burleigh Park near Oakham, were noted as 'spas' in former days.

But the greater part of the water which is absorbed by the Lincolnshire Limestone passes eastward, because the beds are inclined in that direction, and as it cannot sink below the base of the Northampton Sands nor rise above the top of the Limestone where that is continuously covered by the Upper Estuarine clays, the water level in the

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Limestone gradually rises as the formation is followed eastward, and a permanent water-supply is found at a less and less depth from the surface. Finally after it has passed beneath the main outcrops of the Great Oolite Series it becomes saturated with water throughout nearly its whole thickness, and when a boring is put down through the overlying beds the water rises as an artesian spring.

It should be mentioned however that some of the Limestone beds appear to be more permeable than others, so that they or the planes between such beds act as conduits for the water which is passing eastward. These horizons are the 'springs' of the well sinkers and boring contractors, and it often happens that several such water-bearing conduits are traversed in the progress of a boring, the water from each rising some way up the bore-hole until at length one is met with that yields a strong and sufficient supply.

PALAEONTOLOGY

THE small area of Rutland affords *prima facie* grounds for the expectation that its fossil vertebrates would be comparatively few ; and as a matter of fact not only is this the case, but there does not seem to be a single recorded specimen of this nature from the county which is of any real value or interest. All such remains of vertebrates then known to be in existence were recorded in 1889 by Mr. Montagu Browne in his *Vertebrates of Leicestershire and Rutland*, and, so far as I am aware, no additions have been subsequently made to the meagre list.

The collection of the British Museum includes an imperfect lower jaw (No. 44,904) of one of the extinct marine plesiosaurian reptiles from the Great Oolite of Essendine, which appears to be nearly allied to or identical with the species now known as *Muraenosaurus truncatus*.¹ It was presented by Sir Richard Owen in 1874.

In the same collection (No. 47,170) is a series of associated bony plates of one of the extinct long-jawed crocodiles probably belonging to the genus *Steneosaurus*, from the Great Oolite of Belmesthorpe.² Certain crocodilian remains from the same locality and formation which have been regarded as indicating the occurrence in the county of the genus *Teleosaurus*³ may be those just referred to as *Steneosaurus*. It is also stated that the Great Oolite of Belmesthorpe has yielded remains of a pterodactyl, or flying saurian, provisionally identified with the genus *Rhamphocephalus*,⁴ but there is no record of what has become of the specimen on which this determination was made. According to Professor J. Phillips,⁵ bones of the great dinosaurian land reptile *Ceteosaurus oxoniensis* have been obtained from the Great Oolite of Essendine.

Remains of fossil fishes from the county, so far at any rate as species are concerned, seem to be even rarer than those of reptiles. It is stated, however, by Mr. R. Etheridge⁶ that teeth of the pavement-toothed shark commonly known as *Strophodus magnus* (really a species of *Asteracanthus*) are extremely abundant in the Inferior Oolite or 'Lincolnshire limestone'

¹ See Lydekker, *Cat. Foss. Rept. Brit. Mus.* ii, 245, where the specimen is entered as *Cimoliosaurus*, and the locality stated to be in Lincolnshire.

² *Ibid.* i, 118. The name of the locality is given as Belminsthorpe and the county as Northampton.

³ See Browne, *Vertebrates of Leicestershire and Rutland*, 174.

⁶ *Geology of Oxf.* 253 (1871).

⁴ *Ibid.* 173.

⁶ Browne, *op. cit.* 199.

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of Rutland as well as of Lincolnshire itself.⁷ The allied species known as *Asteracanthus ornatissimus* (= *Strophodus subreticulatus*) is also recorded by Mr. Etheridge⁸ from the Inferior Oolite of the county, but since this form is of Upper Oolitic age (in England) the identification is doubtful.

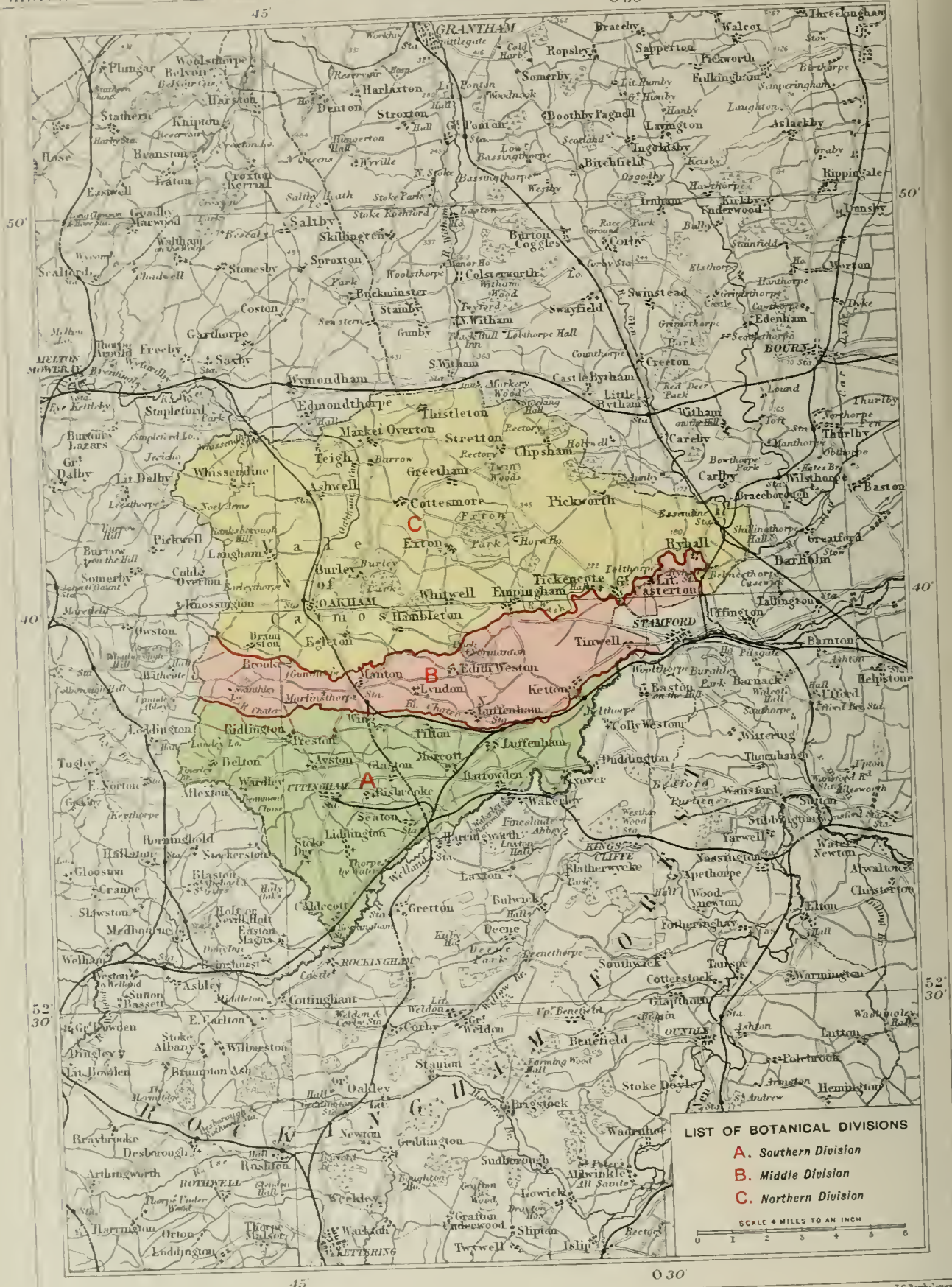
Finally, reference must be made to the type specimen of the pavement-toothed shark known as *Hybodus crassus*, said to have been obtained from the Inferior Oolite of Braunston, Oakham. In cataloguing the fossil fishes in the British Museum, where this specimen (a spine) is now preserved, Dr. A. Smith Woodward⁹ stated that this locality cannot be the true one, since it is given by Agassiz, in the original description, as Rodmore Pits, near Towcester, Northamptonshire.¹⁰

⁷ Specimens from the Inferior Oolite near Stamford are recorded in *Cat. Foss. Fish. Brit. Mus.* i, 315.

⁸ Browne, loc. cit.

⁹ *Cat. Foss. Fish. Brit. Mus.* i, 301.

¹⁰ This specimen is omitted in the account of the Palaeontology of Northants.



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RUTLAND is essentially a county of undulations. The land is only level for short distances. It rises into gentle acclivities which can hardly be dignified with the name of hills, and it falls into valleys and extensive basins.

A noticeable feature of Rutland is the large amount of grass land as compared with arable land, though this is less observable now when so much grass has been laid down throughout England. The commonest tree in the hedgerows is the ash. Here and there a landowner will have planted a fine row of English elms, or beeches, or of horse-chestnuts, but the natural growth is that of the ash.

Vast forests once covered a large portion of the south of Rutland and of the neighbouring county of Northampton ; to wit, Lyfield Forest and Rockingham Forest. Though these have disappeared, they have left behind them so many woods and spinneys that Rutland, for its size, is perhaps richer in them than any other county. It is not an uncommon view from the shoulder of some hill to look over a wide expanse of valley intersected by a brook at the bottom, irregularly clothed with tree masses on the opposite side and dotted with villages. It is a curious peculiarity of Rutland that, though it has a large number of villages and hamlets separated from one another by a few miles, isolated farms or cottages are seldom to be seen.

This article does not concern itself with questions of geological formation, but the area of the county is so small, and the nature of the soil so uniform, being, on the surface, principally a mixture of oolitic rocks, more or less disintegrated, and lias clays (forming rich loams and stubborn top clays), that they hardly concern us. The natural botany of the district depends much more on the river courses ; the present woods ; the great area of the ancient Lyfield Forest (taking in all the south-west part of the county),¹ with its indigenous flora not yet exterminated ; and, till the last fifty years, the vast tracts of uninclosed hillside waste land, long since turned into arable fields and upland pastures or grass land. There are but few bog plants, as most of such marshy land as once existed has long been drained.

The county is naturally divided into three parts by the Rivers Wash (or Gwash) and Chater, running fairly parallel to one another from west to east. On the south-west it is separated from Leicestershire by the

¹ Beaumont Chase, now treeless, once stood in the middle of this forest, hence the name.

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Eye Brook, and on the south-east the River Welland forms the boundary between Rutland and Northamptonshire. The three botanical divisions are as follows :—

District A, including the southern portion of the county, which is cut off by the River Chater.

District B, forming the mid portion, bounded on the north by the River Wash, and on the south by the River Chater.

District C, comprising the northern and larger half of the county, bounded on the south by the River Wash, on the west and north-west by Leicestershire, and on the east and north-east by Lincolnshire.

There are cases in which it is not well to disclose too exactly the habitats of certain plants, except where such information is not likely to be abused, or to result in the ruthless destruction of the rarer species. Only in 31 out of 112 of the 'Vice-Counties' into which Mr. Watson (see below) has divided England, Wales, and Scotland does the *Gagea lutea* flourish. It has been one of the small boasts of Rutland. There was a brilliant patch of the yellow flowers to be seen every May in Stoke (Dry) Wood. In 1864 the deep-rooted bulbs blossomed as freely as ever. Next year they were gone, evidently not perished, but the prey of an enthusiastic botanist. The plant still, however, flourishes in another part of the county.

Would that this were our only loss ! Time was when white violets could be plucked before houses merged into country along the Stockerston Road in Uppingham. The little stream which flowed by has gone, and with it the violets. Many woods had the oxlip, which now are bare of them. Places where henbane and the *Adoxa moschatellina* grew know them no more. The bog plants round Empingham are disappearing. Plants (of which more later on) mentioned in *The Beauties of England and Wales* (county Rutland), of the date 1813, are no more to be found.

In naming flowers the local names will be mentioned as well as the botanical names. There are many reasons why this is useful. The readers of this article will not all be experienced and learned botanists. Even botanists may have a preference for the common names of flowers except in a purely scientific treatise.

I have made a careful analysis of Mr. H. C. Watson's *Topographical Botany*, and arrived at results very interesting for the purpose of this article. Unfortunately Mr. Watson has linked Leicestershire and Rutland in one category. His lists only contain those flowers which are indigenous to the island, and, therefore, such plants as *Urtica pilulifera* or *pilatifera* (Roman Nettle), and *Aristolochia Clematitis* (Birthwort), both of which are to be found in Rutland, though, especially the second, under doubtful conditions of natural life, he does not include in his enumeration. I have marked down every plant that he gives as growing in Leicestershire (with Rutland), Northamptonshire, or South Lincolnshire. A plant which is so common to Great Britain that Mr. Watson

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says it grows in every county—meaning generally in a very large preponderance of counties—I have marked as ‘In all counties.’ If counties are named and the above three divisions are mentioned I have indexed such a flower accordingly.² The number of species mentioned, inclusive of grasses, ferns, and horse-tails, is 1,428, and from his lists I extract the following facts :—

In all counties number of species is	. . . . .	295 + 69 =	364
Northamptonshire, South Lincolnshire, and Rutland	. . . . .		198
Northamptonshire and Rutland	. . . . .		142
South Lincolnshire and Rutland	. . . . .		29
Northamptonshire and South Lincolnshire	. . . . .		11
Rutland	. . . . .		128
South Lincolnshire	. . . . .		43
Northamptonshire	. . . . .		37

Here it will be perceived that the heading ‘in all counties’ embraces 295 + 69 species. The reason for separating the 69 species from the rest is this :—‘In all counties,’ as I have mentioned above, includes cases where flowers appear in a very great preponderance of counties. In 69 of these cases one of our counties is excepted. The exceptions are :—

Not in Rutland, but in Northamptonshire and South Lincolnshire	. . . . .	2
Not in South Lincolnshire, but in Northamptonshire and Rutland	. . . . .	48
Not in Northamptonshire, but in South Lincolnshire and Rutland	. . . . .	19
		<u>69</u>

This leaves for Leicestershire with Rutland—

‘In all counties’	. . . . .	295 + 67 =	362
(leaving out the two in Northamptonshire and South Lincolnshire)			
South Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire, and Rutland	. . . . .		198
South Lincolnshire and Rutland	. . . . .		29
Northamptonshire and Rutland	. . . . .		142
Rutland	. . . . .		128
			<u>859</u>

Some very curious particular facts come out as follows :—

1. The flora of South Lincolnshire is separated from that of the other three counties not only in kind but in number of species. This is evident by comparing (above) South Lincolnshire and Rutland (29), and South Lincolnshire and Northamptonshire (11), with Northamptonshire and Rutland (142). If we proceed with the other counties, as we have done in the case of Leicestershire (with Rutland), we get—

Number of species in Northamptonshire	. . . . .	733
Number of species in South Lincolnshire	. . . . .	597 ³

2. Considering the genus *Rubus* alone we get some remarkable results.

² In most cases where Mr. Watson includes a county, though with an expression of doubt, I have also included it in my enumeration.

³ Lincolnshire is rich in its flora. The enumerations above are only concerned with South Lincolnshire.

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The number of species and varieties enumerated in the *Topographical Botany* is 51. Of these—

'In all counties'	2
South Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire, and Rutland	0
Northamptonshire and Rutland	3
Rutland	31

There would thus seem to be only two *Rubi* in South Lincolnshire and only five in Northamptonshire, while there are 36 in Leicestershire with Rutland !

3. Now take the ferns.

Number of ferns and lycopods enumerated	54
'In all counties'	11
(but 6 of these exclude South Lincolnshire)	
South Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire, and Rutland	2
Northamptonshire and Rutland	4
Northamptonshire	1
Rutland	7

so that South Lincolnshire has only 7 ferns, and Northamptonshire 18, while Leicestershire with Rutland has 24. The very rare club-moss, *Lycopodium complanatum*, only to be found according to Mr. Watson in four counties and two doubtful ones, is found in Rutland.

The above facts prove that the inclusion of Leicestershire and Rutland with Derbyshire, Lincolnshire, and Nottinghamshire in the *Cybele Britannica* as one floral sub-district was unfortunate. They also prove the great comparative wealth of Leicestershire and Rutland.

I here append a list of the flowers mentioned in *The Beauties of England and Wales*, 1813, edited by J. N. Brewer, as occurring in Rutland. Those still extant will be referred to again in their proper place.

Asperula Synanchica Lungdunensis. Found in the <i>Vale of Catmos</i> . This is our A. Cynanchica (Smaller Woodruff, or Squinancy-wort, Quinsy)	Mentha arvensis (Spicy Water Mint), at <i>Preston</i> . This we call Corn Mint
Urtica pileatifer, i.e., pilulifera (Roman Nettle), on 'the Brand' near <i>Uppingham</i>	Linum perenne (Perennial Flax), near <i>Casterton</i>
Cynosorchis (Male Satyrion), on 'the Brand.' This will be either the Orchis Masculula (Early Purple Orchis) or the Herminium Monorchis (Green Musk Orchis)	Parnassia palustris (Grass of Parnassus), at <i>Edith Weston</i>
Linaria odorata, at <i>Preston</i> . Probably the L. repens (Creeping Toad Flax), since it has a sweet smell, and our author uses the adjective 'odorata'	Dipsacus pilosus (Small White Teasle or Shepherd's Rod), at <i>Edith Weston</i>
	Campanula palustris (Ivy-leaved Bell-flower), on the <i>Gwash</i> . It is our C. hederacea
	Osmund royal, or Filix floribus insignis, on the <i>Gwash</i>
	The very scarce Gentiana autumnalis fugax (Later Autumn Gentian), at <i>Normanton Park</i> . I cannot determine this

White's *Northamptonshire and Rutland* has furnished no suitable information. The author names very few flowers, and takes floral facts from *The Beauties of England and Wales* word for word without acknowledgement.

Owing to the cellular cryptogams having been so little worked in the county, it has not been possible to include them in this article.

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My principal authority, besides the invaluable help derived as above from Mr. H. C. Watson's *Topographical Botany*, 1883, has been a list of South Rutland plants (with particulars as to habitat, time of flowering, and other information) to be found in the *Uppingham School Magazine* of 1873-4; the work of a very careful botanist, Mrs. J. C. Thring. I am also greatly indebted to the admirable work of Miss H. Trollope of Empingham, of the Misses Wingfields of Market Overton, of Miss J. M. Tryon, and Lady Frances Cecil, whose local information was most valuable, of Miss Essex Finch, Miss Cooper, and other members of the Botanical Section of the Rutland Archaeological and Natural History Society. Also, as more particularly connected with Uppingham and its neighbourhood, I have to thank Mr. T. Bell, Miss S. Thring, and Mrs. F. E. Hodgkinson. Without the aid of Mrs. J. C. Thring and Miss H. Trollope this article could hardly have been compiled.

It only remains to explain the principles which have guided me in filling up the following list of Rutland flora. Where other collectors or I myself have known a flower to be flourishing in Rutland there has been no difficulty. But Rutland is so small that one can hardly take a walk without stepping over the borders into some neighbouring shire, and if the flower has been found just over the border (e.g. in Wakerley, Duddington, Owston, Mirabel Woods, Holywell, &c.), it is recorded here.

Species occurring in Mr. Watson's book as thriving in all counties or in Leicestershire (with Rutland), Northamptonshire, and South Lincolnshire, as described above, but which are not recorded by a collector for Rutland, are placed within square brackets. They are probably to be found in the county, and are worth searching for. In the case of a common English flower, it is marked 'gen. dist.' (generally distributed); otherwise the letters A, B, C (see p. 20), denoting the botanical districts, are given. If it is to be found throughout Rutland but requires some searching, all three districts are named; * indicates doubtful wild species; and † denotes that the plant has not been found of recent years.

PHANEROGAMIA

RANUNCULACEAE

- Clematis vitalba* (Traveller's Joy). A, C
Thalictrum flavum (Yellow Meadow Rue).
 A, B, C
 — minus (Lesser *Thalictrum*). C
*Anemone Pulsatilla*¹ (Pasque-flower). A†,
 B, C
 — *nemorosa* (Wood Anemone). Gen. dist.

¹ *Anemone* has the *o* long. It is too late to try to remedy the false accent. But *clématis*, *árbutus*, *óxalis*, *oenothéra*, and some others might still be saved. The *A. pulsatilla* is specially marked 'Rutland' by Mr. Watson.

RANUNCULACEAE (*continued*)

- Ranunculus aquatilis* (Water Crowfoot). Gen. dist.
 [— *circinatus*]
 — *hederaceus* (Ivy-leaved Crowfoot). A
 — *sceleratus* (Celery-leaved Crowfoot). A, C
 — *Flammula* (Lesser Spearwort). A, B, C
 — *Lingua* (Great Spearwort). C
 — *auricomus* (Wood Crowfoot, Goldilocks). Gen. dist.
 — *acris* (Meadow Crowfoot). Gen. dist.
 — *repens* (Creeping Buttercup). Gen. dist.
 — *bulbosus* (Bulbous Crowfoot). Gen. dist.
 — *parviflorus* (Small-flowered Crowfoot). A

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RANUNCULACEAE (*continued*)

- Ranunculus arvensis (Corn Crowfoot). Gen. dist.
 — Ficaria (Lesser Celandine). Gen. dist.
 Caltha palustris (Marsh Marigold). Gen. dist.
 Helleborus viridis² (Green Hellebore). A
 Aquilegia vulgaris (Columbine, Blue and White). C. *Wakerley* (Northants)
 *Aconitum Napellus (Monkshood). *Har-ringworth* (Northants)
 Berberis vulgaris (Barberry). A, B, C

NYMPHAEACEAE

- Nymphaea alba (White Water-lily). A, B, C
 Nuphar luteum (Yellow Water-lily). A, B, C

PAPAVERACEAE

- Papaver Rhoeas (Scarlet Poppy). Gen. dist.
 — dubium (Long Smooth-headed Poppy). A, B
 — Argemone (Long Rough-headed Poppy). C
 Chelidonium majus (Greater Celandine). A, B, C

FUMARIACEAE

- Fumaria officinalis (Fumitory). Gen. dist.
 Corydalis lutea (Yellow Corydalis). B, naturalized

CRUCIFERAE

- [Raphanus Raphanistrum (Wild Radish)]
 *Hesperis matronalis (Dame's Violet). B
 Sinapis arvensis (Charlock). Gen. dist.
 [— nigra (Common Mustard)]
 *Brassica campestris (Wild Navew). A, C
 Sisymbrium officinale (Common Hedge Mustard). Gen. dist.
 — Sophia (Flix Weed). A
 — or Erysimum alliaria (Hedge Garlic, Treacle Mustard, Sauce-alone). Gen. dist.
 [Erysimum cheiranthoides (Worm-seed Treacle Mustard)]
 *Cheiranthus Cheiri (Wallflower). *Kirby* (Leics.)
 Cardamine pratensis (Cuckoo-flower). Gen. dist.
 — amara (Large Bitter Cress). B, C
 — impatiens (Narrow-leaved Bitter Cress). C (?)
 — hirsuta (Hairy Bitter Cress). A, C
 Arabis hirsuta (Hairy Rock-cress). B
 Barbarea vulgaris (Bitter Winter-cress, Yellow Rocket). A, B, C

² Found by myself and another observer in two localities. Watson only records it for Northamptonshire with a query.

CRUCIFERAE (*continued*)

- [Nasturtium sylvestre (Creeping Yellow Cress)]
 — officinale (Water-cress). Gen. dist.
 [— palustre (Marsh Yellow Cress)]
 — amphibium (Amphibious Yellow Cress). A, C
 Draba verna or Erophila vulgaris (Vernal Whitlow-Grass). Gen. dist.
 *†Cochlearia Armoracia (Horse-radish). A
 Thlaspi arvense (Field Penny-cress, Mithridate Mustard). B, C
 Capsella Bursa-pastoris (Shepherd's Purse). Gen. dist.
 [Lepidium campestre (Field Pepper-wort)]
 Coronopus Ruellii (Common Wart Cress, Swine's Cress). B

RESEDACEAE

- Reseda lutea (Wild Mignonette). On limestone generally
 — Luteola (Dyer's Rocket). A, B

CISTINEAE

- Helianthemum vulgare (Rock-rose). Limestone generally

VIOLACEAE

- [Viola palustris (Marsh Violet)]
 — odorata (Sweet Violet). Gen. dist.
 [— sylvatica (Wood Violet)]
 — tricolor (Heartsease or Pansy). Gen. dist.
 [— arvensis (Field Violet)]
 — hirta (Hairy Violet). On limestone
 — canina (Dog Violet). Gen. dist.

DROSERACEAE

- [Drosera rotundifolia³ (Round-leaved Sundew)]

POLYGALEAE

- Polygala vulgaris (Milkwort) (All three colours). A, B, C

CARYOPHYLLEAE

- Saponaria officinalis (Soap-wort). C
 Silene inflata (Bladder Campion). A, B, C
 — noctiflora (Night-flowering Catchfly). B
 — anglica (English Catchfly). A
 *— Armeria (Lobel's Catchfly). C
 Lychnis vespertina (White Campion). Gen. dist.

³ I know no collector who has found this in Rutland. But it occurs in the three adjacent counties, and D. intermedia is found in Leicestershire with Rutland.

BOTANY

CARYOPHYLLEAE (*continued*)

- Lychnis diurna* (Red Campion). Gen. dist.
 — *Flos-cuculi* (Ragged Robin). Gen. dist.
 — or *Agrostemma Githago* (Corn Cockle).
 A, C
Cerastium semidecandrum (Little Mouse-ear
 Chickweed). A, C
 — *glomeratum*. A
 — *triviale*. A
 — *arvense* (Field Cerastium). A, B, C
Stellaria aquatica (Water Stitchwort). C
 — *media* (Chickweed). Gen. dist.
 — *Holostea* (Greater Stitchwort). Gen. dist.
 — *palustris* or *glaucia* (Glaucous or Marsh
 Stitchwort). A, C
 — *graminea* (Lesser Stitchwort). Gen. dist.
 — *uliginosa* (Bog Stitchwort). C
Arenaria trinervia (Three-nerved Sandwort).
 A, B, C
 — *serpyllifolia* (Thyme-leaved Sandwort).
 A, C
 [*Sagina apetala* (Small-flowered Pearlwort)]
 — *procumbens* (Procumbent Pearlwort).
 Gen. dist.
Spergula arvensis (Corn Spurrey). Gen. dist.
 [*Spergularia rubra*]

ILLECEBRACEAE

- Scleranthus annuus* (Annual Knawel). A

PORTULACAEAE

- [*Montia fontana* ⁴ (Water Blinks)]

HYPERICINEAE

- Hypericum perforatum* (Perforate St. John's
 Wort). Gen. dist.
 [— *quadrangulum*]
 — *tetrapterum* (Square-stalked St. John's
 Wort). C
 — *humifusum* (Trailing St. John's Wort).
 A, B
 — *pulchrum* (Upright St. John's Wort).
 Locality not named
 — *hirsutum* (Hairy St. John's Wort). A, C
 — *dubium* (Imperforate St. John's Wort). C

MALVACEAE

- Malva moschata* (Musk Mallow). A, B, C
 — *sylvestris* (Common Mallow). Gen. dist.
 — *rotundifolia* (Dwarf Mallow). A, B, C

⁴ I have not heard of this being found. But Mr. Watson has it in 'all' counties, including the three adjacent to Rutland.

TILLIACEAE

- [*Tilia parvifolia* (Small-leaved Lime)]
 — *vulgaris* (Common Lime, Linden). Gen.
 dist.

LINEAE

- Linum perenne* (Perennial Blue Flax). C
 — *catharticum* (Cathartic Flax). Gen. dist.
 — *usitatissimum* (Common Flax). B

GERANIACEAE

- Geranium pratense* (Blue Meadow Crane's-
 bill). Common everywhere
 — *molle* (Dove's-foot Crane's-bill). Com-
 mon everywhere
 — *Robertianum* (Herb Robert, Stinking
 Crane's-bill). Common everywhere
 [— *perenne* or *pyrenaicum* (Mountain Crane's-
 bill). A]
 — *phaeum* (Dusky Crane's-bill). B, C
 — *pusillum* (Small-flowered Crane's-bill).
 A, B, C
 — *rotundifolium* (Round-leaved Crane's-bill).
 A
 — *dissectum* (Jagged-leaved Crane's-bill).
 A, C
 — *columbinum* (Long-stalked Crane's-bill).
 A, B
 — *lucidum* (Shining Crane's-bill). A, B, C
Erodium cicutarium (Hemlock or Stork's-
 bill). C
Oxalis Acetosella (Wood-sorrel). A, B, C
 — *corniculata* (Yellow Procumbent Wood-
 sorrel). C

ILICINEAE

- Ilex Aquifolium* (Holly)

CELASTRINEAE

- Euonymus europaeus* (Spindle-tree). A, C

RHAMNEAE

- Rhamnus Frangula* (Alder Buckthorn). A
 — *catharticus* (Common Buckthorn). A, B, C

SAPINDACEAE

- Acer Pseudo-platanus* (Sycamore)
 — *campestre* (Maple)

LEGUMINOSAE

- Ulex europaeus* (Gorse, Furze). Gen. dist.
 — *nanus* (Dwarf Furze). C (?)
 [*Genista anglica* (Needle Green-weed)]
 — *tinctoria* (Dyer's-weed, Woad-waxen).
 B, C

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LEGUMINOSAE (*continued*)

- Cytisus or Sarothamnus scoparius (Broom)
 [Ononis spinosa]
 — arvensis or repens (Rest-harrow). A, B, C
 Anthyllis vulneraria (Kidney Vetch, Lady's
 Fingers). C
 Medicago lupulina (Black Medick, Nonsuch).
 A, B, C
 Melilotus officinalis (Yellow Melilot). Gen.
 dist.
 — arvensis (Field Melilot). A, C
 *— vulgaris or alba (White Melilot). A
 Trifolium pratense (Purple Clover) } Common
 — repens (White or Dutch } every-
 Clover) } where
 [— medium (Zigzag } Given in *Top. Bot.*
 Clover)] } as found in the
 [— arvense (Hare's- } three adjacent
 foot Trefoil)] } counties, but are
 [— striatum (Soft } in no lists sub-
 Knotted Trefoil)] } mitted to me
 — procumbens (Hop Trefoil). A, B, C
 — fragiferum (Strawberry-headed Trefoil).
 A, B
 — minus (Lesser Yellow Trefoil). C
 *— incarnatum (Crimson Clover). Two
 observers
 — ochroleucum (Sulphur Trefoil). C
 Lotus corniculatus (Bird's-foot Trefoil). Gen.
 dist.
 [— tenuis (Slender Bird's-foot Trefoil)]
 — major (Greater Bird's-foot Trefoil). B
 Astragalus hypoglottis (Purple Mountain Milk-
 vetch). A, C
 — glycyphyllos (Sweet Mountain Milk-vetch).
 A, C. *Wakerley* (Northants)
 Ornithopus perpusillus (Common Bird's-foot).
 A
 Hippocrepis comosa (Tufted Horse-shoe
 Vetch). On limestone
 *Onobrychis sativa (Sainfoin). B
 Vicia hirsuta (Hairy Tare) }
 — cracca (Tufted Vetch) } To be found
 — sepium (Rush Vetch) } everywhere
 — sativa (Common Vetch) }
 — tetrasperma (Slender Tare). B
 [— sylvatica (Wood Vetch).]
 — angustifolia (Narrow-leaved Vetch). A
 Lathyrus pratensis (Meadow Vetchling). Gen.
 dist.
 *— sylvestris (Narrow-leaved Everlasting
 Pea). C
 [Orobis tuberosus (Tuberous Bitter Vetch)]

ROSACEAE

- Prunus communis or spinosa (Blackthorn,
 Sloe). Gen. dist.
 — avium. A
 — cerasus (Wild Cherry). Gen. dist.

ROSACEAE (*continued*)

- Spiraea Ulmaria (Meadow Sweet). Gen. dist.
 — filipendula (Common Dropwort). B, C
 — salicifolia (Willow-leaved Spiraea). C.
 ? outcast
 Agrimonia Eupatoria (Common Agrimony).
 A, B, C
 Sanguisorba officinalis (Great Burnet). A,
 B, C
 Poterium Sanguisorba (Salad Burnet). On
 limestone
 Alchemilla arvensis (Field Lady's-Mantle).
 A, B, C
 — vulgaris (Common Lady's-Mantle). A,
 B, C
 Potentilla anserina (Silver-Weed) }
 — reptans (Creeping Cinquefoil) } All very
 — Fragariastrum (Strawberry- } common
 leaved Cinquefoil) }
 — Tormentilla (Tormentil)
 Fragaria vesca (Wood Strawberry). Gen.
 dist.
 Rubus Idaeus (Raspberry). A, C
 — fruticosus (Blackberry, Bramble). Gen.
 dist.
 — caesius (Dewberry). Gen. dist.
 Geum urbanum (Common Avens). Gen.
 dist.
 — rivale (Water Avens). A, B, C
 — intermedium. *Holywell* (Lincs.)
 [Rosa Tomentosa (Downy-leaved Rose)]
 — canina (Dog-rose). Gen. dist.
 — arvensis (Trailing Dog-rose). A, B, C
 — rubiginosa (Sweetbriar, Eglantine). B, C
 Crataegus Oxyacantha (Hawthorn, White-
 thorn, May). Gen. dist.
 *Pyrus communis (Wild Pear). C
 — Malus (Crab Apple). Gen. dist.
 — aucuparia (Mountain Ash)
 — aria (White Beam-tree). B
 — torminalis (Wild Service-tree). C

LYTHRARIÆ

- Lythrum Salicaria (Purple Loosestrife). A,
 B, C
 [Peplis Portula (Water Purslane)]

ONAGRARIÆ

- Epilobium angustifolium (Rose-bay Willow-
 herb). A, C
 — hirsutum (Great Hairy Willow-herb).
 Gen. dist.
 — parviflorum (Small-flowered Hairy Willow-
 herb). A, B
 — montanum (Broad Smooth-leaved Willow-
 herb). A, C
 — tetragonum (Square-stalked Willow-herb).
 A

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ONAGRARIEAE (*continued*)

- [*Epilobium obscurum*]
 [— *palustre* (Narrow-leaved Willow-herb)]
Circaea lutetiana (Enchanter's Nightshade).
 A, B, C

HALORAGAEAE

- Myriophyllum verticillatum* (Whorled Water Milfoil). C (?)
 — *spicatum* (Spiked Water Milfoil). C
Hippuris vulgaris (Mare's-tail). A, B, C
Callitriche verna (Water Star-wort). Gen. dist.
 [— *platycarpa*]
 [— *hamulata*]

CUCURBITACEAE

- Bryonia dioica* (Red-berried Bryony). Gen. dist.

CRASSULACEAE

- Sedum acre* (Biting Yellow Stonecrop). Gen. dist.
 — *rupestre* (St. Vincent's Rock Stonecrop). A
 — *album* (White Stonecrop). C
 **Sempervivum tectorum* (House Leek)

CERATOPHYLLEAE

- Ceratophyllum demersum* (Common Hornwort). C

SAXIFRAGEAE

- Saxifraga tridactylites* (Rue-leaved Saxifrage). A, B, C
 — *granulata* (Meadow Saxifrage). Gen. dist.
Chrysosplenium oppositifolium (Opposite-leaved Golden Saxifrage). A, B
 — *alternifolium* (Alternate-leaved Golden Saxifrage). A. Found in two places, but now doubtful
Parnassia palustris (Grass of Parnassus). B, C.
S. Luffenham †
 **Ribes rubrum* (Red Currant). In a ditch near *Wardley*
 *— *grossularia* (Gooseberry). A, C

UMBELLIFERAE

- Hydrocotyle vulgaris* (Marsh Pennywort, White-Rot). A
Sanicula europaea (Wood Sanicle). A, B, C
Helosciadium or *Apium nodiflorum* (Procumbent Marsh-wort). A, B, C
 — — *inundatum* (Least Marsh-wort). A
Carum carui (Common Caraway). C. Not truly wild
Sison Amomum (Bastard Stone-Parsley). A

UMBELLIFERAE (*continued*)

- Aegopodium Podagraria* (Gout-Weed). Gen. dist.
Conopodium denudatum or *Bunium flexuosum* (Common Earth-nut). Gen. dist.
Pimpinella Saxifraga (Common Burnet Saxifrage). C
 — *magna* (Greater Burnet Saxifrage). C. Doubtful variety
Bupleurum rotundifolium (Common Hare's-ear). C
 [*Sium angustifolium* (Narrow-leaved Water Parsnip)]
 — *latifolium* (Broad-leaved Water Parsnip). A, C
Oenanthe fistulosa (Common Water Dropwort). C
 [— *Phellandrium* (Fine-leaved Water Dropwort)]
 — *crocata* (Hemlock-leaved Water Dropwort). B, C
Aethusa Cynapium (Common Fool's Parsley). Gen. dist.
Silaus pratensis (Meadow Pepper Saxifrage). A, B
Angelica sylvestris (Wild Angelica). A, C
Pastinaca sativum (Wild Parsnip). A, C
Heracleum Sphondylium (Cow Parsley). A, C
 **Coriandrum sativum* (Coriander)
Daucus Carota (Wild Carrot). Gen. dist.
Caucalis daucoides (Small Bur Parsley). C
 — *arvensis* or *Torilis infesta* (Spreading Hedge Parsley)
 — or *Torilis anthriscus* (Upright Hedge Parsley). A, B, C
 — *nodosa* (Knotted Hedge Parsley). A, C
Anthriscus vulgaris or *Chaerophyllum Anthriscus* (Common Beaked Parsley). B
 — *sylvestris* or *Ch. sylvestre* (Wild Beaked Parsley). Gen. dist.
Chaerophyllum temulum (Rough Chervil). A
Scandix Pecten-Veneris (Shepherd's-Needle). Gen. dist.
Conium maculatum (Hemlock). Gen. dist.

ARALIACEAE

- Hedera Helix* (Ivy)

CORNACEAE

- Cornus sanguinea* (Cornel, Dogwood). Gen. dist.

LORANTHACEAE

- Viscum album* (Mistletoe). A

CAPRIFOLIACEAE

- Adoxa Moschatellina* (Tuberous Moschatel). A†, B, C

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CAPRIFOLIACEAE (*continued*)

- Sambucus nigra* (Common Elder). Gen. dist.
 — *Ebulus* (Dwarf Elder). *Rockingham*
 (Northants.)
Viburnum Opulus (Common Guelder Rose,
 Wayfaring tree). Gen. dist.
 — *Lantana* (Mealy Guelder Rose). Gen.
 dist.
Lonicera Periclymenum (Honeysuckle). Gen.
 dist.

RUBIACEAE

- | | |
|---|-------------------------|
| <p><i>Galium cruciatum</i> (Cross-leaved
 Bedstraw)
 — <i>verum</i> (Yellow Lady's Bed-
 straw)
 — <i>Mollugo</i> (Great Hedge Bed-
 straw)
 — <i>saxatile</i> (Smooth Heath Bed-
 straw)
 — <i>palustre</i> (White Water Bed-
 straw)
 — <i>Aprine</i> (Goose - Grass,
 Cleavers)
 — <i>tricornis</i> (Corn Bedstraw). A, B, C
 <i>Asperula odorata</i> (Sweet Woodruff). A, C
 — <i>cynanchica</i> (Squincancy-wort). C
 <i>Sherardia arvensis</i> (Field Madder). Gen.
 dist.
 <i>Rubia peregrina</i> (Wild Madder). Once found.
 C†</p> | <p>} All
common</p> |
|---|-------------------------|

VALERIANEAE

- Valeriana dioica* (Small Marsh Valerian,
 Betsy). B, C
 — *officinalis* (Great Wild Valerian). A, B, C
Valerianella olitoria (Common Corn Salad,
 Lamb's Lettuce). A, B, C
 — *dentata* (Smooth Narrow-fruited Corn
 Salad). B, C
 — *Auricula* (Sharp-fruited Corn Salad). C(†)

DIPSACEAE

- Dipsacus sylvestris* (Wild Teasel). Gen. dist.
 — *pilosus* (Small Teasel). B, C
Scabiosa succisa (Devil's Bit, Premorse
 Scabious). Gen. dist.
 — *columbaria* (Small Scabious). C
 — or *Knautia arvensis* (Field Knautia). Gen.
 dist.

COMPOSITAE

- Onopordon Acanthium* (Common Cotton
 Thistle). A. Also found in orchard
 at *Empingham*. Mentioned by Watson
 as found in Leicestershire with Rut-
 land

COMPOSITAE (*continued*)

- Carduus nutans* (Musk Thistle). A, B, C
 — *crispus* (Wetted Thistle). A, C
 — or *Cnicus lanceolatus* (Spear Plume
 Thistle). Gen. dist.
 — *eriphorus* (Woolly-headed Plume Thistle).
 B, C
 — *acaulis* (Dwarf Plume Thistle). Gen.
 dist.
 — *arvensis* (Creeping Plume Thistle). Gen.
 dist.
 — *palustris* (Marsh Plume Thistle). Gen.
 dist.
Carlina vulgaris (Carlina Thistle). B, C
Arctium Lappa (Common Burdock). Gen.
 dist.
 [— *minus*]
Serratula tinctoria (Saw-wort). B, C
Centaurea nigra (Discoïd Knapweed). Gen.
 dist.
 — *scabiosa* (Greater Knapweed). Gen. dist.
 — *Cyanus* (Corn Blue-bottle). A, B, C
 — *Solstitialis*. C
Chrysanthemum segetum (Corn Marigold).
 A, B, C
 — *Leucanthemum* (Great White Ox-eye).
 Gen. dist.
 — or *Matricaria Parthenium* (Common Fever-
 few). A, C
Matricaria inodora (Scentless May-weed).
 Gen. dist.
 — *Chamomilla* (Wild Chamomile). A
Tanacetum vulgare (Tansy). C
Anthemis Cotula (Stinking Chamomile).
 Gen. dist.
 — *arvensis* (Corn Chamomile). *Stamford*
 (Northants)
 — *nobilis* (Common Chamomile). A
Achillea Millefolium (Yarrow, Milfoil). Gen.
 dist.
 — *Parnica* (Sneeze-wort). A
Artemisia vulgaris (Mugwort, Wormwood,
 Southernwood). A, C
Filago germanica (Common Filago). A, C
 [— *minima* (Least Filago)]
Gnaphalium dioicum (Common Cudweed). A
 — *uliginosum* (Marsh Cudweed). A
 — *sylvaticum* (Highland Cudweed). A
Senecio erucifolius (Narrow-leaved Ragwort).
 C
 — *Jacobaea* (Common Ragwort). A, B, C
 [— *aquaticus* (Water Ragwort)]
 — *vulgaris* (Common Groundsel). Gen.
 dist.
 — *viscosus* (Stinking Groundsel). C
Bidens cernua. C
 — *tripartita* (Trifid Bur-Marigold). A
Inula Conyza (Ploughman's Spikenard). A,
 B, C

BOTANY

COMPOSITAE (*continued*)

- Inula* or *Pulicaria dysenterica* (Common Fleabane). C
Bellis perennis (Daisy). Gen. dist.
Erigeron acris (Blue Fleabane). C
Solidago Virgaurea (Golden-Rod). C
Tussilago Farfara (Coltsfoot). Gen. dist.
Petasites vulgaris (Butter-Bur). A, C
[Eupatorium cannabinum (Hemp Agrimony)]
Cichorium Intybus (Succory). C
Lapsana communis (Nipplewort). Gen. dist.
Hypochoeris radicata (Long-rooted Cat's-ear).
 Gen. dist.
Leontodon hirtus (Lesser Hawkbit). A
 — *hispidus* (Rough Hawkbit). A, B, C
 — *autumnalis* (Autumnal Hawkbit). A
Picris hieracioides (Hawkweed *Picris*). A
 — *echioides* (Bristly Ox-tongue). C
Tragopogon pratensis (Yellow Goat's-beard).
 Gen. dist.
 — *porrifolius* (Purple Goat's-beard). C
Taraxacum officinale (Dandelion). Gen.
 dist.
Lactuca muralis (Ivy-leaved Lettuce). A, C
Sonchus oleraceus (Common Sowthistle). Gen.
 dist.
 — *asper* (Sharp-fringed Sowthistle). A
 — *arvensis* (Corn Sowthistle). Gen. dist.
Crepis virens (Smooth Hawk's-beard). Gen.
 dist.
 — *biennis* (Rough Hawk's-beard). C (?)
[Hieracium sylvaticum (Wood Hawkweed)]
 — *Pilosella* (Mouse-ear Hawkweed). Gen.
 dist.
[— murorum (Wall Hawkweed)]
 — *umbellatum* (Narrow-leaved Hawkweed).
 A, B, C
[— boreale (Broad-leaved Hawkweed)]

CAMPANULACEAE

- Campanula glomerata* (Clustered Bell-flower).
 A, B, C
 — *Trachelium* (Nettle-leaved Bell-flower).
 A, C
 — *rotundifolia* (Harebell). Gen. dist.
 — *latifolia* (Great Bellflower). C (?)
Wahlenbergia hederacea (Ivy-leaved Bell-
 flower). A, B
Specularia hybrida (Corn Bell-flower). B, C
[Jasione montana (Sheep's-bit)]

ERICACEAE

- †*Vaccinium Myrtillus* (Bilberry, Whortle-
 berry). *Barrowden Heath*
[Erica tetralix (Cross-leaved, Bell-flowered
 Heath)]
 †*Calluna vulgaris* (Ling). *Barrowden Heath*

OLEACEAE

- Fraxinus excelsior* (Ash). Gen. dist.
Ligustrum vulgare (Privet). Gen. dist.

APOCYNACEAE

- Vinca minor* (Lesser Periwinkle). C. Found
 by two other observers, locality not
 stated. (?) Escape

GENTIANAEAE

- Erythraea Centaurium* (Century). A, B, C
Chlora perfoliata (Yellow-wort). B, C
Gentiana Amarella (Small-flowered Gentian).
 B, C
 — *campestris* (Field Gentian). B, C
 — *autumnalis fugax*.⁶ *Normanton Park*
Menyanthes trifoliata (Buck- or Bog-bean).
 B, C

CONVOLVULACEAE

- Convolvulus arvensis* (Small Bindweed, Con-
 volvulus). Gen. dist.
 — *sepium* (Great Bindweed). Gen. dist.
Cuscuta Epithymum (Flax Dodder). B, C

SOLANACEAE

- Solanum Dulcamara* (Woody Nightshade,
 Bittersweet). Gen. dist.
 — *nigrum* (Common Nightshade). A. Often
 found as a garden weed
Atropa Belladonna (Deadly Nightshade,
 Dwale). B, C, and over the southern
 border
Hyoscyamus niger (Henbane). A, B, C.
 Very apt to change its habitat from
 year to year
Datura Stramonium (Thorn-apple). Appeared
 suddenly at *Tickencote* at intervals in
 former years. Not indigenous

SCROPHULARINEAE

- Verbascum Thapsus* (Great Mullein). B,
 and over the southern border
 — *nigrum* (Dark Mullein). B, C
Scrophularia nodosa (Knotted Figwort). Gen.
 dist.
 — *aquatica* (Water Figwort). Gen. dist.
 [var. *Balbisi*]
Digitalis purpurea (Foxglove). A. Two
 observers
Antirrhinum Orontium (Lesser Snapdragon).
 C. One observer

⁶ See above, p. 22.

A HISTORY OF RUTLAND

SCROPHULARINEAE (*continued*)

- Linaria* *Cymbalaria* (Ivy-leaved Toad-flax, Mother-of-thousands). A, B, C
 — *Elatine* (Fluellen). B, C
 — *spuria* (Round-leaved Toad-flax). B, C
 — *vulgaris* (Yellow Toad-flax). A, B, C
 — *minor* (Least Toad-flax). B, C
 — *repens* 'ordorata'⁶ (Pale Blue Toad-flax).

Preston

- Veronica* *hederifolia* (Ivy-leaved Speedwell)
 — *agrestis* (Field Speedwell)
 [sub. sp. *polita*]
 — *serpyllifolia* (Thyme-leaved Speedwell) } All common
 — *Chamaedrys* (Germander Speedwell)
 — *Anagallis* (Water Speedwell)
 — *Beccabunga* (Brooklime)
 — *Buxbaumii* (Buxbaum's Speedwell). A, C
 — *officinalis* (Common Speedwell). A
 — *scutellata* (Marsh Speedwell). B, C
 — *montana* (Mountain Speedwell). C
 — *arvensis* (Wall Speedwell). Gen. dist.
Euphrasia *officinalis* (Eyebright). Gen. dist.
Bartsia *Odontites* (Red Bartsia). A, B, C
Pedicularis *palustris* (Marsh Lousewort, Red Rattle). A, B, C
 — *sylvatica* (Pasture Lousewort). A, C
Rhinanthus *Crista-galli* (Yellow Rattle). Gen. dist.
 sub. sp. *major* or *angustifolia* (Large Bushy Yellow Rattle). C
Melampyrum *cristatum* (Crested Cow-wheat). C. Found over the border in *Owston Woods* (Leics.)
 — *pratense* (Yellow Cow-wheat). C. Found over the southern border
Lathraea *squamaria* (Toothwort). A, C

OROBANCHEAE

- Orobanche* *elator* (Tall Broom-rape). B, C
 — *minor* (Lesser Broom-rape). C

VERBENACEAE

- Verbena* *officinalis* (Vervain). B, C

LABIATAE

- Lycopus* *europaeus* (Gipsy-wort). B, C
Mentha *aquatica* (Water Mint). A, C
 [— *sativa* (Marsh Mint)]
 — *arvensis* (Corn Mint). *Preston*
 — *sylvestris* (Horse Mint). C. Found over the southern border
 — *piperita* (Peppermint). C (?)

⁶ See above, p. 22.

LABIATAE (*continued*)

- Thymus* *serpyllum* (Wild Thyme). Gen. dist.
Origanum *vulgare* (Marjoram). B, C
Calamintha *Clinopodium* (Hedge Calamint). Gen. dist.
 — *Acinos* (Basil-Thyme). C
 — *officinalis* (Common Calamint). B, C
Nepeta *Glechoma* (Ground Ivy). Gen. dist.
 — *Cataria* (Catmint). C
Salvia *verbenaca* (Wild Clary). A, C
Prunella *vulgaris* (Self-Heal). Gen. dist.
Scutellaria *galericulata* (Greater Scull-cap). A, B, C
 [*Marrubium* *vulgare* (White Horehound)]
Ballota *nigra* (Black Horehound). Gen. dist.
Stachys *Betonica* (Wood Betony). A, B, C
 — *palustris* (Marsh Woundwort). A, C
 — *sylvatica* (Hedge Woundwort). Gen. dist.
 — *arvensis* (Corn Woundwort). C
Galeopsis *Ladanum* (Red Hemp-nettle). Gen. dist.
 — *Tetrahitis* (Common Hemp-nettle). Gen. dist.
 [Sub-sp. *Speciosa* or *versicolor* (Large-flowered Hemp-nettle)]
Lamium *album* (White Dead-nettle).
 — *purpureum* (Red Dead-nettle). } All very common
 — *Galeobdolon* (Weazel-snout, Yellow Archangel).
 — *plexicaule* (Hen-bit Dead-nettle). A
 — *incisum* (Cut-leaved Dead-nettle). A (?)
 — *maculatum* (Spotted Lamium). C
Ajuga *reptans* (Bugle). Gen. dist.
 [*Teucrium* *Scorodonia* (Wood Sage)]

BORAGINEAE

- Echium* *vulgare* (Viper's Bugloss). A, B, C
Lithospermum *officinale* (Common Gromwell). A, B, C
 — *arvense* (Corn Gromwell). B, C
Myosotis *caespitosa* (Tufted Water Scorpion-grass). A
 — *palustris* (Forget-me-not). Gen. dist.
 — *arvensis* (Field Scorpion-grass). Gen. dist.
 — *collina* (Early Field Scorpion-grass). A.
 Error ?
 — *versicolor* (Variegated Scorpion-grass). A
 — *sylvatica* (Wood Scorpion-grass). A
Anchusa *sempervirens*⁷ (Evergreen Alkanet), A, B, C

⁷ It is doubtful whether this is truly wild, but I have found it in profusion along the Ridlington Road (A), some distance from any house.

BOTANY

BORAGINEAE (*continued*)

- Anchusa arvensis* (Common Alkanet). A.
Two observers
Lycopsis or *Anchusa arvensis* (Small Bugloss). C
Symphytum officinale (Comfrey). A, B, C
Cynoglossum officinale (Hound's-tongue). A, B, C

LENTIBULARIEAE

- Pinguicula vulgaris*⁸ (Butterwort). B. Two observers
[*Utricularia vulgaris* (Greater Bladder-wort)]

PRIMULACEAE

- [*Hottonia palustris* (Water Violet)]
Primula vulgaris (Primrose). Gen. dist.
— *veris* (Cowslip, Paigles). Gen. dist.
— *elatior* (Oxlip). Gen. dist. Slowly disappearing from many woods from being rooted up by collectors
Lysimachia vulgaris (Yellow Loosestrife). A, B, C
— *Nummularia* (Creeping Jenny, Moneywort, Herb Twopence). A, B, C
— *nemorum* (Wood Loosestrife). A, B, C
Anagallis arvensis (Scarlet Pimpernel). Gen. dist.
var. *caerulea* (Blue Pimpernel). C. Two observers
— *tenella* (Bog Pimpernel). A, B. Two observers. Extinct?
Samolus Valerandi (Brookweed). A

PLANTAGINEAE

- Plantago major* (Greater Plantain). Gen. dist.
— *media* (Hoary Plantain). Gen. dist.
— *lanceolata* (Ribwort Plantain). Gen. dist.
[— *Coronopus* (Buck's-horn Plantain)]

CHENOPODIACEAE

- Chenopodium polyspermum* (Many-seeded Goosefoot). C
— *album* (White Goosefoot). A, C
— *rubrum* (Red Goosefoot). C
— *Bonus-Henricus* (Mercury Goosefoot). A, C
[*Atriplex angustifolia* (Narrow-leaved Orache)]
— *patula* (Spreading Orache). A
[— *prostrata* or *deltoidea* (Triangular-leaved Orache)]

⁸ Used to be found in Empingham parish, then lost for twenty years, after which it reappeared. It is now gone again.

POLYGONACEAE

- Rumex conglomeratus* (Sharp Dock). C
— *sanguineus* (Red-veined Dock). C
— *maritimus* (Golden Dock). C (?)
— *obtusifolius* (Broad-leaved Dock). A
— *crispus* (Curled Dock). C
— *Hydrolapathum* (Great Water Dock). A
— *Acetosa* (Common Sorrel, Sour-Sops). Gen. dist.
— *Acetosella* (Sheep's Sorrel). A, C
Polygonum Convolvulus (Climbing Buckwheat). A, B, C
— *aviculare* (Common Knotgrass). Gen. dist.
— *Hydropiper* (Biting Persicaria). A
— *Persicaria* (Spotted Persicaria). A, B, C
— *lapathifolium* (Pale-flowered Persicaria). B, C
— *Amphibium* (Amphibious Persicaria). A, B, C
— *minus* (Small Creeping Persicaria). B

THYMELAEACEAE

- Daphne Laureola* (Spurge Laurel). A (*Stock-erston*, Leics., *Wakerley*, Northants), B, C

EUPHORBIACEAE

- Euphorbia Helioscopia* (Sun Spurge). A, C
— *amygdaloides* (Wood Spurge). A (*Wakerley*, Northants), C
— *exigua* (Dwarf Spurge). A
*— *Lathyris* (Caper Spurge). Frequent in gardens
— *peplus* (Petty Spurge). Gen. dist.
Mercurialis perennis (Dog's Mercury). Gen. dist.

SANTALACEAE

- Thesium humifusum* (Bastard Toad-flax). Found over the Lincolnshire border

URTICACEAE

- Parietaria diffusa* (Pellitory of the Wall). A, B, C
Urtica dioica (Great Stinging Nettle). Gen. dist.
— *urens* (Small Nettle). A, C
— *pilulifera* (Roman Nettle)
Humulus Lupulus (Hop). A, B, C
Ulmus campestris (Common Elm)
— *montana* (Wych Elm, Hazel Elm) var. *major*. *Wardley*

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CONIFERAE

Pinus sylvestris (Scotch Fir)

CUPULIFERAE

Quercus Robur (Oak)
Fagus sylvatica (Beech)
Corylus Avellana (Hazel)
Alnus glutinosa (Alder)
Betula alba (Birch)
Carpinus Betulus (Hornbeam)

SALICINEAE

Populus alba (White Poplar)
 [— *tremula* (Aspen)]
Salix triandra (Blunt Stipuled
 Triandous Willow).
 — *fragilis* (Crack Willow).
 — *alba* (White Willow).
 — *cinerea* (Grey Sallow).
 — *caprea* (Great Round-
 leaved Willow).
 — *viminialis*⁹ (Osier).
 } All have been
 observed in
 Rutland

TYPHACEAE

Typha latifolia (Great Reed-mace). A, C
 [— *angustifolia* (Lesser Reed-mace)]
Sparganium ramosum (Branched Bur-reed).
 A, C
 [— *Simplex* (Unbranched Bur-reed)]

AROIDEAE

Arum maculatum (Cuckoo-pint, Lords and
 Ladies). Gen. dist.

LEMNACEAE

[*Lemna trisulca* (Ivy-leaved Duck-weed)]
 — *minor* (Lesser Duckweed). Gen. dist.
 [— *gibba* (Gibbous Duckweed)]
 — *polyrhiza* (Greater Duckweed). C

NAIADACEAE

[*Potamogeton polygonifolius*]
 [— *lucens* (Shining Pondweed)]
 — *perfoliatus* (Perfoliate Pondweed). A
 — *crispus* (Curly Pondweed). A, C
 — *densus* (Close-leaved Pondweed). A
 — *pusillus* (Small Pondweed). A
 [— *pectinatus* (Fennel-leaved Pondweed)]

⁹ The following Willows should also be found
 in the county:— *S. Smithiana* (Silky-leaved
 Willow), *S. pentandra* (Sweet Bay Willow), *S.*
purpurea (Purple Willow), *S. rubra* (Green-leaved
 Willow), *S. aurita* (Round-eared Willow), *S. repens*,
 and *S. amygdalina*.

NAIADACEAE (continued)

[*Potamogeton obtusifolius*]
Triglochin palustre (Marsh Arrow-grass).
 B, C

ALISMACEAE

Sagittaria sagittifolia (Arrow-head). A, B, C
Alisma Plantago (Great Water Plantain).
 A, B, C
Butomus umbellatus (Flowering Rush). A,
 B, C

ORCHIDEAE

Orchis pyramidalis (Pyramidal Orchis). A,
 B, C
 — *ustulata* (Dark-winged Orchis). B, C
 — *Morio* (Green-winged Meadow Orchis).
 A, B, C
 — *mascula* (Early Purple Orchis). A, B, C
 — *latifolia* (Marsh Orchis). A, B, C
 — *maculata* (Spotted Palmate Orchis). A,
 B, C
Gymnadenia conopsea (Fragrant Gymna-
 denia). A, C
Habenaria viridis (Green Habenaria). A
 (over the border)
 — *bifolia* (Lesser Butterfly Orchis). A
 (over the border), B, C
 — *chlorantha* (Great Butterfly Orchis). A
 † *Aceras anthropophora* (Green Man Orchis).
 Found in *Wardley Wood*
Ophrys apifera (Bee Orchis). A, B, C
 — *muscifera* (Fly Orchis). A (*Wakerley*
 Wood, Northants), C
 † *Spiranthes autumnalis* (Lady's Tresses).
 Stamford (Northants)
Listera ovata (Tway-blade). A, B, C
Neottia Nidus-avis (Bird's-nest Orchis). A,
 B, C
Epipactis latifolia (Broad-leaved Helleborine).
 A, B, C

HYDROCHARIDEAE

Hydrocharis Morsus-Ranae (Common Frog-
 bit). C

IRIDEAE

Iris Pseudacorus (Yellow-Iris, Flag). A
 † — *foetidissima* (Stinking Iris). Used to be
 found at *Tickencote*

AMARYLLIDEAE

* *Narcissus Pseudo-narcissus* (Daffodil). A
 (two localities)
 * *Galanthus nivalis* (Snowdrop). A, C

DIOSCOREAE

Tamus communis (Black Bryony). A, B, C

BOTANY

LILIACEAE

- Paris quadrifolia (Herb Paris). A (*Wakerley Wood*, Northants), C
 Convallaria majalis (Lily of the Valley). B, C
 Ruscus aculeatus (Butcher's Broom). A
 *† Ornithogallum umbellatum (Star of Bethlehem). A
 Agraphis nutans }
 Scilla nutans } (Blue Bell).
 — festalis } Gen. dist.
 Hyacinthus non-scriptus }
 Gagea lutea (Yellow Gagea). A†, C
 Allium ursinum (Ramsons, Broad-leaved Garlic). B, C

JUNCACEAE¹⁰

- Luzula pilosa (Broad-leaved Hairy Wood-Rush). A, C
 — sylvatica (Great Hairy Wood-Rush)
 — campestris (Field Wood-Rush)
 [— var. multiflora]
 Juncus conglomeratus (Common Rush)
 — effusus (Soft Rush)
 [— glaucus (Hard Rush)]
 — acutiflorus (Sharp-flowered Jointed Rush)
 [— Lamprocarpus (Shining-fruited Jointed Rush)]
 [— supinus]
 — bufonius (Toad Rush)
 [— squarrosus (Heath Rush)]

CYPERACEAE

- [Scirpus palustris]
 [— caespitosus (Scaly-stalked Club-rush)]
 [— setaceus]
 [— lacustris (Lake Club-rush)]
 [Eriophorum angustifolium (Narrow-leaved Cotton-grass)]
 Carex pulicaris (Flea Sedge)
 — vulpina (Great Sedge)
 — muricata (Greater Prickly Sedge)
 [— divulsa (Grey Sedge)]
 — stellulata (Little Prickly Sedge)
 — remota (Distant-spiked Sedge)
 — ovalis (Oval-spiked Sedge)
 [— vulgaris (Common Sedge)]
 — glauca (Glaucous Heath Sedge)
 — pilulifera (Round-headed Sedge)
 — praecox (Vernal Sedge)
 — panicea (Pink-leaved Sedge)
 — sylvatica (Wood Sedge)
 [— binervis (Green-ribbed Sedge)]
 — distans (Loose Sedge)
 — flava (Yellow Sedge)
 [— hirta (Hairy Sedge)]
 — Pseudo-cyperus (Cyperus-like Sedge)
 [— paludosa (Lesser Common Sedge)]
 [— riparia (Great Common Sedge)]
 — ampullacea (Slender-beaked Bottle Sedge)
 — paniculata (Great Panicked Sedge)
 — axillaris (Axillary-clustered Sedge)
 [— pallescens (Pale Sedge)]

CRYPTOGAMIA

FILICES

(Ferns and Fern Allies)

- Pteris aquilina (Brake)
 [Asplenium Adiantum-nigrum (Black Spleenwort)]
 Athyrium Filix-foemina (Lady Fern)
 Scolopendrium vulgare (Hart's-tongue Fern)
 Polystichum lobatum (Common Prickly Fern)
 [var. aculeatum]
 Lastrea Filix-mas (Male Fern)
 — Spinulosa (Broad Shield Fern)
 — dilatata. Variety of above
 — Thelypteris (Marsh Fern). Over the border, *Wandsford*
 [— Oreopteris (Heath Mountain Fern)]
 Polypodium vulgare (Common Polypody)
 var. serratum

¹⁰ The list of Rushes, Sedges, Ferns, and Horsetails has been mostly contributed by Mrs. J. C. Thring, and represents South Rutland. Only in the case of two or three of the less common ferns is the district indicated.

FILICES (continued)

- Blechnum boreale (Northern Hard Fern)
 Asplenium Ruta-muraria (Wall-rue Spleenwort). A, C
 — Trichomanes (Wall Spleenwort). A, C
 Ceterach officinarum (Common Ceterach). C
 Ophioglossum vulgatum (Adder's-tongue). A, C
 Osmunda regalis (Flowering Fern). B, C

EQUISETACEAE

(Horsetails)

- Equisetum Telmeteia (Great Horsetail). A
 — arvense (Cornfield Horsetail). A
 — palustre (Marsh Horsetail). *Rockingham*
 — limosum (Water Horsetail). C
 — sylvaticum (Wood Horsetail). A

LYCOPODIACEAE

(Club-mosses)

- [Lycopodium complanatum (Club-moss)]

A HISTORY OF RUTLAND

In the above lists 665 species are enumerated, of which 129 are, for one cause or another, doubtful. This number (665) may be compared with Mr. Watson's total of 1,428 species (including grasses, and almost all species against which the author has expressed some doubt) for Great Britain, and with 859 (likewise) for Leicestershire and Rutland together. Mr. Watson's number of grasses for Leicestershire and Rutland is 67, and this number, for the purposes of comparison, should be deducted from the total of 859.

ZOOLOGY

MOLLUSCS

The soil of Rutland, consisting largely of calcareous rocks overlain by the Great Chalky Boulder Clay, should be favourable to molluscan life, which nevertheless does not seem so abundant as might be expected.

In part this may be due to the dearth of observers, for there is no published account of the mollusca of this county, which in this respect has been peculiarly neglected, while only five records from the neighbourhood of Morcott are to be found in the Records of the Conchological Society. Two small manuscript lists, one by Mr. F. M. Burton of species found in the neighbourhood of Uppingham, in 1855-9, the other of specimens observed recently near Edith Weston by Mr. V. B. Crowther-Beynon, have kindly been furnished by Mr. W. M. Webb. The bulk of the following list, however, falls to the credit of Mr. C. E. Wright, who worked over the district in 1899 and 1900.

Only 84 out of a total of 146, or so, species known to occur in the British Islands are here enumerated, though further research should bring others to light. Two or three more species of slugs, several of the small *Vertigos*, as well as some other species ought certainly to be found in the county.

The lacustrine deposits in the Casewick cutting of the Great Northern Railway yielded nineteen species of non-marine mollusca, but all belonging to forms now living in the county.

The nomenclature adopted in the following list is that of the Conchological Society issued in 1904, and differs from that employed in the earlier county histories of this series. Where the names here used differ from those previously given the latter are added in square brackets in order to facilitate comparison.

A. GASTROPODA

I. PULMONATA

a. STYLOMMATOPHORA

Limax maximus, Linn. Fairly common
— *flavus*, Linn. Edith Weston
Agriolimax agrestis (Linn.). Common
Vitrina pellucida (Müll.). Oakham, Liddington, Uppingham, Edith Weston, Stoke Wood

I. PULMONATA (*continued*)

a. STYLOMMATOPHORA (*continued*)

Vitrea crystallina (Müll.). Common throughout
— *cellaria* (Müll.). Oakham, Liddington, Uppingham, Bisbrooke and Glaston Lane, Stoke Wood
— *rogersi*, B. B. Woodw. The most abundant of the genus in the county

A HISTORY OF RUTLAND

I. PULMONATA (*continued*)

a. STYLOMMATOPHORA (*continued*)

- Vitrea alliaria* (Müll.). Spread over the most of the county, but not abundant
 — *nitidula* (Drap.). Common everywhere
 — *pura* (Alder). Local in woods, but not common
 — *radiatula* (Alder). Caldecott, Uppingham
Zonitoides [*Vitrea*] *nitidus* (Müll.). In small colonies throughout the county
Euconulus [*Vitrea*] *fuleus* (Müll.). Rather local, colonies near Caldecott and Oakham
Arion ater (Linn.). Common
 — *intermedius*, Norm. Common in woods, &c.
 — *kortensis*, Fér. Found throughout the county
 — *fasciatus*, Nils. [= *circumscriptus*, John.]. Common throughout
Punctum pygmaeum (Drap.). Liddington, Caldecott, Uppingham, Oakham
Pyramidula rotundata (Müll.). Common in woods
Helicella virgata (DaCosta). Not uncommon, but small
 — *itala* (Linn.). Not uncommon, but small
 — *caperata* (Mont.). Distributed throughout, but not abundant; colony on limestone wall at Liddington
 — *cantiana* (Mont.). Not common: colony near Uppingham; Morcott
Hygromia hispida (Linn.). Not uncommon with the next species
 — *rufescens* (Penn.). Common throughout
Acanthinula aculeata (Müll.). Near Uppingham, Stoke Wood, Ayston Lane
Vallonia pulchella (Müll.). Not common: Ayston Lane, Glaston. With this may be included some examples of *V. excentrica*, a species only recently recognized in this country
 — *costata* (Müll.). With preceding. Also at Bisbrooke
Helicigona lapicida (Linn.). Two specimens near Uppingham, Edith Weston, Tixover
 — *arbusorum* (Linn.). Local: Liddington, Oakham, Uppingham, Caldecott
Helix aspersa, Müll. Common
 — *nemoralis*, Linn. Distributed throughout
 — *bortensis*, Müll. Distributed throughout
Ena [*Buliminus*] *obscura* (Müll.). Not uncommon: Liddington, Oakham, Uppingham, Caldecott
Cochlicopa lubrica (Müll.). Not uncommon
Azeca tridens (Pult.). Three specimens near Caldecott, Stoke Wood
Gaeciloides [*Caecilianella*] *acicula* (Müll.). Two dead specimens near the Mill, Caldecott
Jaminia [*Pupa*] *cylindracea* (DaCosta). In woods near Uppingham and on walls
 — *muscorum* (Linn.). Road-side near Uppingham, under stones
Vertigo substriata (Jeff.). Wardley Wood
 — *pygmaea* (Drap.). Two specimens in a cop-pice near Uppingham

I. PULMONATA (*continued*)

a. STYLOMMATOPHORA (*continued*)

- Balaea perversa* (Linn.). Stoke Wood
Clausilia laminata (Mont.). Not common
 — *bidentata* (Ström). Rather common
Succinea putris (Linn.). Common in wet dykes, &c.
 — *elegans*, Risso. Common in wet dykes, &c.

b. BASOMMATOPHORA

- Carychium minimum*, Müll. Throughout. Large colony near Caldecott
Ancylus fluviatilis, Müll. Liddington, Stockerston Brook, Preston Brook
Acroloxus [*Velletia*] *lacustris* (Linn.). One specimen near Liddington; one dead at Seaton
Limnaea auricularia (Linn.). Not common
 — *pereger* (Müll.). In most streams and ponds
 — *palustris* (Müll.). Not at all common
 — *truncatula* (Müll.). In most small streams
 — *stagnalis* (Linn.). Not uncommon. Some striking forms near Caldecott
Planorbis corneus (Linn.). Common
 — *albus*, Müll. Fairly common
 — *glaber*, Jeff. Burgess Pond
 — *crista* [= *nautileus*] (Linn.). Near Caldecott, near Uppingham
 — *carinatus*, Müll. Fairly common: Caldecott, Liddington
 — *umbilicatus*, Müll. [= *marginatus*, Drap.]. Fairly common: Caldecott, Liddington
 — *vortex* (Linn.). Fairly common: Caldecott, Liddington
 — *spirorbis* (Linn.). Fairly common: Caldecott, Liddington
 — *contortus* (Linn.). Seaton
 — *fontanus* (Lightf.). A few specimens in a stream near Liddington
Segmentina nitida (Müll.) [= *Planorbis lineatus*, Walker]. Four specimens in a pond near Caldecott
Physa fontinalis (Linn.). Not uncommon near Caldecott
Aplecta [*Physa*] *hypnorum* (Linn.). River Welland

II. PROSOBRANCHIA

- Bithynia tentaculata* (Linn.). In most streams, but not abundant
Vivipara vivipara (Linn.). A small colony near Caldecott
 — *contecta* (Millet). Four specimens taken near Caldecott
Valvata piscinalis (Müll.). In most streams, but not abundant
 — *cristata*, Müll. In most streams, but not abundant
Neritina fluviatilis (Linn.). Not common

MOLLUSCS

B. PELECYPODA

- | | |
|--|--|
| <i>Unio pictorum</i> (Linn.). Not common : Stockerston Brook | <i>Pisidium amnicum</i> (Müll.). Not uncommon in small streams |
| — <i>tumidus</i> , Retz. Not common : Stockerston Brook | — <i>casertanum</i> (Poli) [= <i>fontinale</i> , auct.]. Not uncommon in small streams |
| <i>Anodonta cygnaea</i> (Linn.). Not common | — <i>pusillum</i> (Gmel.) [= <i>fontinale</i> , auct.]. Not uncommon in small streams |
| <i>Sphaerium rivicola</i> (Leach). River Welland | — <i>obtusale</i> , Pfr. Preston Brook |
| — <i>corneum</i> (Linn.). Caldecott, Edith Weston, Stockerston Brook | — <i>gassiesianum</i> , Dupuy. Not uncommon in small streams |
| — <i>lacustre</i> (Müll.). A few in a pond near Caldecott | |

(The correct determination of the species of *Pisidium* is open to question.)

INSECTS

The absence of any large town and consequently of any leisured class in the county of Rutland probably accounts for the small amount of work done among the insects. All the work which has been done in this direction has been due to the presence of the school at Uppingham ; and the lists of Coleoptera (beetles) and Lepidoptera (butterflies and moths) are largely taken from the *Annual Reports* of the Natural Science Society of the school. A few observations have come in from Oakham School, but it is greatly to be regretted that more work has not been done, especially in the northern end of the county. A society has, however, lately come into existence, with head quarters at Oakham, and this should be a great help in the future.

The nature of the country is not very encouraging, rolling grass-land occupying most of the surface ; marshes and moorland are conspicuous by their absence, and woods are not too frequent.

The writer wishes to add a word of thanks to Miss Thring, who has kindly revised his MS.

ORTHOPTERA

Earwigs, Cockroaches, Grasshoppers, and Crickets

FORFICULIDAE

Labia minor, L.
Forficula auricularia, L.

LOCUSTIDAE

Locusta viridissima, L.

ACRIDIIDAE

Gomphocerus maculatus, Thunb.

NEUROPTERA

Psocids, Stone-flies, Mayflies, Dragonflies, Lacewings, and Caddis-flies

EPHEMERIDAE

Ephemera vulgata, L.

ODONATA (*continued*)

Pyrrhosoma nymphula, Sulz.

ODONATA

Libellula depressa, L.
Aeschna grandis, L.
Calopteryx virgo, L.
Agrion puella, L.

PLANIPENNIA

Sialis lutaria, L.
Chrysopa vulgaris, Schn.

TRICHOPTERA

Limnophilus rhombicus, L.

INSECTS

HYMENOPTERA

Ants, Wasps, Bees, &c.

ACULEATA

Apis mellifica, L.
Bombus terrestris, L.
— *lucorum*, Smith
Vespa vulgaris, L.
— *crabro*, L.
Lascius flavus, De G.
— *niger*, L.

PHYTOPHAGA

Sirex noctilio, F.
— *gigas*, L.
Cimbex lutea, L.

ENTOMOPHAGA

Chrysis ignita, L.

COLEOPTERA

Beetles

For the list of this order I am indebted almost entirely to the observations made by Mr. J. C. B. Udall and published in the Uppingham School Natural Science Society's *Report* for 1900.

CICINDELIDAE

Cicindela campestris, L.

CARABIDAE

Carabus violaceus, L.
— *monilis*, F.
— *nemoralis*, Müll.
Notiophilus biguttatus, F.
Leistus ferrugineus, L.
— *fulvibarbis*, Dej.
— *spinibarbis*, F.
Nebria brevicollis, F.
Harpalus rufibablis, F.
— *ruficornis*, F.
Platyderus ruficollis, Marsh
Pterostychus madidus, F.
— *vulgaris*, L.
— *minor*, Gyll.
Amara fulva, Dej.
— *similata* Gyll.
— *trivialis*, Gyll.
Anchomenus dorsalis, Müll.
— *albipes*, F.
— *prasinus*, Thunb.
Tachys bistriatus, Duft.
Bembidium obtusum, Sturm.
— *guttula*, F.
Trechus minutus, F.
Demetrias atricapillus, L.
Dromius linearis, Ol.
— *melanocephalus*, Dej.

HALIPLIDAE

Haliplus fulvus, F.
— *ruficollis*, De G.
— *lineatocollis*, Marsh

DYTISCIDAE

Hyphydrus ovatus, L.
Coelambus inaequalis, F.
Hydroporus pictus, F.
— *halensis*, F.
— *palustris*, L.
— *lituratus*, F.
Agabus nebulosus, Forst.
Acilius sulcatus, L.

GYRINIDAE

Gyrinus natator, Scop.

HYDROPHILIDAE

Helophorus aquaticus, L.
— *brevipalpis*, Bedel.
Hydrobius fuscipes, L.
Limnebius truncatellus, Thoms.
Cercyon unipunctatus, L.

STAPHYLINIDAE

Tachyporus obtusus, L.
— *hypnorum*, F.
— *humerosus*, Er.
— *chrysomelinus*, L.
Stenus speculator, Er.
— *bimaculatus*, Gyll.
Oxytelus sculpturatus, Grav.
Xantholinus ochraceus, Gyll.
— *punctulatus*, Payk.
Ocypus olens, Müll.
Bolitobius atricapillus, F.
Creophilus maxillosus, L.

HISTERIDAE

Hister bimaculatus, L.
— *cadaverinus*, Hoff.

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COCCINELLIDAE

- Coccinella 22-punctata*, L.
- *7-punctata*, L.
- *11-punctata*, L.
- Coccidula scutellata*, Herbst.

MYCETOPHAGIDAE

- Typhaea fumata*, L.

SCARABAEIDAE

- Geotrupes vernalis*, L.
- Melolontha vulgaris*, F.
- Aphodius ater*, De G.
- *finetarius*, L.
- *rufipes*, L.
- *fossor*, L.
- *prodromus*, Brahm.

LUCANIDAE

- Sinodendron cylindricum*, L.

ELATERIDAE

- Athous haemorrhoidalis*, F.
- Cryptohypnus dermestoides*, Herbst.
- Elater pomorum*, Herbst.
- Lacon murinus*, L.

TELEPHORIDAE

- Telephorus clypeatus*, Ill.
- *fuscus*, L.
- *lividus*, L.
- *nigricans*, Müll.
- *haemorrhoidalis*, F.

MELYRIDAE

- Malachius bipustulatus*, L.

CLERIDAE

- Necrobia ruficollis*, F.
- *violacea*, L.

LAMPYRIDAE

- Lampyris noctiluca*, L.

CYCLICA

- Chrysomela polita*, L.
- *varians*, Schall.
- Apteropeda graminis*, Koch.
- Phyllotreta nemorum*, L.
- *ochripes*, Curt.
- Timarcha laevigata*, Duft.

HETEROMERA

- Heliopathes gibbus*, F.

MELOIDAE

- Meloe proscarabaeus*, L.

PYTHIDAE

- Rhinosimus viridipennis*, Steph.

PYROCHROIDAE

- Pyrochroa rubens*, F.

TENEBRIONIDAE

- Blaps mucronata*, Latr.

CERAMBYCIDAE

- Toxotus meridianus*, Panz.
- Callidium violaceum*, L.
- Clytus mysticus*, L.
- *arietis*, L.

CURCULIONIDAE

- Erirhinus arcidulus*, L.
- Hypera nigrirostris*, F.
- Coeliodes didymus*, F.
- Apion carduorum*, Kirby
- *nigritarse*, Kirby
- *violaceum*, Kirby
- *curtisi*, Walt.
- *fagi*, L.
- *difforme*, Germ.
- *pomonae*, F.
- *frumentarium*, L.

LEPIDOPTERA

Butterflies and Moths

I have been fortunate in being able to compare the Lepidoptera found at the present day in Rutland with those of fifty years ago, owing to the kindness of Dr. W. Bell and Mr. F. M. Burton, who, having worked the district between the years 1850 and 1862, have sent me lists of their observations with comments thereon. A good deal of work has been done of recent years in the south of the county, Mr. E. C. Rossiter and Miss Thring being the chief contributors. Want of variety in the

INSECTS

surface of the county, absence of marshy districts or moorlands, and want of unusual food-plants, must account for the fact that but few uncommon specimens have been found.

Among the Rhopalocera (Butterflies) there are few which are not of widespread occurrence. *Colias edusa* (Clouded Yellow) is very rare in Rutland, but was taken as recently as 1900, and has been taken at long intervals during the last fifty years. *Argynnis paphia* (Silver-washed Fritillary), common in Northamptonshire, is not so often met with in Rutland, but it and *A. selene* (Small Pearl-bordered) and *A. euphrosyne* (Pearl-bordered) have been taken in Wardley Wood, the two last more frequently. *Vanessa c-album* has been taken fairly recently and was caught in Wardley and Uppingham by Dr. W. Bell and Mr. Burton fifty years ago. *Vanessa polychloros* has not recently been seen, but was taken in 1889 by Mr. Rossiter. *Vanessa cardui* was also caught by Mr. Rossiter, but has been taken as recently as 1906, though it is very uncommon in Rutland, 1897, 1899, 1902. *Apatura iris* (Purple Emperor) was caught by both Dr. W. Bell and Mr. Burton, and was recorded in 1905. *Erebia aethiops* (Northern Brown), recorded by Mr. Burton, is very rare and has not been observed by any other naturalist. *Thecla pruni* (Black Hairstreak), which is found in the neighbouring county of Northampton, is not recorded in Rutland, but *quercus*, *rubi*, and *w-album* have all been taken recently. The last-named—the White-letter Hairstreak—was found in great abundance on an elm near Beaumont Chase in 1900 and 1901, but has this year disappeared from that spot, though a specimen has been found in Wardley Wood. *Lycaena corydon* (Chalk-hill Blue) was taken about fifteen years ago by Mr. Rossiter, and again in 1906 by the Rev. A. G. S. Raynor. *Syrichthus malvae* (Grizzled Skipper) is found not infrequently in places. *Cyclopides paniscus* (Chequered Skipper) has been taken in Wardley Wood.

Of the Heterocera (moths) the rarest are:—*Acherontia atropos* (Death's Head Hawk), not found since 1860, and *Sphinx convolvuli* (Convolvulus Hawk), also unrecorded since that date, *Spilosoma fuliginosa* (Ruby Tiger), *Cirrhoedia xerampelina* (Centre-barred Sallow), *Anarta myrtili* (Beautiful Yellow Underwing), *Emmelesia decolorata* (Sandy Carpet), *Amphidasis prodromaria* (Oak Beauty).

RHOPALOCERA

Pieris brassicae, L.
— *rapae*, L.
— *napi*, L.
Euchloe cardamines, L.
Leucophasia sinapis, L.
Colias edusa, L.
— *hyale*, L.
Gonopteryx rhamni, L.
Argynnis paphia, L.
— *adippe*, L.
— *selene*, Schiff.
— *euphrosyne*, L.
Vanessa c-album, L.

RHOPALOCERA (*continued*)

Vanessa urticae, L.
— *polychloros*, L.
— *io*, L.
— *atalanta*, L.
— *cardui*, L.
Apatura iris, L.
Melanargia galatea, L.
Erebia aethiops, Esp.
Pararge aegeria, L.
— *megaera*, L.
Satyrus semele, L.
Epinephile janira, L.
— *tithonus*, L.

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RHOPALOCERA (*continued*)

Epinephele hyperanthus, L.
Coenonympha pamphilus, L.
Thecla rubi, L.
— quercus, L.
— w-album, Knoch.
Polyommatus phlaeas, L.
Lycaena aegon, Schiff.
— agestis, Hb.
— icarus, Rott.
— corydon, F.
Syrichthus alveus, Hb.
— malvae, St. C.
Thanaos tages, L.
Hesperia thaumas, Hufn.
— sylvanus, Esp.
Cyclopides paniscus, F.

HETEROCERA

SPHINGES

Acherontia atropos, L.
Sphinx convolvuli, L.
— ligustri, L.
Chaerocampa porcellus, L.
— elpenor, L.
Smerinthus ocellatus, L.
— populi, L.
— tiliae, L.
Macroglossa stellatarum, L.
Sesia tipuliformis, Cl.

ZYGAENIDAE

Ino statice, L.
Zygaena trifolii, Esp.
— ionicæ, Scheven.
— filipendulae, L.

BOMBYCES

Hylophila prasinana, L.
Nola cucullatella, L.
Lithosia griseola, Hübn.
— complana, L.
Gnophria rubricollis, L.
Euchelia jacobaeae, L.
Nemeophila russula, L.
Arctia caia, L.
Spilosoma fuliginosa, L.
— lubricipeda, Esp.
— menthastri, Esp.
Hepialus humuli, L.
— sylvanus, L.
— lupulinus, L.
— hectus, L.
Cossus ligniperda, Fab.
Zeuzera pyrina, L.

HETEROCERA (*continued*)

BOMBYCES (*continued*)

Porthesia chrysorrhæa, L.
— similis, Fuesl.
Leucoma salicis, L.
Psilura monacha, L.
Dasychira pudibunda, L.
— fascelina, L.
Orgyia antiqua, Fab.
Trichiura crataegi, L.
Poecilocampa populi, L.
Eriogaster lanestris, L.
Bombyx neustria, L.
— quercus, L.
Odonestis potatoria, L.
Lasiocampa quercifolia, L.
Cilix glaucata, Scop.
Dicranura furcula, L.
— bifida, Hübn.
— vinula, L.
Stauropus fagi, L.
Pterostoma palpina, L.
Lophopteryx camelina, L.
— carmelita, Esp.
Notodonta ziczac, L.
— chaonia, Hübn.
Drymonia dodonoea, Schiff.
Phalera bucephala, L.
Pygaera pigra, Hufn.
Thyatira derasa, L.
— batis, L.
Cymatophora duplaris, L.
Asphalia diluta, Fab.

NOCTUAE

Bryophila muralis, Fors.
— perla, Fab.
Acronycta tridens, Schiff.
— psi, L.
— aceris, L.
— megacephala, Fab.
— alni, L.
— ligustri, Fab.
— rumicis, L.
Diloba caeruleocephala, L.
Leucania cornigera, Fab.
— vitellina, Hübn.
— lithargyria, Esp.
— comma, L.
— impura, Hübn.
— pallens, L.
Hydraecia nictitans, Bork.
Axylia putris, L.
Xylophasia rurea, Fab.
— lithoxylea, Fab.
— sublustris, Esp.
— polyodon, L.
— hepatica, L.

INSECTS

HETEROCERA (*continued*)

NOCTUAE (*continued*)

Xylophasia scolopacina, Esp.
Neuria reticulata, Vill.
Neuronia popularis, Fab.
Charaeas graminis, L.
Cerigo matura, Hufn.
Luperina testacea, Hübn.
Mamestra abjecta, Hübn.
— *sordida*, Bork.
— *brassicae*, L.
— *persicariae*, L.
Apamea basilinea, Fab.
— *gemina*, Hübn.
— *didyma*, St. C.
Miana strigilis, L.
— *fasciuncula*, Haw.
— *literosa*, Haw.
— *bicoloria*, Vill.
— *arcuosa*, Haw.
— *captiuncula*, Tr.
Grammesia trigrammica, Hufn.
Caradrina morpheus, Hufn.
— *taraxaci*, Hübn.
— *quadripunctata*, Fab.
Acosmetia caliginosa, Humphreys and Westwood
Rusina tenebrosa, Hübn.
Agrotis suffusa, Hübn.
— *segetum*, Schiff.
— *lunigera*, Stephens
— *exclamationis*, L.
— *corticea*, Hübn.
— *nigricans*, L.
— *tritici*, L.
— *obscura*, Brahm.
Graphiphora tristigma, Stephens
Noctua augur, Fab.
— *pecta*, L.
— *c-nigrum*, L.
— *triangulum*, Hufn.
— *brunnea*, Fab.
— *festiva*, Hübn.
— *dahlia*, Hübn.
— *umbrosa*, Hübn.
— *baia*, Fab.
— *castanea*, Esp.
— *xanthographa*, Fab.
Triphaena ianthina, Esp.
— *fimbria*, L.
— *interjecta*, Hübn.
— *subsequa*, Humphreys and Westwood
— *orbona*, Humphreys and Westwood
— *pronuba*, L.
Amphipyra pyramidea, L.
— *tragopogonis*, L.
Mania typica, L.
— *maura*, L.
Pachnobia rubricosa, Fab.

HETEROCERA (*continued*)

NOCTUAE (*continued*)

Taeniocampa gothica, L.
— *instabilis*, Esp.
— *populeti*, Fab.
— *stabilis*, View.
— *gracilis*, Fab.
— *miniosa*, Fab.
— *munda*, Esp.
— *pulverulenta*, Esp.
Orthosia lota, Clerck.
— *macilenta*, Hübn.
Anchochelis pistacina, Fab.
— *lunosa*, Haw.
— *litura*, L.
Cerastis vaccinii, L.
Scopelosoma satellitia, L.
Dasycampa rubiginea, Schiff.
Xanthia citrago, L.
— *flavago*, L.
— *gilvago*, Esp.
Cirrhoedia xerampelina, Hübn.
Tethea subtusa, Fab.
Calymnia trapezina, L.
— *diffinis*, L.
— *affinis*, L.
Dianthoecia capsicola, Hübn.
— *cucubali*, Fues.
— *carpophaga*, Bork.
Hecatera serena, Fab.
Polia chi, L.
— *flavicincta*, Fab.
Epunda nigra, Haw.
— *lutulenta*, Bork.
— *viminalis*, Fab.
Miselia oxyacanthae, L.
Agriopis aprilina, L.
Phlogophora meticulosa, L.
Trigonophra empyrea, Newman
Euplexia lucipara, L.
Aplecta nebulosa, Hufn.
— *advena*, Fab.
Hadena adusta, Esp.
— *protea*, Bork.
— *dentina*, Esp.
— *oleracea*, L.
— *thalassina*, Rott.
— *contigua*, Vill.
— *genistae*, Bork.
Xylocampa lithoriza, Bork.
Calocampa solidaginis, Hübn.
— *exoleta*, L.
Xylina rhizolitha, Fab.
— *semibrunnea*, Haw.
Cucullia verbasci, L.
— *scrophulariae*, Esp.
— *umbratica*, L.
— *lactucae*, Humphreys and Westwood
Gonoptera libatrix, L.

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HETEROCERA (*continued*)

NOCTUAE (*continued*)

Habrostola urticae, Hübn.
 — triplasia, L.
 Plusia chrysis, L.
 — iota, L.
 — pulchrina, Haw.
 — gamma, L.
 Anarta myrtili, L.
 Heliaca tenebrata, Scop.
 Phytometra viridaria, Clerck.
 Euclidia mi, Clerck.
 — glyphica, L.
 Catocala nupta, L.

GEOMETRAE

Uropteryx sambucaria, L.
 Epione parallelaria, Hübn.
 Rumia luteolata, L.
 Angerona prunaria, L.
 Metrocampa margaritaria, L.
 Eurymene dolobraria, L.
 Pericallia syringaria, L.
 Selenia bilunaria, Esp.
 — lunaria, Schiff.
 — illustraria, Hübn.
 Odontoptera bidentata, Clerck.
 Crocallis elinguaris, L.
 Eugonia alniaria, L.
 — fuscantaria, Haw.
 — quercinaria, Hufn.
 Himera pennaria, L.
 Phigalia pilosaria, Hübn.
 Biston hirtaria, Clerck.
 — prodromarius, Humphreys and Westwood
 Amphidasis prodromaria, L.
 — betularia, L.
 Hemerophila abruptaria, Thnb.
 Cleora lichenaria, Hufn.
 Boarmia repandata, L.
 — rhomboidaria, Schiff.
 — consortaria, Fab.
 Tephrosia consonaria, Hübn.
 — crepuscularia, Hübn.
 Pseudoterpna cytisaria, Schiff.
 Geometra papilionaria, L.
 Chlorissa putataria, Humphreys and Westwood
 Phorodesma pustulata, Hufn.
 Iodis lactearia, L.
 Hemitheia strigata, Müll.
 Ephyra punctaria, L.
 Asthena luteata, Schiff.
 — candidata, Schiff.
 Acidalia rubricata, Schiff.
 — bisetata, Hufn.
 — trigeminata, Haw.

HETEROCERA (*continued*)

GEOMETRAE (*continued*)

Acidalia virgularia, Hübn.
 — subsericeata, Haw.
 — remutaria, Hübn.
 — imitatoria, Hübn.
 — aversata, L.
 — emarginata, L.
 Timandra amatoria, L.
 Cabera pusaria, L.
 — exanthemata, Scop.
 Bapta temerata, Hübn.
 Halia wavaria, L.
 Strenia clathrata, L.
 Panagra petrararia, Hübn.
 Numeria pulveraria, L.
 Ematurga atomaria, L.
 Abraxas grossulariata, L.
 — sylvata, Scop.
 Ligdia adustata, Schiff.
 Lomaspilis marginata, L.
 Hybernica rupicaprararia, Hübn.
 — leucophaearia, Schiff.
 — marginaria, Bork.
 — defoliaria, L.
 Anisopteryx aescularia, Schiff.
 Cheimatobia brumata, L.
 Oporabia dilutata, Bork.
 Larentia didymata, Bork.
 — viridaria, Fab.
 Emmelesia affinitata, St.
 — alchemillata, L.
 — albulata, Schiff.
 — decolorata, Hübn.
 Eupithecia oblongata, Thnb.
 — succenturiata, L.
 — abbreviata, St.
 Hypsipetes trifasciata, Bork.
 — sordidata, Fab.
 Melanthia bicolorata, Hufn.
 — ocellata, L.
 — albicillata, L.
 Melanippe procellata, Fab.
 — rivata, Hübn.
 — sociata, Bork.
 — montanata, Bork.
 — fluctuata, L.
 Anticlea badiata, Hübn.
 — derivata, Bork.
 Coremia ferrugata, L.
 — unidentaria, Haw.
 Campptogramma bilineata, L.
 Tiphrosia dubitata, L.
 Eucosmia undulata, L.
 Scotosia rhamnata, Schiff.
 Cidaria miata, L.
 — corylata, Thnb.
 — russata, Bork.
 — immanata, Haw.

INSECTS

HETEROCERA (*continued*)

GEOMETRAE (*continued*)

Cidaria suffumata, Hübn.
 — silacea, Hübn.
 — testata, L.
 — fulvata, Forst.
 — dotata, L.
 — associata, Bork.
 Pelurga comitata, L.
 Eubolia cervinata, Schiff.
 — limitata, Scop.
 — plumbaria, Fab.
 Anaitis plagiata, L.
 Tanagra atrata, L.

DELTOIDES

Rivula sericealis, Scop.

PYRALIDES

Aglossa pinguinalis, L.
 Herbula cespitalis, Schiff.
 Ebulea sambucalis, Schiff.

HETEROCERA (*continued*)

PYRALIDES (*continued*)

Aciptilia pentadactyla, L.
 Botys verticalis, Schiff.
 Pionea forficilis, L.
 Galleria cereana, L.

PTEROPHORI

Pterophorus pentadactylus, L.
 — galactodactylus, Hübn.
 Hydrocampa stagnata, Don
 — nymphaeata, L.

TORTRICES

Cheimatophila tortricella, Hübn.
 Tortrix viridana, L.

TINEAE

Oecophora sulphurella, Fab.
 Diurnea fagella, Fab.
 Adela viridella, L.

DIPTERA

Flies

ORTHORRHAPHA

Culex pipiens, L.
 Chironymus plumosus, L.
 Tipula oleracea, L.
 — gigantea, Schrk.

CYCLORRHAPHA

Catabomba pyrastris, L.
 Eristalis tenax, L.
 Musca domestica, L.
 Calliphora vomitoria, L.
 Lucilia caesar, L.
 Scatophaga stercoraria, L.
 Sarcophaga carnaria, L.

HEMIPTERA

Bugs, Plant-lice, &c.

HETEROPTERA

Notonecta glauca, L.
 Corixa geoffroyi, Leach
 — striata, Fieb.
 Gerris lacustris, L.
 Hydrometra stagnorum, L.

HETEROPTERA (*continued*)

Velia currens, Fab.

HOMOPTERA

Philanus spumarius, L.

CRUSTACEANS

As no county is smaller than this, so also in no county has smaller attention been paid to the subjects of this chapter. Neither its living naturalists nor its ancient records appear to have considered these worth taking into account. Yet this is in no way due to the narrow limits of the area concerned, nor are the crustaceans themselves more screened from observation in this than in any other inland county. Their favourite haunts are here in abundance, woods and gardens, rivers and brooks, ponds and marshes, old walls, ants' nests, and in general all the lurking-places which such a region might be expected to supply for creatures of insignificant size and secretive habits. As a matter of fact, most of the species likely to occur are so diminutive that their beauties and singularities appeal only to the diligent microscopist. Their economic value is for the most part indirect, as a food supply for fishes, to all of which they are doubtless welcome, while young fishes in particular have been ascertained to prey greedily on the minutest forms. The only species of our inland crustaceans which human beings care to eat is the river crayfish, *Potamobius pallipes* (Lereboullet). Inquiries as to the occurrence of this little lobster-like comestible in Rutland met with rather an indefinite response. Mr. Masters, of Burley Ponds, Oakham, informed me that, so far as he remembered, he had come across it years ago when netting in Manton Brook. It is undoubtedly met with in the neighbouring counties, so that Mr. Masters's recollection may well be trusted, although I had no personal opportunity of verifying it. The crayfish is important as our sole inland representative of the higher Malacostraca. Among these it belongs to the Podophthalma Decapoda Macrura, that is, crustaceans with stalked eyes, ten feet, and long tails. The 'tail' comprises the last seven of the twenty-one segments which theoretically constitute the whole malacostracan body. In point of size the crayfish itself makes no great show, yet no doubt, specimen for specimen, it would outweigh all the rest of the Rutland crustaceans put together, even if eventually the species should require to be numbered by hundreds. The smaller forms, indeed, are so disguised by misleading appellations that to most persons their true place in classification is quite unknown. In our inland fauna the members of the sessile-eyed group, though not microscopic, are still so indefinitely smaller than their stalk-eyed companion that the really close relationship between them is not readily appreciated.

The Edriophthalma are so called because they have the eyes seated immovably in the head. They are also termed Tetradeapoda, because the feet are fourteen in number instead of ten. One of the orders was named Amphipoda, to express the fact that these limbs spread out round the animal in various directions. To this order belongs *Gammarus pulex* (Linn.), which was taken in one of the Manton brooks and elsewhere near Oakham. It is a common inhabitant of brooks and ponds all over the kingdom, and may be taken as a characteristic example of the tribe Gammaridea, which peoples the seas of the globe in great diversity. When compared with the crayfish it will be found to have the pleon or tail similarly divided into seven segments, and though the limbs of its middle body are more numerous, this difference is not so considerable as it might at the first glance appear. The first two pairs of feet in the amphipod answer precisely to the last two pairs of mouth organs in the decapod. In both cases they are really in the service of the mouth, but in *Gammarus* these appendages are as it were upper servants with more freedom of movement, while in *Potamobius* they are bond-slaves, in restricted attachment to particular duties.

Another order of the sessile-eyed fourteen-footed malacostracans, the Isopoda, is more sharply distinguished from the crayfish by the position of the breathing apparatus. This in the normal isopods is relegated to the pleon, with which it has nothing to do in the previously-mentioned orders. Here, moreover, the seventh segment of the tail, known as the telson, is fused with the sixth segment, rather as the rule than as elsewhere the exception. As in other

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purely inland counties, so in this, *Asellus aquaticus*, Linn., is the abundant but only fresh-water isopod to be found. It was taken in a disused canal and elsewhere near Oakham. The flattened dorsal surface is handsomely variegated with shades of brown. In front its two pairs of antennae are conspicuous, this twofold feature distinguishing crustaceans in general from insects, which have but one pair. Behind, the uropods or tail-feet are in like manner well calculated to attract attention, were it not that these appendages of the sixth pleon segment are in this species very likely to be broken off. In *Asellus* the segments of the pleon are fused dorsally into a shield, comparable with that fusion of anterior segments which throughout the Malacostraca and some orders of the other sub-classes produces the so-called carapace. In the terrestrial Isopoda, the wood-shrimps or garden crustaceans, as they have a right to be called, the pleon is in six compartments, fusion occurring only between the sixth segment and the telson. The species of this tribe found in the neighbourhood of Oakham were collected chiefly by Mrs. T. R. R. Stebbing, F.L.S., and proved to include the following species. In the family Oniscidae the ever-abundant *Oniscus asellus*, Linn., was present in fields and at road-sides, and *Philoscia muscorum* (Scopoli) occurred in similar situations. These two species agree in having the flagellum or terminal lash of the second antennae three-jointed, but are easily distinguished by various other characters. The *Oniscus* has projecting front corners to the head, the dorsal surface tuberculate, the sides of the pleon continuing the curves of the middle body, whereas the much narrower *Philoscia* has the front of the head smoothly convex, a shining dorsal surface, and the pleon abruptly narrower than the middle body. *Porcellio scaber*, Latreille, was taken under stones and timber in some profusion. In this species the two-jointed flagellum of the second antennae has the first joint a little shorter than the second or subequal to it; the telsonic segment is a little hollowed dorsally, and has an acute apex. The normal colour is grey black, and the dorsal surface is rather densely granular. As is not uncommon, however, variously coloured specimens were met with, mottled or uniformly light brown, raising an expectation of distinct species, which on close examination was not gratified. Nevertheless, one specimen deserves more particular notice, as in addition to the mottled colouring and a very slender body, the first joint of the flagellum in the second antennae is only half as long as the second, and the short telsonic segment is rather obtuse at the apex. This combination of characters does not well fit any of our hitherto recognized British species. On the road between Oakham and Burley several specimens of *Porcellio pictus*, Brandt and Ratzeburg, were procured. In this species the head and the central part of the pleon are black, the body is elegantly marbled, generally with a more or less linear arrangement of the dark and light portions. The second antennae are yellow at the base, and have the first joint of the flagellum longer than the second. *Metoponorthus pruinosis* (Brandt) was obtained among rotten hay in a field where a haystack had stood, and also at the edge of a flower-border from a garden in Oakham. This nearly straight-fronted species has the first joint of the flagellum in the second antennae longer than the second, but is distinguished from species of *Porcellio* by having the pleon abruptly narrower than the middle body. It is dusky in colour, rather narrow, with the dorsal surface only slightly granular. The family Armadillidiidae supplies here abundance of *Armadillidium vulgare* (Latreille), not in all places quite so common as its specific name implies. From its habit of rolling itself up into a ball it is, if not the commonest, perhaps the most familiar member of this tribe. Several of the specimens found were large and of the usual dark colour. Among these one had its left antenna colourless and much smaller than that on the right. This was evidently an instance of regeneration, a process by which crustaceans are able to recover lost appendages, although it is pretty clear that restoration of an appendage to its original size and vigour is only attained after a succession of moults. Some specimens of *Armadillidium* were so small and brightly coloured that they suggested the presence of *A. pulchellum* (Zencker). The expectation, however, was disappointed, as the characters proved to be those of *A. vulgare*. The central stripe down the back was not dark, but light with dark borders, and the black colouring on the seventh segment of the middle body, distinctive of *A. pulchellum*, was not present. It may be worth mentioning that in the terrestrial isopods the first antennae are very small and difficult to observe. Their actual presence is an additional guarantee, if such were needed, that these forest shrimps, though no longer aquatic, are still true crustaceans.

The sub-class Entomostraca is divided into three important orders, Branchiopoda, Ostracoda, and Copépoda. In the first, only the sub-order Cladocera can as yet be definitely attributed to this county. From the waters round Oakham, marsh and brook and fish-ponds, the following species were obtained, all belonging to the extensive tribe Anomopoda of the

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section Calyptomera. The family Daphniidae, in which our first three species are comprised, has, among others, these characteristics. The second antennae have one branch four-jointed, the other three-jointed, and the intestine has in front a pair of caecal appendages, but is devoid of median loop. On the other hand, the family Chydoridae, to which the four remaining species belong, has both branches of the antennae three-jointed, the intestine generally without anterior caecal appendages, but looped in the middle, and commonly having a simple caecal appendage at the rear. In the first family, *Scapholeberis mucronata* (O. F. Müller) is an attractive little species, about one millimetre or a twenty-fifth of an inch long, not easy to mistake when once known. The valves of the carapace, at the meeting of the hind with the straight setose ventral margin, are produced into acute processes, a conformation which makes it easy to set up a specimen for dorsal survey. Some of the Oakham specimens had the upturned frontal horn, on account of which a variety *cornuta* has been named, or even established as a distinct species. There were examples of this form containing the dark solitary ephippial egg, as figured by Lilljeborg.¹ They were obtained between the 9th and the 12th of August. Discussing the varied habits of Entomostraca, Mr. D. J. Scourfield observes that—

Some forms swim continuously in the open water of clear ponds and lakes, some attach themselves in various ways to weeds, some crawl about the bottom, some burrow in the mud, some live habitually in wet mosses, and so on. But of all the peculiar modes of existence, that of deliberately making use of the ceiling of a pond, i.e. the surface-film of water, for support, is probably the most remarkable. So far as is known, only a very few species have acquired this power in a fully-developed fashion, and these are all included in two genera—namely, *Scapholeberis* (Cladocera) and *Notodromas* (Ostracoda).²

Taking the present species for an example, he explains that on the ventral margin of each valve the setae at either end of the series project somewhat more than the rest, and when the animal, which habitually swims on its back, brings this margin into contact with the surface of the water, the projecting setae pierce the surface-film, and produce minute capillary depressions, sufficiently large to support the difference in weight between the animal's body and the water which it displaces. He suggests that in this position it obtains some of its food from the miscellaneous organic particles which collect on the surface. Mr. Scourfield further ingeniously suggests that it is protected against the risks of its unusual position by the peculiar duskiness of its whole ventral surface, observing that, in consequence of this darkening, it 'is certainly much less noticeable when seen from above over a muddy bottom than it would otherwise be.'³ As Cladocera in general avoid the surface-film, the unusual position may in itself help to safeguard *Scapholeberis* against enemies from below. *Simosa vetula* (O. F. Müller) is a much larger species than the preceding, and, its valves being deeper behind than in front, its lateral aspect is rather clumsy. The genus agrees with *Scapholeberis* in having the head rounded above and not carinate, but differs by having the valves rounded at the junction of the hind and ventral margins. *Ceriodaphnia megops*, G. O. Sars, large-eyed, as its specific name implies, is distinguished generically from the two preceding genera by the absence of a rostrum. From *C. reticulata* (Jurine), the typical species of its own genus, it is separated by not having any row of spinules on the caudal unguis, while from the other congeneric species it is kept apart by the emargination of the caudal region, a space occupied by a series of spines increasing in size as they approach the unguis. In the other direction the caudal margin appears to be serrated or fringed with minute spinules, lessening forward. Among our four species of Chydoridae *Eurycercus lamellatus* (O. F. Müller) is pre-eminent in size, in that respect exceeding *Simosa vetula* of the preceding family, which in lateral view it much resembles. It is easily distinguished by the caudal region, a part which in this species is often strongly protruded from between the valves. The broad blade-like portion between the caudal setae and the emargination that precedes the unguis has its upper or hinder edge prettily serrated. The serration consists of a hundred or more tiny denticles, gradually lessening forward. The genus is separated from other constituents of this family by having a pair of small caecal appendages to the front of the intestine, affording an interesting link with the Daphniidae. It is also exceptional with regard to the winter eggs. In all other members of the Chydoridae, with one slight and doubtful exception, the ephippial females are content to deposit a single egg in the so-called ephippium. As is well known to students, the Cladocera produce their young in great numbers parthenogenetically. But, to guard against the total extinction of their progeny through the drying up of the

¹ *Cladocera Sueciae*, pl. 23, fig. 2 (1900).

² *Journ. Quckett Microsc. Club*, 309 (1900).

³ *Loc. cit.* 311.

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water in which they dwell, from time to time the maternal valves form a special case in which eggs of a particular character can be laid. These encapsuled eggs require to be fertilized by the male. At the time of moulting the cases are detached from the rest of the exuviated structure, and may lie for a long period in dried mud, preserving the eggs not only from death but also from premature development, till water reappears in which they can safely be hatched. In *Eurycerus lamellatus* this ephippium is designed, it appears, to contain a large number of winter eggs, Weismann having found as many as eight, Schödler from two to ten, and Mr. Scourfield having seen as many as thirteen in one of the ephippial females sent him by Professor Sars.⁴ Among the three remaining species *Acroperus barpae*, Baird, is distinguished by having the head carinate above. Its tail-piece is rather long and evenly shallow, sub-dorsally bordered with little spinules, which are separated by an emargination from the long, slender, nearly straight unguis. These have a denticle near the base and a spinule a little beyond the middle. *Graptoleberis testudinaria* (Fischer) is well marked by the large hooded head with widely rounded rostrum, and by the two teeth at the corner where the straight ventral and sub-truncate hind margins meet one another. The caudal region tapers to the short finely setose unguis. The little *Chydorus sphaericus* (O. F. Müller), with its acuminate rostrum, very convex lower margin, and not tapering caudal region, is very distinct from the preceding species.

The Ostracoda, or box crustaceans, which like tiny mussels hide the details of their organization within the two valves of the carapace, yielded but few specimens out of the large number which longer and more skilful research would doubtless provide. The three or four species obtained all belong to the family Cyprididae. *Erpetocypris reptans* (Baird) is one of our largest fresh-water Ostracoda, being nearly a tenth of an inch long. As implied alike by its generic and specific titles, it is a creeper, having lost the power of swimming, but nevertheless it is rather surprisingly active in its subaqueous movements when there is any loose stuff in which it can lose itself. Dr. G. S. Brady describes the colour as 'greenish with patches of lighter and darker hue, sometimes banded with orange or brown.'⁵ *Notodromas monacha* (O. F. Müller) is a much smaller and at the same time less elongate species. The general effect in our specimens is predominantly black with pale spaces. Dr. Brady says, 'Colour pale greenish or white, transparent, with large and irregularly spread patches of deep olive green or black.'⁶ *Notodromas* literally means 'one that runs on its back,' the intention no doubt being in the present instance to signify one that swims or floats back downwards. It has been already noted that members of this genus make use of the surface-film of water, to the underside of which they attach themselves in an inverted position, like flies upon a ceiling. The ventral surface of their valves has been compared to a 'boat-like plate,' but it must be understood that the plate is flat, with only the plan of a boat sketched or moulded upon it, or, as Dr. Brady explains, 'the ventral surface is bounded by two conspicuous, elevated, arcuate ridges (figs. 3, 6), one on each valve, which together enclose a flattened lozenge-shaped area.'⁷ A third species appears to be *Cypria ophthalmica* (Jurine), in which the caudal rami have the uppermost seta situate near the middle of the ramus. Another specimen, similar in general appearance to the preceding, but in which the caudal rami show no upper seta, may be *Cyclocypris laevis* (O. F. Müller), in accord with Dr. Brady's figure of what in the Monograph he calls *Cypris ovum* (Jurine),⁸ but subsequently identified with *C. laevis*.⁹

To represent the Copepoda, only three species of the genus *Cyclops* were gathered. Two of these belong to the forms which have the first antennae seventeen-jointed, *C. albidus* (Jurine) with caudal rami not equal in length to the two preceding segments combined, and *C. strenuus* (Fischer), in which the antennae are shorter than in *C. albidus*, but the caudal rami are fully as long as the three preceding segments combined. The third species is much less common, and differs very considerably from the other two. By most of its characters it appears to be *Cyclops kaufmanni* (Uljanin). But the first antennae are clearly eleven-jointed, not ten-jointed. It is possible that the number of joints may be subject to some variation, since in Dr. Brady's Monograph, fig. 6 of plate 24 shows a female in dorsal view with the left antennae eleven-jointed and the right twelve-jointed. From his greatly enlarged separate figure of the antenna our specimen differs only by the intercalation of a short joint between the large first and second joints. The little two-jointed fifth foot is in agreement with

⁴ Journ. Quekett Microsc. Club, 220 (1902).

⁵ Monograph of Recent British Ostracoda, Trans. Linn. Soc. xxvi, 370, pl. 25, figs. 10-14; pl. 36, fig. 4 (1868).

⁶ Op. cit. 380.

⁷ Op. cit. 379.

⁸ Op. cit. pl. 36, fig. 8.

⁹ Brady and Norman, Trans. Roy. Dublin. Soc. 2, iv, 69 (1889), and 2, v, 718 (1896).

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Dr. Brady's description and figure of that appendage. According to the same authority *C. kaufmanni* has all the branches of the swimming feet two-jointed, a feature which he says elsewhere is of extremely rare occurrence. In our specimen none of the swimming feet have three-jointed branches, but in one pair one of the branches is one-jointed, whether really or accidentally I cannot determine. Under these circumstances the identification of this species must be considered as only provisional.

Now that the carcinology of Rutland has been redeemed from the reproach of barrenness, it may be hoped that some of the resident naturalists will yield to the attractions of this fascinating study. It cannot pretend to demand athletic prowess, or to compete with the excitements of the chase in other departments of zoology. But it pleasantly accords with the contemplative character of the scenery in the peaceful Vale of Catmose. While it may surprise many that a brief exploration in that area should have enabled us to record more than a score of species of crustacea, it would not be really surprising if by a diligent searching over all the county nine or ten times that number should eventually be brought to light.

FISHES

As Rutland, out of a total area of nearly 100,000 acres, has but 188 acres of water surface, and as its river, the Welland, and its streams, the Gwash, the Chater and the Eye, are of meagre and apparently diminishing proportions, its list of fishes is a small and comparatively uninteresting one, consisting only of twenty indigenous and five imported species. One of these, the dace, has two sub-species which are found in this county, viz. the graining (*Leuciscus lancastriensis*) and the dobule (*L. dobula*). To the Eye brook belongs the distinction of having had the latter of these first identified in its waters by Dr. Günther in 1857.

Though not admitted as distinct by the best authorities, there seem to be two kinds of eels in the Rutland waters, the one yellow-bellied, more numerous and running to a larger size ; the other silver-bellied and of better flavour for the table.

The salmon and sturgeon have never been known to ascend the Rutland streams.

There are no authorities or previous records for the fishes of Rutland.

TELEOSTEANS

ACANTHOPTERYGII

1. Perch. *Perca fluviatilis*, Linn.

Found throughout the county in the ponds, in the Oakham Canal, and in the Welland. From the Eye brook it has entirely disappeared, and has become much scarcer in the Gwash since 1880 for no apparent reason. The largest specimen caught (in the Welland near Gretton Mill) was $2\frac{1}{4}$ lb. The perch in the Welland occasionally rise to the fly.

2. Ruffe (Pope). *Acerina cernua*, Linn.

Present, but sparingly, in the Welland near Caldecott and elsewhere. It does not appear to occur in the Gwash, Chater or Eye.

3. Miller's Thumb (Bullhead). *Cottus gobio*, Linn.

Common in all the rivers and streams, though none of these are sufficiently clear and stony to suit them well, and they are not nearly so abundant here as in Surrey and other southern counties.

4. Large-mouthed Black Bass. *Grystes salmoides* (Lacép.)

Some 100 yearlings and a few $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. fish of

this species were introduced into the Welland about 1890. One was caught weighing about $2\frac{1}{2}$ lb. in the Gwash at Ketton in 1898, and another of a little over 1 lb. in 1897 near Rockingham Mill in the Welland, and a few others have also been caught in the Gwash.

HEMIBRANCHII

5. Three-spined Stickleback. *Gastrosteus aculeatus*, Linn.

Found throughout the county but not in very great numbers, and seems to have diminished of late. It occurs sparingly in the Gwash and Eye, but used to be abundant in the lesser streams near Ridlington and Wardley. Numerous in the Normanton district.

6. Ten-spined Stickleback. *Gastrosteus pungitius*, Linn.

In the same localities as the preceding species, but rare.

HAPLOMI

7. Pike (Jack). *Esox lucius*, Linn.

Common throughout the county in rivers and ponds, but the Eye brook is almost free

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from them, while the Gwash has mostly small jack of 2 or 3 lb. in it. The Welland fish run up to 12 lb. or a little more, while larger fish of 22 or 23 lb. are found in the Burley and Exton ponds.

OSTARIOPHYSI

8. Carp. *Cyprinus carpio*, Linn.

Numerous in the Exton and Burley ponds and other pieces of water. Also found in the Oakham Canal, but not in the rivers. A small gold carp of $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. was recently caught in the Gwash which had no doubt escaped from some pond. The carp in Burgess's Pond at Ridlington during a severe winter early in the nineteenth century were frozen into the ice, and several of about 1 lb. weight were to be seen in this position for three or four weeks. Carp, it is well known, are very tenacious of life.

[Barbel. *Barbus vulgaris*, Flem.

A few were turned into the Welland a year or two ago, but nothing has been seen of them since.]

9. Gudgeon. *Gobio fluviatilis*, Flem.

Plentiful in all the rivers, especially in the Gwash, Chater and Eye. The gudgeon of the last-named are exceptional in size as well as very abundant. In the Gwash they are to be found chiefly on their favourite gravel shallows, but they do not run to a great size, none exceeding 5 inches.

10. Roach. *Leuciscus rutilus*, Linn.

The Welland is noted for the excellence of its roach fishing, and this species is the most abundant fish in that river. It rises well to the fly. There are many of 1 lb. weight, and an exceptional one of $2\frac{1}{4}$ lb. was caught a few years ago at Gretton Mill. They are plentiful in the Gwash in the deeper parts, and of good average size, some reaching $1\frac{1}{2}$ lb. The Eye brook has few, and those small.

11. Rudd. *Leuciscus erythrophthalmus*, Linn.

Common in the Burley and Exton ponds and small private waters. They occur sparingly in the Welland, but some are always to be found in the Gwash along one field near Colly-Weston bridge.

12. Dace. *Leuciscus vulgaris*, Day.

Common in the Eye, Chater and Gwash, and less abundant in the Welland. The introduction of grayling into the Gwash seems to have lessened their number in that river. They grow to an unusual size both there and

in the Eye brook, specimens of 15 oz. having been caught in both rivers.

A sub-species, the graining (*L. lancastrien-sis*, Yarrell), has also been caught on one or two occasions in the Welland.

A variety (*L. dobula*) is found in the Eye brook. This was first discovered in that stream by Dr. Günther, when staying at Uppingham in 1857. He caught the first specimen on 7 September of that year, and Mr. J. M. Burton caught others on 22 September and subsequently. Since then Mr. S. Haslam has caught one or two of this species, the latest specimen being obtained in 1901.

13. Chub (Chevin). *Leuciscus cephalus*, Linn.

Grows to a good size in all the rivers, up to about $2\frac{1}{2}$ lb. in the Eye, to 3 lb. in the Gwash; while in the Welland specimens have been taken of $4\frac{1}{4}$ lb. about 1850, $5\frac{1}{2}$ lb. at Barrowden (about 1890) and at Gretton Mill. Latterly they have become unaccountably scarce in the Gwash and Eye brook.

14. Minnow. *Leuciscus phoxinus*, Linn.

Very numerous in the Chater and Eye, and fairly so in the Gwash and Welland. I have caught them on a small trout fly, and a gravid fish was so taken on 30 May, 1895; also on a minnow almost as large as themselves.

15. Tench. *Tinca vulgaris*, Cuv.

The Burley and Exton ponds are well stocked with them, as many as sixty being caught in a bow-net at one time in the former. In the rivers they are very rare, though one of nearly 2 lb. was caught in the Eye brook near Allextion in 1890, and a second of $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. in the same stream in 1901. They are inquisitive fish and a good device for attracting them to the neighbourhood of a bait is to throw into the pond a bundle of bright flowers, such as the buttercup, weighted with a small stone.

16. Bream. *Abramis brama*, Linn.

Found in the larger ponds; but there are very few in the Welland, where they run from 1 to 4 lb. The white bream (*A. blicca*, Linn.) has been taken at Barrowden at least once.

17. Bleak. *Alburnus lucidus*, Heck. and Kner.

Common in the Welland, but apparently not found in the Gwash, Chater or Eye brook.

18. Loach. *Nemachilus barbatulus*, Linn.

May be said to be fairly common in the Welland and in the Eye, especially near the

FISHES

mill-tails. It is not so common in the Gwash, but is found there in small numbers. None of the rivers are very suitable for it. The spined loach (*Cobitis taenia*) does not seem to occur.

MALACOPTERYGII

19. Trout (Brown Trout). *Salmo fario*, Linn.

Both the Gwash and the Eye take rank as trout streams, but the fishing in both of these is not so good as it used to be, the fish being smaller and not cutting so pink or tasting so clean. In the Gwash many were turned down some years ago, but the fish of the older stock were the finer—very deep and thick and with large red spots. A 2 lb. trout is a good fish in either stream, but a few of 3 lb. and over have been taken, and one of 5 lb. was caught in 1886 with rod and line in the Eye brook above Allextion. Trout are seldom found in the Welland, but one or two large fish have been caught in that river.

20. American Brook Trout (Loch Leven Trout). *Salmo fontinalis* (Mitchill).

These have been introduced into the Gwash, where small ones of 4 or 5 oz. have been taken with the fly; and into the Eye brook in 1892, where I caught one of about $\frac{3}{4}$ lb. weight 11 May, 1894.

21. Great North American Lake Trout. *Salmo namaycush* (Wal.)

Mr. Montagu Browne in his *Vertebrates of Leicestershire and Rutland* records that from 20,000 to 30,000 of these have from time to time been turned into the river Gwash from the breeding waters at Burghley-by-Stamford.

22. Rainbow Trout. *Salmo irideus*, Gibbons.

Has been introduced into the Gwash in the same way as the other varieties of trout.

23. Grayling. *Thymallus vexillifer*, Linn.

Five thousand were turned into the Gwash in 1893. They have thriven slowly but well, and are pretty numerous up to about $1\frac{1}{4}$ lb. in weight, but are not of good eating quality. They appear to have proved detrimental to the trout.

APODES

24. Eel. *Anguilla vulgaris*, Turt.

There are two sorts of eels found in Rutland—the silver-bellied and the yellow-bellied—both of which occur in the Welland and the Chater, but in the Eye and Gwash only the silver-bellied are found. Of the yellow as many as 4 cwt. have been caught on their passage down at Middleton Mill, and of the silver 1 cwt. at Caldecott. In the Gwash and Eye these eels are very abundant and much superior to the yellow-bellied ones for eating purposes.

CYCLOSTOMES

25. Lamprey. *Petromyzon fluviatilis*, Linn.

Many have been caught in the Welland and it also occurs in the Gwash. The small

lampren or pride (*Petromyzon branchialis*) has not been recorded.

REPTILES AND BATRACHIANS

The list of reptiles and batrachians to be found in Rutland is an extremely meagre one. No doubt more careful and continuous observation would add one or two names to the list, but in any case herpetology is not a science that would find any great scope in this county. The only reptile that can be called really common is the grass-snake, and the only two batrachians in any sense numerous are the frog and the newt.

REPTILES

OPHIDIA

1. Grass-Snake. *Tropidonotus natrix*, Linn.

Common, especially at Ridlington, where one was killed, 3 feet long, with twenty eggs in her. Another was killed in Exton Park in 1901 which measured 3 feet 8 inches in length, and was $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in girth. Specimens have been taken at Caldecote and Wardley, and no doubt the grass-snake is distributed throughout the county. The Rev. B. N. Cherry of Clipsham informs me that it is a rooted idea among the keepers in that neighbourhood that no snakes are found between the Nen and the Welland, though common to the south of the former river and to the north of the latter.

2. Viper or Adder. *Vipera berus*, Linn.

Not common in the southern part of the

county. At Ketton it used to be quite numerous, much more so, says Mr. E. St. G. Betts, than the grass-snake. Latterly it has become much scarcer. Near Uppingham it has only been recorded occasionally.

LACERTILIA

3. Common Lizard. *Lacerta vivipara* (Jacq.)

Seldom seen near Uppingham. Since 1889 only three cases of its appearance have been recorded. At Ketton it is commoner and probably elsewhere in the county.

The sand-lizard (*Lacerta agilis*) has not been recorded but probably occurs.

4. Blind-worm. *Anguis fragilis*, Linn.

Sparingly distributed.

BATRACHIANS

ECAUDATA

1. Common Frog. *Rana temporaria*, Linn.

Common, but not very numerous in any one place.

2. Toad. *Bufo vulgaris*, Laur.

Sparingly distributed throughout the county, but Mr. E. H. V. Hodge reports great numbers breeding in the Oakham Canal.

CAUDATA

3. Great Crested Newt. *Molge cristata*, Laur.

Fairly common in all the pools and ponds.

4. Common Newt. *Molge vulgaris*, Linn.

Very common everywhere. There is no record of *M. palmata*, which has perhaps been confused with the prevalent species.

BIRDS

THE list of Rutland birds is not a large one, and numbers little more than two hundred. This is not surprising, for the county is the smallest of all, in fact, less than half the size of any other excepting Middlesex, its circumference being only about fifty miles. Moreover it is an inland county, containing scarcely any waste lands or heaths and only 200 acres of water. Out of a total area of a little over 100,000 acres only 4,000 acres are covered with woodland, and orchards—which are paradises of bird life—account for no more than 150 acres. Rutland is pre-eminently the agricultural county of England, having fewer inhabitants per square mile than any other part of the country except Westmorland. This fact, so far as it goes, is no doubt favourable to certain forms of bird life. Game preserving, though of course practised here as elsewhere, is not carried to such extreme lengths, except perhaps in one locality. Consequently such birds as carrion-crows and magpies are abundant, and even sparrow-hawks hold their own.

The county is traversed east and west by gentle hills separated by valleys averaging about half a mile in width, with stretches of open undulating country dotted about with small villages at some distance apart from one another. The soil is mostly light, and either a strong red loam or surface-earth on limestone, with here and there some cold woodland clay. The streams are small and seem to be dwindling, and there are only two pieces of ornamental water of any size—at Exton and Burley. These, small as they are, have contributed very largely to the list of Rutland birds, more especially in the case of stragglers and occasional visitors, such as the bearded tit, recently recorded for the first time in this county.

But besides the natural disabilities of size, situation, and physical features, Rutland labours under a further disadvantage owing to the total absence of earlier records relating to its ornithology. None of the old writers of natural history so much as allude to it. The only trustworthy information relating to Rutland birds prior to 1825—and it is of little value—is to be gleaned from the notes kept by a certain Thomas Barker of Lyndon Hall, Rutland, between the years 1736 and 1801. He was brother-in-law to Gilbert White, and the very first reference to a Rutland bird which we possess was from the pen of the immortal naturalist of Selborne, who notes under date 31 March,

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1736, 'a flock of wild geese flew N.' He was then about sixteen years old. The notes consist chiefly of the dates of appearance for some of the commoner migrants, the first hearing of the song of the blackbird and thrush, and twice of the woodlark, and records of the passing-over of wild geese. The missel-thrush is not mentioned, nor is the skylark. The cuckoo is only once recorded in March.

The true bird population of a locality consists of (a) true residents, found there, though not perhaps in the same numbers, all the year round, which of course nest in the district; (b) summer residents that reside from March to October, more or less, and nest during their sojourn; (c) regular birds of passage, some of which may on occasion remain *en route* and nest; (d) regular winter visitants, some, again, of which may here and there remain through the summer and breed; (e) occasional, but fairly regular, visitors.

In Rutland, of the true residents there are fifty-nine species, reckoning in the heron, which nests, indeed, outside the county, but is to be seen in Rutland any and every day of the year. Among these residents are counted the swan, introduced centuries ago; the red-legged partridge, turned down in 1850; the hawfinch, which became noticeable about the middle of last century; and the little owl (*Athene noctua*), which came over from Northamptonshire about 1890. The raven, buzzard, and kite died out, as resident species, a little before 1840, and the Norfolk plover twenty-five years or so later. As in most other districts, the woodlark and circl bunting are rare, and the latter may be only a summer visitor.

The summer migrants, our second class, number thirty-three, the stonechat (which apparently used to be a resident) and wood-warbler being rare, while the white wagtail may prove to be commoner than is at present supposed. The pied flycatcher is a true, though exceptional, summer visitor. The turtle-dove reached Rutland just about the time when the raven and kite departed; the crested grebe came in about 1880, and the redshank, an unexpected and most desirable acquisition, about 1890.

There are only four regular birds of passage, the ring-ouzel and green sandpiper, which never stay to breed, and the common sandpiper, which has been known to nest, and the wheatear, which does so here and there, but much more sparingly than in former days.

The regular winter visitants are nineteen in number, the siskin being rare, and the merlin and peregrine quite local. In the case of five species, viz., gray wagtail, woodcock, teal, snipe, water-rail, a few pairs remain through the summer and breed, but this is more or less unusual, except as regards the snipe and, to a greater extent than formerly, the woodcock.

Lastly, there are about twenty occasional visitors, which come sufficiently often to be reckoned as part of the county fauna.

The real bird population of Rutland will therefore consist of fifty-nine permanent residents, thirty-three summer visitors, four regular

BIRDS

birds of passage, nineteen winter visitants, twenty occasional immigrants, or 135 in all. There are in addition the four extinct species : raven, kite, buzzard, and Norfolk plover. Species that have nested at one time or another number 105, besides two or three probable cases, such as crossbill and Montagu's harrier.

Besides the above there is the great army of stragglers, which really belong to the ornithology of England as a whole. It is here that Rutland is most deficient, owing to its smallness of size and lack of observers and early records. Only sixty-three species can be enumerated under this head, with a few doubtful cases, e.g. woodchat-shrike, eagle-owl, Montagu's harrier, purple heron, night heron, stork, bar-tailed godwit. The hoopoe and honey-buzzard may some day, when the shooting of rare birds is not only prohibited but prevented, become residents; in fact, the latter very likely did breed at Burley in 1905. The sand-grouse might breed on any of its extraordinary immigrations. The bee-eater seems actually to have bred on one occasion in the county, thus establishing a British record. The crossbill has possibly nested, and the short-eared owl, tufted duck, and pochard might do so at any time.

Of the rest of the species in this section the little auk has been oftenest seen, and then the gannet, owing to the liability of these two species to be driven inland by gales. The visits of the osprey are most interesting, and almost entitle this bird to a place among regular birds of passage. It is only the lack of observers that has prevented the addition to the Rutland list of birds such as black redstart, golden oriole, (which nested on the Northamptonshire border of Rutland, at Milton, in 1903), the great reed warbler, little bittern, and certain crakes and grebes. The fire-crest must have occurred, and in fact there is some evidence of its actual appearance in the county. The marsh-harrier was, no doubt, a common enough bird formerly, but no record of it has come down to us.

The facts of most importance for British ornithology in general to be gained from the Rutland list are these : the eighth instance, or so, of Bonaparte's gull ; the unique nesting of the bee-eater ; the repeated appearance of the pied flycatcher in this county ; the recent murder of two male bearded tits at Burley Ponds ; the late acquisition of the redshank as a breeding species ; the early return recorded for the wryneck (28 February) ; and the early nesting of the corncrake.

The following facts as to increase and decrease of certain species should be noted. Increased : Missel-thrush, great tit (somewhat), goldfinch (latterly), hawfinch, sparrow, redpoll (as a nester), starling (very much), rook, green woodpecker (probably), kingfisher (latterly), moorhen, nightingale, sedge-warbler, red-backed shrike, nightjar (latterly), turtle-dove (greatly), redshank, great crested grebe (locally), gray wagtail, hooded crow (somewhat), tufted duck, black-headed gull, herring gull, pochard, and goldeneye.

Decreased : Nuthatch, woodlark (apparently), magpie, long-eared owl, tawny owl, heron, lapwing, stonechat (no longer resident), martin,

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quail (but a little less scarce of late), corncrake (considerably), wheatear (greatly), woodcock, wild goose, black tern.

The Bird Protection Acts have no doubt done some good, especially in the case of such birds as the goldfinch and the kingfisher, but stringent measures are required against scientific ornithologists who, with professional birdcatchers and gamekeepers, do all the damage that is done, and, in the case of rare birds, this is incalculable. A simplified Act is much required, which should extend protection all the year round to all birds and their eggs, except certain species exempted owing to their being injurious to the farmer or gardener, such as the sparrow and rook, game birds of course, and some rapacious birds like the crows and black-backed gulls. Steps should also be taken to preserve the nesting sites of rare birds like the Dartford warbler, curl-bunting, woodlark, Norfolk plover, and the bigger birds of prey, from the hands of the scientific egg-snatchers, who are the most sordid and the most pernicious enemies of our native birds.

NOTE.—The nomenclature adopted in the following list is that used in the late Mr. Howard Saunders' *List of British Birds*, 1899, and species not admitted by Mr. Saunders or whose occurrence in the county is open to doubt are placed within square brackets.

Brackets placed round the name of the original describer of a species indicate that he did not employ the generic name which is now adopted.—EDITOR, *V.C.H.*

1. Missel-Thrush. *Turdus viscivorus*, Linn.

Locally, Stormcock, Stormbird, Mavis.

A very common and conspicuous resident, which has increased very much in numbers since the beginning of the last century. Begins nesting early in March. A white specimen seen at Exton in 1900. Not mentioned by T. Barker of Lyndon in his long series of phenological observations (1736–1801).

2. Song-Thrush. *Turdus musicus*, Linn.

Locally, Thrustle, Mavis.

Mostly migrate in hard winters, though some always remain behind. At other seasons very abundant. Nests with (apparently fresh) eggs have been found in November and December (1897), and a case is recorded at Thorpe-by-Water where one pair brought off three successive broods from the same nest, which was placed in the ivy over a porch. A young cuckoo was discovered in a nest of this species at Caldecott in 1904. A pied specimen was shot at Uppingham in 1870.

3. Redwing. *Turdus iliacus*, Linn.

A regular winter visitor, but not so common as the fieldfare. Arriving in October it remains till the end of April.

4. Fieldfare. *Turdus pilaris*, Linn.

Locally, Felt.

Considerable flocks are always to be seen from October till May. From 1736 to 1800 the average date of arrival, as recorded by T. Barker of Lyndon, was 29–30 October, but from 1890 to 1905, it was 22 October.

5. Blackbird. *Turdus merula*, Linn.

Essentially a hedge and garden bird, it is most stay-at-home in its habits and does not seem to migrate. Seldom begins to sing till February, but nests have occasionally been found in January (e.g. 31 January, 1901). One nest with six eggs was found in 1901. The starling-blue variety of egg with large reddish-brown spots at the bigger end is frequently met with. Pied varieties are common, and a young albino with pink eyes and yellow bill was observed at Normanton in 1905, and a light-brown, almost yellow one was shot at Exton. A pied specimen with a white gorget was found sitting on its nest at Bisbrooke in 1855, and mistaken for a ring-ouzel.

6. Ring-Ouzel. *Turdus torquatus*, Linn.

Occurs in small numbers throughout the county every year, and has been recorded from Clipsham, Greetham, Burley, Exton,

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Edith Weston, Lyndon, Market Overton, Wing, Ketton, Barleythorpe, Wardley, Bisbrooke, Glaston, and Seaton. The months in which it has been seen are March, April (10 April, 1886), August, September, October (1901).

7. Wheatear. *Saxicola oenanthe* (Linn.).

Locally, Stonechat.

Lord Lilford, in his *Birds of Northamptonshire* (vol. i, 114), says:—‘In some places on the frontiers of Northamptonshire, Lincolnshire, and Rutland, it may be called abundant,’ and the late Mr. A. C. Elliot, a taxidermist of Stamford, makes the incredible statement (1883) that ‘it breeds in every stone-quarry and stone-fence wall in the county.’ However, this species was no doubt a good deal commoner fifty years ago than it is now, and was nearly always to be seen throughout the year on the commons at Seaton, Barrowden, and Morcott. Though it still nests occasionally, the last two nests recorded being in 1903, and has been observed in every month between 25 March (1905) (its earliest appearance) and 25 September (1903) its latest, yet it is usually seen only on migration, the average date in spring being 11 April. In the autumn it may usually be looked for at the end of August. Ketton seems perhaps its favourite locality, but it has been recorded also from Gretton, Stoke, Beaumont Chase, Lyndon, Luffenham, Ridlington, Burley, Exton, Uppingham, Preston, and Greetham, where six were seen 8 April, 1901.

8. Whinchat. *Pratincola rubetra* (Linn.).

Locally, Utick.

A common migrant, arriving about the end of April, but occasionally as early as 10 April (1901). In that year nests were found as early as 9 May. Mr. E. H. V. Hodge found a nest with seven eggs at Hambleton Hill in 1901.

9. Stonechat. *Pratincola rubicola* (Linn.).

Up to the middle of the last century this bird was apparently resident and common, for a pair could be found (at least near Uppingham) wherever there was any extent of gorse, and nests were discovered every year. Mr. A. C. Elliot, writing in 1883, says: ‘It winters every year on Barrowden Heath.’ At the present day there is no evidence that it remains through the winter. But they can always be seen on passage, or as migrants arriving at their nesting quarters as early even as the end of February (e.g. 1902, 1903). It still probably breeds on Barrowden and Luffenham Heaths, and the nest may be

looked for early in April. No cause is apparent for the serious diminution of this handsome and hardy species in this county. Furze is not un plentiful, and the species is not subject to persecution.

10. Redstart. *Ruticilla phoenicurus* (Linn.).

Locally, Redtail.

A common summer migrant arriving about 13 April. Seven eggs are often found in a nest, and Mr. Theodore Bell records one instance of eight. Though this species usually builds in holes of trees or walls, yet it sometimes builds like a swallow upon a rafter.

The Black Redstart, *Ruticilla titys*, has not yet been recorded for Rutland.

11. Redbreast. *Erithacus rubecula* (Linn.).

Very common. Large numbers change their quarters in the winter. Nesting sometimes begins very early, even in the middle of February. Six eggs are not an uncommon clutch, and I have once found seven (27 May 1898). Mr. W. J. Horn records a brood reared in the discarded nest of a hedge-sparrow, and I have known a pair bring up a second brood in the same nest, though Seebohm denies the possibility of this. A handsome variety was killed at Ketton in 1886, with head and chin normal, but the rest of throat, breast, sides, and back, creamy white, only a few dark feathers being interspersed.

12. Nightingale. *Daulias luscinia* (Linn.).

Though not common fifty years ago, this species is now, happily, quite abundant almost everywhere in the county. Several pairs breed in the gardens of Uppingham School. I should say there were fifty pairs within a radius of five miles round Uppingham. Earliest date of arrival recorded is 8 April (1903). The song is sometimes continued into July (as in 1900, 1903). The average date of the nightingale’s song being first heard is 21 April. The nest may invariably be found about 25 May, and though generally built on the ground, is occasionally placed in a shrub a little above the ground.

13. Whitethroat. *Sylvia cinerea* (Bechstein).

Locally, Peggy Whitethroat, Nettle-Creeper.

In most years one of the commonest migrants, arriving towards the end of April. There is one instance of a cuckoo’s egg being found in a nest of this species.

14. Lesser Whitethroat. *Sylvia curruca* (Linn.).

A summer migrant considerably less common than the preceding, the proportion being perhaps one to eight if we may judge by the number of nests found of either species.

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15. Blackcap. *Sylvia atricapilla* (Linn.).

Locally, Haychat.

Though seemingly somewhat commoner than it was fifty years ago, this species cannot be considered plentiful in Rutland. It is usually much scarcer than the garden-warbler. In some years it is more plentiful than in others. Good years were 1899, 1901, 1905. It arrives about 8 April, but I believe I once saw a female on 23 March (1890).

16 Garden-Warbler. *Sylvia hortensis* (Bechstein).

Arrives a fortnight later than the preceding, and, like it, varies in number in different years, but may be considered a much commoner bird.

17. Goldcrest. *Regulus cristatus*, Koch.

Resident, and, aided by considerable foreign accessions, by no means uncommon. Probably nests in most gardens of any size throughout the county, as well as in all the woods. The song sometimes begins in February, but nest-building is deferred till May. The nest is occasionally in the fork of a tree, resembling that of a chaffinch. In the autumn it associates with the tits and creeper.

The Firecrest (*Regulus ignicapillus*) no doubt occurs often enough, but no absolutely certain record has come to hand. However, Mr. J. M. Mitchell and Mr. F. Styan, the well-known ornithologist, saw in December 1872, what they had no doubt was a pair of these birds at Uppingham.

18. Chiffchaff. *Phylloscopus rufus* (Bechstein).

Though distributed over the whole county, it is nowhere very numerous. Two or three pairs build in the Uppingham Gardens, and I have heard as many as six in one day in Wardley Wood. The bird does not sing on its first arrival if the weather be inclement. It arrives in Rutland during the last ten days of March, usually about 29 March, but it has been heard once as early as 16 March (1893). The late Mr. Howard Saunders said it ceases to sing in May. If so, it begins again in July, for I have heard it 4, 15, 16 July (1899) and 12 July (1901).

19. Willow-Warbler. *Phylloscopus trochilus* (Linn.).

One of our commonest and most welcome summer migrants, far more numerous than the preceding. Arrives about 3 April, but I saw one unmistakably on a willow by the Eye Brook, 14 March 1903, and it was seen

the same year on 18 March. It has been observed as late as 18 November (1900). In spite of Lord Lilford's statement to the contrary, I feel quite certain this bird does not sing at once upon arrival.

20. Wood-Warbler. *Phylloscopus sibilatrix* (Bechstein.).

Undoubtedly a Rutland summer migrant, though only found in two or three localities. Lord Gainsborough reports its occurrence at Exton Park, and his evidence is corroborated by Mr. J. Whitaker, author of the *Birds of Nottinghamshire*. It has also been observed by Mr. A. E. J. Dixon at Empingham. One nest alone is recorded, and this, containing one egg, was taken by Mr. J. M. Mitchell at the edge of Wardley Wood in 1872.

21. Reed-Warbler. *Acrocephalus streperus* (Vieillot).

Occurs in some numbers, as a summer migrant, at the Burley and Exton Ponds, but elsewhere in the county it is very sparingly distributed, chiefly along the Welland. Nests have also been found at Ridlington, Beaumont Chase, and Stoke Wood.

22. Sedge Warbler. *Acrocephalus phragmitis* (Bechstein).

Though said to have been rare till 1870, it is now a common, and in some years quite abundant, summer visitor. It arrives about the third week in April. A nest was found in 1902 10 ft. from the ground in a hawthorn tree—a most unusual site. It is a favourite foster-mother for the young cuckoo.

23. Grasshopper-Warbler. *Locustella naevia* (Boddaert).

Locally, Reeler.

For more than fifty years described as a common summer migrant, but of late years it seems certainly to have decreased in numbers. It has been reported from Uppingham (though not lately), Wardley Wood, Stoke, Barrowden, Luffenham, Horne, Barnsdale, Exton, Manton, Wing, Seaton, Shacklewell, and Oakham.

24. Hedge-Sparrow. *Accentor modularis* (Linn.).

Locally, Blue Dunnock.

One of the commonest of resident birds, and subject to little variation in numbers. Begins to nest in March. The species most often selected by the cuckoo for the rearing of its young.

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25. Dipper. *Circus aquaticus*, Bechstein.

A very rare visitor. One was killed about 1880 at Empingham, a second about 1889 at Burley. It has also been said to occur at Thorpe by Water and elsewhere on the Welland. The sub-species *C. melanogaster* has not been recorded.

26. Bearded Reedling. *Panurus biarmicus* (Linn.)

Two males were shot at Burley Ponds on 18 January (1905), being the first birds of this species ever accredited to Rutland. The reed beds at Burley afford perhaps the only suitable spot in the county for the habitat of the species.

27. Long-tailed Tit. *Acredula caudata* (Linn.).

Locally, Bumbarrel, Puddin' bag.

Common. Sometimes seen in parties of twenty or more, and in autumn in company with the other tits, tree-creepers, and goldcrest. The nest is built early, and I have found one ready for occupation on 5 March (1897) and 17 March (1896).

28. Great Tit. *Parus major*, Linn.

Locally, Oxeye.

Abundant, perhaps more so than fifty years ago. This species is no doubt migratory to some extent. Nesting does not begin till late in April. A pair built several years running in a letter box at Exton Park.

29. Coal-Tit. *Parus ater*, Linn.

Locally, Blackcap, Tomtit.

Fairly common and more numerous near human habitations than in the woods, where its place is taken by the next species. Mr. J. G. Thring reports having seen a specimen of the European *Parus ater*, of which the English coal-tit is considered by some to be a sub-species, at Farleigh, Uppingham, in February 1904.

30. Marsh-Tit. *Parus palustris*, Linn.

This species is perhaps about as common as the preceding, and, though like it, is neater and more attractive in its appearance. It is said to peck out a new nest for itself every season, and to remove the chips from beneath the tree. A supposed sub-species of the *Parus palustris*, the so-called willow-tit, has not been identified as yet in Rutland.

31. Blue-Tit. *Parus caeruleus*, Linn.

The commonest of the tits. Not a favourite with gardeners. It has been known to place its nest inside a discarded nest of the black-bird.

32. Nuthatch. *Sitta caesia*, Wolf.

Locally, Jar-bird.

Nowhere abundant in the county, except perhaps at Burley, Exton, and Ketton. Near Uppingham it is now almost non-existent, though a nest was found at Wardley Wood in 1871, a pair frequented the churchyard at Uppingham in 1885, and there was a nest high up in an elm tree at Ayston (since cut down) in 1898. It has been reported also from Lyndon, Oakham, Edith Weston, Empingham, Normanton, Stretton, Glaston, and Caldecott. A pair at Lyndon were evicted from their nest by woodpeckers and their eggs thrown out.

33. Wren. *Troglodytes parvulus*, Koch.

Very common everywhere. This species may be heard singing in every month of the year. A clutch of seven eggs has been recorded three times.

34. Tree-Creeper. *Certhia familiaris*, Linn.

Resident and fairly common, but not close to human dwellings. It has a curious habit of associating with tits in the search for food, and I once saw six engaged on a combined picnic of this sort in Wardley Wood, and one of these perched upon a branch. At Exton Park a nest with five eggs was found between a window and the shutter.

35. Pied Wagtail. *Motacilla lugubris*, Temminck.

Locally, Dishwasher, Nanny Wagtail.

Common in the summer, but during severe weather only a small remnant stay behind wherever a little running water may be found. The migrants return in February. The cuckoo has a partiality for the nest of this species, and a wagtail's nest had a young cuckoo in it as late as 2 July (1901). On one occasion a second cuckoo's egg was laid in the same nest, from which an egg of the same species had been taken two days earlier.

36. White Wagtail. *Motacilla alba*, Linn.

Has been reported from Exton by Lord Gainsborough, and from the Welland valley by Mr. W. J. Horn. It is no doubt fairly frequent, and perhaps breeds in the county. As it seems to interbreed freely with the pied wagtail (*M. lugubris*), it may be doubted whether it is really a distinct species.

37. Gray Wagtail. *Motacilla melanope*, Pallas.

A winter visitor arriving in September and sparingly distributed over the county. The great majority depart in April, but a few remain

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to breed. I saw a single one on 27 July 1902 near Uppingham, and another on 22 May 1903 at Allextun. Mr. A. E. G. Dixon reports that he has seen it throughout the year at Empingham, and a pair several times in June 1902 at the Normanton Waterworks, and again at Clipsham Ford on 5 May 1903. A nest has not yet been definitely recorded for Rutland, unless one in the vicarage garden of Caldecott, attributed by the Rev. S. R. Pocock to the yellow wagtail (*M. raii*), belonged (as seems likely) to this species. In any case a nest will no doubt be found ere long.

38. Yellow Wagtail. *Motacilla raii* (Bonaparte).

Locally, Golden Wagtail.

Though not very common, it is fairly well distributed over the county, except perhaps round Normanton. It may be expected about the middle of April. The nest has been recorded from Belton, Stoke Dry, Ketton, Seaton, and Oakham. This bird flocks before its departure in September.

39. Tree-Pipit. *Anthus trivialis* (Linn.).

Locally, Titlark.

A common migrant, arriving early in April. Nests have been found as late as July. The two varieties of eggs, reddish and purplish, are equally common.

40. Meadow Pipit. *Anthus pratensis* (Linn.).

Locally, Titlark.

Fairly common throughout the year, but in summer not so numerous as the preceding. A nest may usually be found on the rough commons or heaths at Barrowden, Seaton, and Luffenham about the second week in May. This species certainly shifts its quarters at different times of the year.

41. Rock Pipit. *Anthus obscurus* (Latham).

One was killed at Tixover in 1876 by A. C. Elliot, which he described as 'a poor specimen, dark olive-brown.' This is the only record for Rutland.

42. Great Grey Shrike. *Lanius excubitor*, Linn.

A rare winter visitant. One was killed near Casterton in January 1883, a second at Morcott about 1885, which passed into the collection of the late Mr. Simpson of Spratton. A third was shot at Exton the same year, and is now in the possession of Lord Gainsborough. A fourth was seen near Oakham in the winter of 1886-7.

43. Red-backed Shrike. *Lanius collurio*, Linn.

Locally, Butcher Bird.

Sparingly distributed over the county, but common in certain localities, such as Glaston and its neighbourhood. Both varieties of eggs are found. It arrives early in May. The so-called 'larder' formed by this bird has only once been discovered.

44. Wood-Chat Shrike. *Lanius pomeranus*, Sparman.

One was seen in the spring of 1869 close to the Rutland border, and a second found dead near Stamford in the same year. Both were recorded by A. C. Elliot.

45. Waxwing. *Ampelis garrulus*, Linn.

Six instances. One seen near Stamford in the winter of 1844-5. A second seen on Barnsdale Hill by the late Mr. R. Tryon about 1883. Several at Bisbrooke, one of which, 'a magnificent specimen,' was shot. Another was shot at Liddington in February 1885. On 2 March 1898 one was seen at Uppingham, and caught a few days later with birdlime while feeding on haws. It soon died in confinement. Lastly, several were seen at Barnsdale in 1904 by Capt. C. Fitzwilliam.

46. Pied Flycatcher. *Muscicapa atricapilla*, Linn.

Has undoubtedly bred in Rutland. In 1885 a male bird was seen at Ridlington, and a nest with three eggs found. On 22 May 1892 another male bird was seen in the same locality. In May 1899 Lord Gainsborough saw a male bird in the kitchen garden at Exton Park, and states that it had been seen there on a previous occasion, and a nest had been reported from the village. In June 1901 a male specimen was again seen at Ridlington. Mr. J. Whitaker, of Rainworth, Nottinghamshire, took a nest about 1865 near Wardley Wood, and the bird was seen at Bisbrooke about 1872. So Rutland may now be added to the counties where this bird is occasionally found.

47. Spotted Flycatcher. *Muscicapa grisola*, Linn.

Locally, Beam Bird.

One of our later migrants, seldom to be seen before May. Common throughout the county. On one occasion at Edith Weston in 1903 a pair utilized an old swallow's nest in which to rear a brood. The pale blue variety of egg occasionally occurs. The cuckoo sometimes commandeers the nest of this bird.

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48. Swallow. *Hirundo rustica*, Linn.

The average date for the first appearance of the swallow is 12 April, and for its departure the middle of October, but in 1737 they were seen on 28 March, and three observers reported seeing a flock of swallows or martins at Uppingham on 8 March 1895. The latest date on which a swallow has been seen is 18 November (1904). A white specimen was shot near Oakham at some unspecified date in the past, and Mr. Montagu Browne describes one of a greyish-white colour on the upper parts, with the under parts almost of the normal colour, but paler.

This species has certainly decreased in numbers during the last fifty years.

49. House-Martin. *Chelidon urbica* (Linn.).

The martin arrives about a week later on an average than the swallow, and departs a week later. Its nests may be found, however, very much later, even (with young birds) in the middle of October. In some parts of the county these birds have much diminished in number. About twenty-five to thirty pairs build in the town of Uppingham annually.

50. Sand-Martin. *Cotile riparia* (Linn.).

Locally, Bank Martin.

Somewhat sparingly distributed, as nesting sites are few and far between, the chief of these being at Glaston, Pilton, Edith Weston, and near Collyweston (Northants). A few birds are always to be seen along the Welland. There used to be a nesting site at Morcott in a quarry. Owing to paucity of nesting quarters they have been known to utilize walls as nesting sites at Ketton and Uppingham. I have seen two or three pairs nesting in the earth-covered roots of a big tree blown down by the wind by the waterside.

This species arrives about 10 April, but very occasionally, as in 1905, it is seen in March.

51. Greenfinch. *Ligurinus chloris* (Linn.).

Locally, Green Linnet, Peafinch.

Resident and abundant everywhere. I have heard it sing as late as 19 August (1899). The eggs vary much in size and colour. The tall thorn hedges of this district afford very favourite nesting sites for this species.

52. Hawfinch. *Coccothraustes vulgaris*, Pallas.

Rare in Rutland till about 1870, it is now fairly common all over the county, though, owing to its wary habits, not often seen. Small flocks are sometimes observed in January. The first nest recorded for this county

was taken in 1870 by Mr. J. M. Mitchell. Eggs may be looked for about the middle of May.

53. Goldfinch. *Carduelis elegans*, Stephens.

Locally, Redcap, Thistlefinch.

By no means so scarce in the summer and autumn months as is generally supposed; but the observer must know where to look and listen for it. In winter it is probably to a large extent migratory. In April as many as forty have been seen at once, and in February 1899 a 'charm' of seventeen were seen near Uppingham. A comparatively small orchard at Glaston will contain nine or ten nests, and, as two broods are produced each year, the output of goldfinches is no inconsiderable one. The bird breeds freely all over the county, and has certainly increased in numbers of late. There are said to be two varieties of the bird in Rutland, one with dark crimson forehead and chin, dark breast and legs; the other, a more slender bird, with bright scarlet forehead and chin, light breast, belly slightly shaded with chestnut, and brownish or flesh-coloured legs.

54. Siskin. *Carduelis spinus* (Linn.).

An occasional winter visitor in all parts of the county where willows and alders abound. It has been oftenest observed at Caldecott. The bird has once or twice been seen in summer at Uppingham, but I attribute these instances to escapes from the school aviary.

55. Sparrow. *Passer domesticus* (Linn.).

Far too numerous everywhere. Nests have been found even early in January and often in August. Variations in plumage are not uncommon. A white one and a coal-black one were seen at Ketton 1 and 6 December 1901.

56. Tree-Sparrow. *Passer montanus* (Linn.).

Common in Rutland. Round Uppingham a number of nests may always be found in holes of pollard trees or in the thatch of barns, even in old magpies' nests. The eggs in the same nest vary a good deal, and there is generally one egg which is quite different from the others. The usual date for a nest is the middle of May.

57. Chaffinch. *Fringilla caelebs* (Linn.).

Locally, Spink, Piefinch.

One of our commonest species, receiving accessions from elsewhere at certain times in the year. Its song may be heard early in February. The light-blue variety of egg is occasionally found.

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58. Brambling. *Fringilla montifringilla*, Linn.

A constant, though not very plentiful, visitor to Rutland in winter, and occurs most commonly where there are beech trees. As many as twenty have been seen together at Exton and Normanton. Their winter stay extends from November to the middle of April.

59. Linnet. *Linota cannabina* (Linn.).

Resident and common. Every patch of gorse, and these are numerous, contains many nests. A four-mile radius would, I should say, contain at least five hundred pairs, and as each pair has two broods, if not more, and five eggs in a clutch, the yearly increase of linnets must be very great.

60. Lesser Redpoll. *Linota rufescens* (Vieillot).

Seems to have become much commoner as a breeding species since 1860. Small flocks are frequently seen in the winter, and pairs remain to nest here and there over the county. Nests have been recorded from Preston, Seaton, Caldecott, Beaumont Chase, and Glaston, and as a bird was seen on 18 May 1899 in one of the Uppingham gardens it probably nested there.

61. Twite. *Linota flavirostris* (Linn.).

No doubt occurs occasionally, but has only been identified by Mr. W. J. Horn on 4 March, near Morcott. The small flock seen were feeding with larks, and I observed them two days later near the same place.

62. Bullfinch. *Pyrrhula europaea*, Vieillot.

Plentiful throughout the county, perhaps shifting its quarters in winter, though, during the severe weather of December 1901, I saw a dozen together feeding on the 'keys' of the ash near Uppingham. As many as nine have been shot at one time in an orchard, and certainly the bird is most destructive to fruit trees.

63. Crossbill. *Loxia curvirostra*, Linn.

A somewhat late winter visitor. It has been recorded from Seaton, Normanton, Ryhall, Pickworth, Bisbrooke, Uppingham, and Wardley. One was shot 17 August 1859 at Seaton, and Mr. J. M. Mitchell saw three in March 1872 at Uppingham, a date at which they should have been nesting.

64. Corn-Bunting. *Emberiza miliaria*, Linn.

Locally, Bunting Lark.

Resident and common in many parts of the county, though rare in others. On the east side of Uppingham twenty may be seen in one day. Near Empingham and Normanton

the bird is rare. Though its song may be heard in March, the bird does not usually nest before June. No satisfactory explanation has been given of the lateness of its nesting.

65. Yellow Hammer. *Emberiza citrinella*, Linn.

Locally, Writing Lark.

One of the commonest residents. Mr. A. E. G. Dixon reports seeing a bird of this species building a nest on 24 February 1905, an almost incredibly early date. Unusual nesting sites reported are, 8 ft. from the ground in a hedge, and under the eaves of a haystack. A yellow hammer which I caught in my house shammed death.

66. Cirl-Bunting. *Emberiza cirlus*, Linn.

Very rare. Mr. J. M. Mitchell records one that was shot near Uppingham about 1870, and says that he saw a pair between Uppingham and Rockingham on several occasions a year or two later. He also possesses an egg found in May 1872 at Liddington, which was said, and appears, to be an egg of this species. It has also been seen near Thisleton.

67. Reed - Bunting. *Emberiza schoeniclus*, Linn.

Locally, Reed Sparrow.

To be found throughout the county along all the streams and water-courses. This species is no doubt migratory, but some can always be seen.

68. Snow - Bunting. *Plectrophanes nivalis*, Linn.

Seldom seen. Two were seen in 1883, one at Cottesmore and a second at Tixover, the latter being shot. Three were seen at Ayston in 1895, and possibly one in 1901.

69. Starling. *Sturnus vulgaris*, Linn.

Locally, Starnel or Sturnel, Shepster.

By no means abundant about 1835; it is now exceedingly plentiful, flocks of a thousand being no uncommon sight. It is doubtful whether the starling is double-brooded, but its numbers are increased by accessions from abroad, and the species is now so numerous that nesting sites for all are becoming increasingly difficult to find. Consequently even woodpeckers are evicted from their nesting holes. Is it a new art that the starling has acquired, namely, hawking for flies high in the air like swallows? At all events it is only during the last ten years or so that this has been observed in Rutland. A beautiful cream-coloured specimen was seen at Ayston

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about 1877, and another about 1888 at Oakham, and a third at Ketton in 1898.

70. Jay. *Garrulus glandarius* (Linn.).

Surprisingly common for so conspicuous and persecuted a bird. I have seen as many as thirteen together in Wardley Wood (1901). An inveterate nest-robber.

71. Magpie. *Pica rustica* (Scopoli).

Still quite common in the southern parts of the county. Flocks of ten or twelve are often seen near Uppingham. About 1880 Mr. Theodore Bell once saw a 'crowd' of thirty-two near Stoke Wood. Even more destructive to eggs and young birds than the jay. Its numbers are much reduced near Normanton and Burley, where gamekeepers are more in evidence.

72. Jackdaw. *Corvus monedula*, Linn.

Too numerous. I have seen forty at once in company with rooks. It destroys numbers of eggs and broods of wild birds. A white variety and one of a cream colour have been recorded.

73. Raven. *Corvus corax*, Linn.

Now extinct except as a wanderer, but used to breed in more than one locality. The last nests recorded were about 1840 at Normanton and Exton. The last of the Rutland ravens was taken from a nest in Exton Park. Lord Gainsborough has an egg laid by this bird in captivity. One was shot in Wardley Wood about 1855. Since then one was seen at Ridlington on 12 October 1898, and another by Mr. A. E. G. Dixon at Empingham on 20 April 1905.

74. Carrion-Crow. *Corvus corone*, Linn.

Very plentiful for a bird with a price on its head. In 1901 a single observer, Dr. Kenneth de R. Bell, found twelve nests in the neighbourhood of Uppingham. There would doubtless be a hundred nests in a radius of 4 miles, and this means a very large 'congregation' of autumn crows. To the east of Uppingham this bird is much less common, its place being taken by the next species.

75. Hooded Crow. *Corvus cornix*, Linn.

Locally, Grey Crow.

Arrives punctually about 20 October and leaves about 20 March. Its numbers seem to be slightly on the increase. No record of it appears before 1855. It may always be seen in winter along the Welland by Seaton and Barrowden, and near Morcott and Bisbrooke, but it is seldom found to the west of Uppingham. This species has not been

reported from any other locality in Rutland except Normanton and Empingham.

76. Rook. *Corvus frugilegus*, Linn.

Undoubtedly too numerous in this district. Flocks of four hundred may be seen round Uppingham. Besides their corn-eating propensities, rooks have now developed a taste for the eggs of birds, and are hardly less mischievous than carrion-crows. Variations in plumage are not uncommon, and I saw a beautiful cream-coloured one with black head near Uppingham on 14 March 1893.

77. Skylark. *Alauda arvensis*, Linn.

Abundant, but in severe weather not one is to be seen. The largest flocks in the neighbourhood of Uppingham rarely exceed one hundred. A white specimen was shot at Ayston about 1875.

78. Woodlark. *Alauda arborea*, Linn.

Very scarce. Thomas Barker of Lyndon mentions it twice between 1736 and 1801, as singing in January 1762 and February 1768. Mr. J. M. Mitchell notes a specimen shot near Uppingham about 1870, and seen in the flesh. The late Mr. Cordeaux saw one near Exton in 1888 and Mr. J. Whitaker one on 3 October 1891 at the same place. A nest was found at Barnsdale about 1876, and on 19 April 1890 a nest with four eggs (undoubtedly woodlark's), was found near Stoke Wood, where the birds have since been seen by the finder. During 15 years' observation I never saw or heard one, or of one, near Uppingham. Why this bird, which has two broods, is so rare, remains a mystery.

79. Swift. *Cypselus apus* (Linn.).

Locally, Devilings.

Arrives generally during the first week in May, but seems to have been a little earlier during the 18th century, for in 1749 it arrived 16 April, and in 1739, 1740, and 1747 it was seen 17 April. They generally depart early in August, but 3 September 1782, 12 September 1790, and 4 September 1891 have been noted as dates of last appearance. In 1844 there were very few to be seen. At present their numbers are pretty constant, and at least a dozen pairs breed in Uppingham, and I have seen thirty at a time in July. The Rev. W. Turner, writing to the *Zoologist* in 1850, described a variety, which was shot at Uppingham, as weighing less than an ounce; throat, belly, vent and rump smoke-coloured, the rest black; back and wing-coverts glossy, head somewhat glossy, tail forked but not acutely; wings nearly $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length.

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80. Nightjar. *Caprimulgus europaeus*, Linn.

Locally, Fern-Owl.

Appears to have increased to some extent during the last fifty years, but it is rather local. A summer migrant, arriving somewhat late, it breeds sparingly over the district, being most common at Burley and Ketton.

81. Wryneck. *Lynx torquilla*, Linn.

Locally, Snake Bird, Cuckoo's Mate.

I believe this bird comes a good deal before the cuckoo, but is not heard. It was heard 15 March 1902, and seen 24 February 1903 at Uppingham, and heard then 6 March. It is sparingly distributed over the county. Nests have been recorded from Seaton, Ridlington, Bisbrooke, Braunston, Oakham, and Allexton.

82. Green Woodpecker. *Gecinus viridis* (Linn.).

Locally, Yaffle.

Resident and wonderfully common, and has evidently increased in the last fifty years. Old ash trees and numerous ant-hills afford it most suitable board and lodging. If this species is subject to melanism, then the late Mr. Cooper of Ayston, must have seen a melanic variety, for about 1880 he saw a black wood-pecker in Wardley Wood. He was quite familiar with *Dendrocopus major*, and had shot it in this very wood, so there is no question of confusion with that species. Of course no one who values a reputation for sanity among ornithological experts would dare to breathe a possibility that this might have been *Picus martius*.

83. Great Spotted Woodpecker. *Dendrocopus major* (Linn.).

Resident, but somewhat sparingly distributed. Commonest at Burley and Exton, where the nest can always be found. Nests have also been reported from Ketton, Wardley, and Caldecott. It has once been seen in Uppingham.

84. Lesser Spotted Woodpecker. *Dendrocopus minor* (Linn.).

Resident and fairly common in certain localities, e.g. Exton, Burley, and Normanton. But it is scarce near Uppingham, where I have only seen one specimen. No doubt it is more plentiful than it appears to be, owing to its shy and elusive habits.

85. Kingfisher. *Alcedo ispida*, Linn.

Resident, but not much in evidence between November and February. It is found sparingly on all the Rutland rivers and

streams, and also at Clipsham, Braunston, Burley, and Exton. Two or three nests may be found yearly on the Eye.

86. Bee-Eater. *Merops apiaster*, Linn.

One instance. On 24 March 1876 the late Mr. A. C. Elliot, of Stamford, wrote to the late Lord Lilford saying that a pair of bee-eaters built a nest on the bank of a pond close to Kelthorpe, a hamlet of Ketton, in the summer of 1868. The nest was composed of bones, wing (of beetles?), &c. One of the old birds was shot and stuffed by Elliot for Mr. Andrews of Ketton. 'The young being able to fly got away with the mother bird.' This is conclusive for the bird if not for its nest, and I can see no impossibility in the latter, though it is the only record for England.

87. Hoopoe. *Upupa epops*, Linn.

Five hoopoes have been observed in Rutland, four of these being shot. One at Tickencote in 1838, the second at Burley in 1880, the third at Cottesmore 29 May 1888, the fourth at Ketton 30 August in the same year. The fifth and last was seen in the vicarage garden at Braunston and allowed to go in peace.

88. Cuckoo. *Cuculus canorus*, Linn.

Abundant everywhere. The average date of arrival (60 observations) between 1736 and 1800 was 21 April; during the last few years it has been 13 April. Only thrice has a March cuckoo been reported—15 March 1776, 22 March 1894, 28 March 1901. On one occasion twelve cuckoos were seen in one field. Nests of the following birds have been appropriated by the cuckoo for its own purposes, as observed in this county:—Hedge-sparrow (8 times), pied wagtail (6 times), sedge-warbler (4 times), robin and yellow hammer (3 times each), flycatcher, greenfinch, and meadow pipit (2 each), and linnet willow-warbler (or ?chiffchaff), common whitethroat, reed-warbler, tree pipit, and thrush, once each.

It will be seen that resident birds have the preference. The song of the cuckoo remains true sometimes till July, and nestlings have been found as late as 27 July (1898) and 30 July 1901 in a linnet's nest.

89. White or Barn-owl. *Strix flammea*, Linn.

Locally, White Owl, Yellow Owl, Screech Owl.

Still common, as it has always been. A nest at Ayston contained on 10 May 1899 five eggs and three young birds. As many as

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seventeen eggs have been taken successively from a single nest. The castings of this species show that shrews, mice, and voles are its favourite food.

90. Long-eared Owl. *Asio otus*, Linn.

Locally, Horned Owl, Brown Owl.

Resident, but local and scarce, being commonest at Ketton and Empingham. Five and twenty years ago it was common also at Tickencote according to A. C. Elliot, and it used to occur at Ayston, Wardley, and Ridlington, localities which it now seems to have deserted. Their food consists more of small birds, such as chaffinches, than of mice, judging from their pellets.

91. Short-eared Owl. *Asio accipitrinus* (Pallas).

Locally, Woodcock Owl.

An autumn migrant but scarce, and I have been able to hear of only four or five actual instances.

92. Tawny Owl. *Syrnium aluco* (Linn.).

Locally, Wood Owl, Ivy Owl, Hoop Owl.

Pretty generally, though sparingly, distributed over the county. This species is slowly declining in numbers, though fairly common round Normanton. The usual complement of eggs in this neighbourhood seems to be two, with occasionally three, though four have been found. As this owl is not double brooded, and not so fertile as the white owl, its disparity in numbers is partly accounted for. The grey variety occurs in Rutland, and I have a bird of this kind, taken from its nest in 1895, which is still in excellent condition and hoots continually almost every night in the year, except just when moulting. This species, as found in Rutland, seems considerably smaller than the same elsewhere. Its pellets show that its food is chiefly rats, mice, and moles, and only occasionally small birds.

93. Little Owl. *Athene noctua* (Scopoli).

Successfully naturalized from numerous individuals liberated by the late Lord Lilford. The first Rutland specimen was obtained in 1891 at Normanton. Four years later they were to be seen near Glaston Tunnel. In 1897 they reached Seaton, in 1899 Exton, and since then they have spread all over the south-eastern part of the county and probably by now over the whole of it. Some castings I examined contained only the shards of cockchafers.

94. Scops-Owl. *Scops giu* (Scopoli).

One instance only, the specimen in question being killed near Duddington, within the Rutland border, in 1876, and recorded by A. C. Elliot.

95. Eagle Owl. *Bubo ignavus*, T. Forster.

A specimen killed near Stamford on 12 April 1879 (*Zoologist*, iii, S. iii, 106) has always been considered one of the most trustworthy occurrences of this bird in England, as the late Canon Tristram, who examined it soon after it had been skinned, stated that there were no signs of its having been in captivity. The late Mr. Evans, of Bourne, who stuffed this specimen, said he received two eagle owls, one on 16 April 1879, the other on 3 May 1879. One of these was marked Lord Aveland (now Earl of Ancaster, owner of Normanton Park), and certainly an eagle owl, belonging to the Rev. Robert Hurt of Carlby, Lincolnshire, which had escaped, was killed by a keeper named Galletly in Normanton Park. As to the other nothing more is known.

96. Hen-Harrier. *Circus cyaneus* (Linn.).

Must have been of frequent occurrence formerly, as Rutland would then have been near the fens and suitable to its habits. Specimens have been recorded from Seaton and Barrowden and Glaston and near Collyweston (Northants), and possibly from Ketton and Hambleton.

The Marsh-Harrier (*Circus aeruginosus*) used no doubt to be seen, but no record of it has survived.

[Montagu's Harrier. *Circus cineraceus* (Montagu).

The inclusion of this species rests on a somewhat doubtful egg found at Bisbrooke in 1865, and on an observation by Mr. Theodore Bell of a large hawk seen perched upon a gate, within easy visual distance, which he describes as 'so grey-looking as almost to be called white'].

97. Buzzard. *Buteo vulgaris*, Leach.

Formerly resident and common, now a mere straggler. The last nest recorded near Uppingham was taken about 1827. It was frequently seen till about 1850 over the Welland valley. One was seen in 1880 at Seaton by the late Mr. R. Tryon. In November 1906 two were seen for some time in the Burley Woods.

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98. Rough-legged Buzzard. *Archibuteo lagopus* (J. F. Gmelin).

One was shot on the north-east border of Rutland in 1854. No doubt it has occurred occasionally without being recorded.

99. White-tailed Eagle. *Haliaeetus albicilla* (Linn.).

One was seen 3 February 1891 and the two following days at the Exton Ponds. A second was seen in 1900 near Empingham and shot at, but not killed.

100. Goshawk. *Astur palumbarius* (Linn.).

A male was shot near Barrowden in 1856 and is now in Dr. W. Bell's collection. A second was seen in the same locality in the same year. A dead one was picked up some years ago near Stamford, on the Rutland side of the border.

101. Sparrow-Hawk. *Accipiter nisus* (Linn.).

Still maintains a somewhat precarious existence, perhaps being reinforced by migrants from elsewhere. A nest or two can generally be found near Uppingham every year.

102. Kite. *Milvus icinus*, Savigny.

Locally, Glede.

At the beginning of the last century kites were abundant in Rutland. It was no uncommon thing to see twenty or thirty in the valley of the Eye. This splendid bird disappeared as a resident about 1835-40. The eggs from the last two nests taken are in the collection of Dr. W. Bell and in the Uppingham School Museum. The last kite seen in the county was observed by Mr. Theodore Bell near Beaumont Chase in 1852.

103. Honey-Buzzard. *Pernis apivorus* (Linn.).

A light-coloured specimen, now in Lord Gainsborough's possession, was shot in Exton Park about 1859. In May 1905 C. Masters, the keeper at Burley Ponds, wounded and captured a bird of this species. Its mate came to its assistance, while confined in a pheasant pen, and it contrived to make its escape. This pair possibly bred in the neighbourhood.

104. Peregrine Falcon. *Falco peregrinus*, Tunstall.

A regular winter visitant, seen in all parts of the county, but more especially in the Welland valley, along which it follows the autumn wild-fowl, and in the Normanton district, where it is attracted by the flocks of wood-pigeons. On one occasion a fine falcon of this species stooped twice at a gaggle of

white-fronted geese flying over the Welland, and, though it struck a goose, it failed to bring it down. This was in 1888, near Turtle Bridge, Barrowden.

105. Hobby. *Falco subbuteo*, Linn.

A yearly summer migrant, usually breeding at Burley and Exton. The late Lord Lilford had three young birds sent him on 22 July 1889 from an old carrion-crow's nest at Burley. It has been known to nest also at Barnsdale, Pickworth, Casterton, and Greet-ham, and has been observed also at Wardley, Ayston, and Empingham. On one occasion it was seen at Burley Ponds to dive for fish and bring up what looked like a roach of half a pound.

106. Merlin. *Falco aesalon*, Tunstall.

Locally, Blue Hawk.

A winter visitor from October to April, and to be seen every year. It has been reported from Edith Weston, Tinwell, Wardley, Caldecott, Burley, Casterton, Pickworth, Exton, Hambleton, Greetham, and Empingham. At the last-named place it was seen even in May (1902).

107. Kestrel. *Falco tinnunculus*, Linn.

Locally, Windhover.

As it is easy to shoot, this species suffers much at the hands of gamekeepers. Comparatively few are to be seen in December and January, but during the greater part of the year they are plentiful throughout Rutland.

108. Osprey. *Pandion haliaetus* (Linn.).

An occasional visitor to the Burley and Exton Ponds on its spring passage. One came on the same day and even almost at the same hour to the Burley Ponds from 1878 to 1883, staying thirty hours on each occasion. Again in 1894 and 1898 one was seen at Exton. There is a specimen preserved at Burley House, which no doubt was shot at the Ponds.

109. Cormorant. *Phalacrocorax carbo* (Linn.).

About 1896 two or three were seen on the Burley Ponds. One was shot and is now at Burley House.

The Shag (*P. graculus*) has not been recorded.

110. Gannet or Solan Goose. *Sula bassana* (Linn.).

About 1870 a young bird was picked up at Edith Weston. In 1878 or 1879 a second was obtained at Empingham. A

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third was taken alive in 1886 at Uppingham, and a fourth was shot on 14 October 1891 at Hoby Farm. In 1897 one was taken in an exhausted condition at Ashwell Station, and the remains of two were found on 5 November 1898 at Luffenham.

111. Heron. *Ardea cinerea*, Linn.

No longer nests in the county. About 1830 there was a heronry at Burley, and small settlements thirty years later at three or four places close to the Rutland borders. The only one near the county now, and that from which all the Rutland herons probably come, is at Milton Park, near Peterborough. As many as ten herons may be seen at a time in the Welland valley.

[Purple Heron. *Ardea purpurea*, Linn.]

One is reported to have been killed at Burley in 1888, but I have no further particulars of it.]

112. Night-Heron. *Nycticorax griscus* (Linn.).

Said to have been seen 16 and 22 August 1885 at Clipsham by the Rev. B. N. Cherry. His description of the bird seems to point to the correctness of the identification, to which he stated that the late Lord Lilford was inclined to agree.

113. Bittern. *Botaurus stellaris* (Linn.).

One shot at Pickworth about 1850; a second about 1854 during the winter, near the Welland; a third in November 1876 at Greetham; a fourth, a male, at Exton in 1887. A fifth was seen at Exton Ponds in 1898 and the late Mr. R. Tryon told me he had met with it years ago at Seaton.

114. White Stork. *Ciconia alba*, Bechstein.

In a letter by the late Lord Lilford to his nephew is the statement, 'Tom Barrington tells me a Stork has been seen at Ketton, 4 August 1886.'

115. Grey Lag-Goose. *Anser cinereus*, Meyer.

Used to be regular visitors, as late as the fifties, to the Welland valley. The late Lord Lilford considered this the rarest of the four species of geese, and was of opinion that of the geese which were seen flying overhead those that passed in August, September, and the first half of October generally belonged to this species. On 29 September 1904 the Rev. H. H. Slater identified a gaggle of grey lag-geese flying overhead near Uppingham.

116. White-fronted Goose. *Anser albifrons* (Scopoli.).

Locally, Laughing Goose.

The late Mr. R. Tryon shot two out of a lot of five, which were with a flock of bean-geese in the Welland valley about the fifties. Two were also shot out of a gaggle of twelve near Barrowden about 27 January 1888. They had been forced to take shelter in the reeds by a peregrine falcon which stooped twice at them and struck one. Two were also shot on 11 January 1900 near Caldecott.

117. Bean-Goose. *Anser segetum* (J. F. Gmelin).

Formerly so abundant along the Welland valley that boys had to be employed on certain pasture lands near Gretton to scare them away. They were common as late as the middle of last century. No specimen of this bird has been brought to hand of late years, but four geese put up at night in January 1902 near Liddington by the Rev. S. R. Pocock may have been of this species. They are still observed to fly overhead in the winter months, and as many as twenty-five were so seen 24 November 1901.

118. Pink-footed Goose. *Anser brachyrhynchus*, Baillon.

A few used to be killed in the Welland valley 1850-60, according to the late Mr. R. Tryon.

119. Barnacle - Goose. *Bernicla leucopsis* (Bechstein).

Mentioned by the late A. C. Elliot as a Rutland species, and he only included in his list birds which he had himself handled in the flesh.

120. Brent Goose. *Bernicla brenta* (Pallas).

Included, like the preceding, among Rutland birds by A. C. Elliot. One was shot near Stamford in January 1888.

[Egyptian Goose. *Chenalopex aegyptiacus*, Pallas.

One was killed near Stamford in January 1805, and was probably a genuine wild specimen. Another was killed about 1860 on the Leicester border of Rutland. Five visited the Welland on 27 August 1878, and one was shot, and another was obtained at Burley in 1882. About 1895 seven were seen at Burley, and one was shot. All these, with the exception of the first instance, must be considered as stragglers from some ornamental water.]

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[Canada Goose. *Bernicla canadensis*, Pallas.

One was shot before 1883 at Tixover, and a second on 22 February 1898 near Gretton, both no doubt from some ornamental water.]

121. Whooper Swan. *Cygnus musicus*, Bechstein.

Locally, Whistling Swan.

One was killed 1850-60 by the Hon. W. Evans Freke. Seven were seen in the Burley Ponds in 1895, and one at Luffenham in 1885. On 29 November 1903 Captain C. Fitzwilliam saw fifty-three flying over Barnsdale, and recognized them by their note. They were also seen the same day at Oakham by Miss J. M. Tryon.

122. Bewick's Swan. *Cygnus bewicki*, Yarrell.

One instance. In April 1870 a specimen was shot in the Tixover meadows by Mr. J. O. C. Knapp.

123. Mute Swan. *Cygnus olor* (J. F. Gmelin).

A pair breed regularly in a semi-wild state on a little islet of the Welland near Barrowden. Three swans, probably *C. olor*, were seen flying over Bisbrooke in February 1902, and two on the Welland on 26 December of the same year.

124. Sheld-duck. *Tadorna cornuta* (S. G. Gmelin).

Rare. Lord Gainsborough saw one at Exton in September 1887, and a female was shot at Burley on 14 December 1888. A fine male was also obtained subsequently at the same place. Mr. W. J. Horn saw a pair on the flooded meadows near Caldecott on 28 February 1900, and one was shot at Ketton in the winter of 1903.

125. Mallard, or Wild Duck. *Anas boscas*, Linn.

Numerous and resident, breeding along the Eye and elsewhere. The largest number of eggs found in one nest is thirteen. A favourite nesting site is on the crown of pollard willows by the stream. At times the wild duck is seen in large flocks of hundreds. On 19 December 1901 I saw nearly two hundred and fifty on the flooded meadows at Seaton.

126. Gadwall. *Anas strepera*, Linn.

Recorded by the late A. C. Elliot as a Rutland bird. He had no doubt received one or more specimens to set up.

127. Shoveler. *Spatula clypeata* (Linn.).

Two were shot about 1855, one at Thorpe by Water, and the other at Ridlington. A third was killed 21 May 1882, at Seaton. In 1887 three immature birds were obtained at Burley Ponds, one being a young male in 'eclipse' plumage. There is also a fine adult male in the collection at Burley House, and this was no doubt shot there. In 1897 two were killed at the Exton Ponds, and a fine specimen was shot at Caldecott on 17 January 1899, and is now in the Uppingham School Museum. A female was obtained at Burley in 1903, and an immature specimen at Exton 11 December 1906.

128. Pintail. *Dafila acuta* (Linn.).

Only two records: a pair shot at Burley in December 1883, and a female, now at Burley House, which was probably obtained in the same locality.

129. Teal. *Querquedula crecca* (Linn.).

Regularly seen in winter on the Burley and Exton ponds, but elsewhere occasionally only. A pair or two stay to breed. On 4 August 1896 one was shot on the Welland by Mr. J. Fowler, and about the same year Mr. E. C. Rossiter saw a male bird on the Eye in May, but failed to find a nest. On 1 September 1885 or 1886 a 'spring' of teals, consisting of seven young ones and the two old birds, were flushed at Martinthorpe on the Chater, and seven were bagged. Another brood was seen some years later near Whissendine.

130. Garganey. *Querquedula circia* (Linn.).

Locally, Summer Teal.

Rare. Occurs at Burley and Exton. Four were shot on the Burley ponds in August 1887.

131. Wigeon. *Mareca penelope* (Linn.).

Large flocks pass over the Welland valley in the winter months, and some are to be seen there every year, as also at Burley and Exton. One was shot at the former place on 13 October 1888, and others in August of a subsequent year. These last were immature birds of the year. Two were seen at Ridlington on 23 March 1890.

132. Pochard. *Fuligula ferina* (Linn.).

Locally, Dunbird.

A frequent winter visitor to the Burley and Exton Ponds. A specimen was killed at Casterton in 1883, and I saw two at Barrowden on the floods 28 February 1902.

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133. Tufted Duck. *Fuligula cristata* (Leach).

The commonest of our occasional ducks, and a regular visitor to the Ponds. The earliest record is that of one killed at Tixover in February 1865. Two have been shot on the Welland, one in February 1890, below Turtle Bridge, and the other near Caldecott in December 1895.

134. Scaup. *Fuligula marila* (Linn.).

Occasional, chiefly at the Ponds, where several have been shot. One, a fully adult male, was obtained there about 1879, the other, an extraordinary fine female specimen, about the same date, and a fine pair were shot there on 8 November 1888. The male weighed 2½ lb.

135. Goldeneye. *Clangula glaucion* (Linn.).

Not very common, but occurs most winters at the Ponds. One was killed at Tixover in February 1867. Another on the Chater at Ketton on 17 December 1901.

136. Long-tailed Duck. *Harelda glacialis* (Linn.).

Mentioned by A. C. Elliot as occurring on the Welland. One was shot on the Burley Ponds in February 1900.

137. Common or Black Scoter. *Oedemia nigra* (Linn.).

One was shot at the Burley Ponds about 1885. Four were seen at Exton Pond in 1889, and the species has been observed there since.

138. Goosander. *Mergus merganser*, Linn.
Locally, Dun Diver.

Has occurred twice. The late Mr. R. Tryon shot one in 1886 at Burley, and a second was obtained at the same place in December 1899.

139. Red-breasted Merganser. *Mergus serrator*, Linn.

Three immature birds were shot at Burley Ponds about 1878. Another was killed at Ketton in 1882. About 1888 two or three made a short stay at the Burley Ponds, and they have been seen there once or twice since.

140. Ring-Dove or Wood-Pigeon. *Columba palumbus*, Linn.

Though it has increased since 1860, it is not especially numerous except perhaps in the Normanton district. The late Rev. W. Turner found near Uppingham in 1844 a nest with three eggs, and another with three young birds.

141. Stock-Dove. *Columba oenas*, Linn.

Has apparently never been very common, though it is fairly abundant at Exton and Normanton, and perhaps Ketton. On 7 June 1888 eleven were seen in one field at Pickworth. Mr. J. M. Mitchell records a nest in a pollard elm close to the eggs of a wood-owl.

142. Turtle-Dove. *Turtur communis*, Selby.

Was very uncommon in the district till about 1840, and the first nest was not recorded till 1859. It is now plentiful everywhere, and arrives about the end of April. Mr. W. J. Horn noted thirty or more in a field together near Uppingham about 1885.

143. Pallas's Sand-Grouse. *Syrnophaps paradoxus* (Pallas).

A rare and very irregular immigrant. There is no record for Rutland of the 1863 invasion. But in 1888 one out of several seen was shot on 30 May at Cottesmore, and another specimen at Glaston. Fifteen were seen in Seaton parish, and four at Burley on 29 December 1888. Twelve were seen on 31 May and again on 1 June near Stamford, two of the covey being secured.

144. Black Grouse. *Tetrax tetrix*, Linn.

Has occurred twice in living memory. A grey hen was shot in Burley Woods in January 1851, and a second on 24 September 1896 in Greetham parish. It was feeding with pheasants in a field, and its crop contained acorns.

145. Red Grouse. *Lagopus scoticus* (Latham).

A solitary example. One was killed in deep snow near Ridlington about 1870.

146. Pheasant. *Phasianus colchicus*, Linn.

The 'old English pheasant' is probably extinct in this county, present-day birds being hybrids with the different varieties which it is the fashion to introduce into the coverts, such as the ring-necked pheasant (*P. torquatus*), the Kallege (*Euplocamus nycthemerus*), and *P. versicolor*. White specimens and hen birds in partial male plumage occur here as elsewhere. One splendid variety shot at Exton is thus described by Mr. Montagu Browne: 'Of enormous size, half as large again as an ordinary pheasant; the head dusky-green, the breast like that of a pheasant, thighs of normal colour but very large, the mantle, back, and tail like those of the Silver Pheasant.' It was bred from imported eggs. Rutland is not an exceptionally good pheasant county.

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Near Normanton eggs are to be found as early as 28 March (1904, 1905), and Mr. A. E. G. Dixon records a nest with nine eggs 30 ft. from the ground in a larch tree.

147. Partridge. *Perdix cinerea*, Latham.

Abundant. T. Barker of Lyndon notes in his diary for 1790 that 'Partridges had already been hatched some days on 5 March,' which seems incredibly early, the dates otherwise recorded varying between 6 May and 24 June. Seventeen and eighteen eggs are occasionally found in the same nest. A grey-coloured variety has occurred once or twice in the Exton district.¹

148. Red-legged Partridge. *Caccabis rufa* (Linn.).

Introduced into Rutland about 1850 by Sir Gilbert Heathcote. The first nest recorded was in 1858, but the bird had not become common fifteen years later. By 1880 it had increased a good deal and, it is now plentiful, but not so common as the indigenous breed. As many as twenty eggs have been found in one nest, and the bird occasionally nests at a height above the ground.

149. Quail. *Coturnix communis*, Bonnaterre.

Appears every spring, and a certain number certainly breed every year. It is, however, nothing like so numerous as it used to be, when A. C. Elliot described it in 1883 as common and breeding all along the high lands from Casterton to Edith Weston. In 1904 a considerable number were reported, four at Ridlington in September, Mr. Wortley taking a brace with right and left, and a bevy of nine at Morcott in August, and several others later in the year. Several nests are on record; two about 1850 near Uppingham, one about 1870 near Barrowden, a nest with one egg near Liddington in 1872, and another with one egg near Seaton in 1898. The bird has been recorded, besides the above localities, at Gretton, Bisbrooke, Casterton, Caldecott, Preston, Clipsham, Eggleton, Whitwell, Burley, Ayston, Thistleton, Exton, Luffenham, and Lyndon.

The Virginian Quail (*Ortyx virginianus*) was imported and turned down in 1870 near

¹ An ancient way of taking partridges in Rutland about the fifteenth century seems to have been for the sportsmen to carry a wand about 15 ft. long with a noose of twisted horsehair at the end and stalk the sitting bird, slipping the noose over its head, much in the same way apparently as they catch fulmars in the island of St. Kilda.

the borders of Rutland, and some of these birds strayed into the county, but the severe winter of 1880-1 caused them to disappear entirely.

150. Land-Rail, or Corn-Crake. *Crex pratensis*, Bechstein.

Breeds over the county, but in lessening numbers. It arrives at the end of April, as a rule, but was seen on 11 April 1893, and on 14 May 1904 I found, near Seaton, four eggs freshly sucked by carrion-crows, an early date for their nest.

151. Spotted Crake. *Porzana maruetta* (Leach).

Reported in 1883 as 'not rare; found on the Gwash and Welland.' One was picked up dead 16 January 1883, a second killed at Preston in the autumn of 1893, and another found under the telegraph wires in September 1897. The last recorded specimen was killed at Burley in 1903.

152. Little Crake. *Porzana parva* (Scopoli).

Found on the Gwash and Welland (A. C. Elliot). One is recorded as killed at Casterton before 1883, and Lord Gainsborough flushed one near Exton in 1892.

153. Water-Rail. *Rallus aquaticus*, Linn.

Locally, Bilcock.

Plentiful on the rivers, but from its skulking habits seldom seen (A. C. Elliot). It has been reported from various places in the county, and several have been picked up under the telegraph wires. In January 1901 four or five were shot on the Welland. It is certain that the bird occasionally breeds in the district, but only one nest has been definitely recorded. This was at Burley Ponds, and had one egg in it.

[Green-backed Gallinule. *Porphyrio smaragdinus*.

A single very handsome specimen of this bird was killed at Liddington on 5 March 1898. Reasons have been given for supposing that this species is occasionally cast upon our shores by prevailing high winds, and in 1897, 1898 a considerable number of occurrences of this species was reported from the seaboard counties].

154. Moorhen. *Gallinula chloropus* (Linn.).

Extremely common throughout the district, except during the winter, when few, if any, are to be seen. The earliest nest recorded was on 15 April 1901. As many as ten eggs have been found in one nest.

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155. Coot. *Fulica atra*, Linn.

Resident, and, in summer, common at Burley and Exton. Also found in a few other localities, such as Normanton and Ridlington, but not well distributed over Rutland. One was shot on the Welland on 23 December 1901.

156. Stone-Curlew. *Oedinenus scolopax* (S. G. Gmelin).

The last species lost to the breeding fauna of the county. As late as the middle of last century this bird was not uncommon in certain localities, such as the high ground above Ketton and Aunby Heath. It continued to breed as late as 1880 on Ryhall Heath. The Rev. Robert Hurt, writing in 1880, said he had known of six or eight pairs breeding on the Heath during the previous fifteen or twenty years. The late Mr. R. Tryon remembered seeing the bird on Barrowden Heath before it was inclosed. None have been recorded in Rutland for over twenty years. This bird, in spite of Bird Protection Acts, suffers shameful persecution at the hands of ornithologists, and it is within my knowledge that a party of such scientific nest-robbers took in one locality in the eastern counties twenty nests (all there were) of this rare and interesting species.

157. Dotterel. *Eudromias morinellus* (Linn.).

One instance. On 20 May 1905 Mr. W. J. Horn was fortunate enough to come across a 'trip' of seven dotterel at Morcott. Three days later they had found their way to Ridlington five or six miles westward, where they were seen by Mr. N. W. Wortley and myself on 24 May and again on 27 May. Soon after this they disappeared.

158. Ringed Plover. *Aegialitis biaticula* (Linn.).

An immature specimen was shot in August, about 1889, at Burley, as it was dusting itself in the road. It belongs to the smaller race of ringed plovers. Another was seen in the spring of 1906 at Burley. Two little plovers were killed near Seaton about 1883 which seem to belong to this species. They were about the size of snipe, with black back, white front, and white ring round the neck, and were called at the time by the bird-stuffer 'Russian plover.'

159. Golden Plover. *Charadrius pluvialis*, Linn.

Locally, Whistling Plover.

A regular winter visitor, plentiful in the Welland valley and elsewhere. One appeared

at Seaton in 1881 as early as 11 August, and Mr. W. J. Horn saw twenty-five, nearly all in breeding plumage, on Ryhall Heath on 12 April 1900. As many as 80 were seen at Exton in February 1900.

160. Grey Plover. *Squatarola helvetica* (Linn.).

Two were shot near Barrowden in 1895 and were placed in the collection of the late Mr. Simson, of Spratton, Lincolnshire.

161. Lapwing. *Vanellus vulgaris*, Bechstein.

Resident and still plentiful. In severe weather, however, they migrate. They are very punctual in returning to their breeding haunts about 10 March. Flocks of a thousand have been reported from the Welland valley and Oakham. This species suffers in various ways. Its eggs are not protected until a late date in the year; they are specially liable to being raided by rooks, jackdaws, and crows; and as the eggs are often laid in ploughed fields before these are harrowed and rolled, numbers are destroyed. Finally, the bird itself falls a prey to the gunner. With all these disadvantages it is not surprising if the lapwing is less abundant than it was, and than we could wish it to be.

162. Oyster-Catcher or Sea-Pie. *Haematopus ostralegus*, Linn.

Three instances. A male bird was shot at Burley Ponds in January 1878; a second was killed at Thorpe by Water; a third was obtained at Burley Ponds about 1886, and is probably the one now in the collection at Burley House.

163. Woodcock. *Scolopax rusticola*, Linn.

Returns in October, and is sparingly distributed through the county. Of the two varieties the smaller, darker, and quicker kind are more numerous than the other. It breeds occasionally.

164. Great Snipe. *Gallinago major* (J. F. Gmelin).

Locally, Double Snipe.

Five instances of its occurrence are recorded: at Belton in 1850; at Eggleton in September 1877; at Oakham in October 1885; on Ashwell Canal; at Wing in 1895.

165. Common Snipe. *Gallinago caelestis* (Frenzel).

Locally, Full Snipe.

Abundant in winter, especially in the Welland valley. They arrive in August, and the majority depart in April; but a certain number

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remain to breed in suitable localities, such as Burley and Seaton, where a nest with four eggs was found at the end of May 1901. As many as ten have been flushed at one rise on Burgess's Pond at Ridlington. A white specimen was shot at North Luffenham in 1820, and the melanic variety, known as Sabine's snipe, was seen several times in February 1902 at Caldecott Mill.

166. Jack Snipe. *Gallinago gallinula* (Linn.).
Locally, Judcock.

To be found in small numbers wherever the common snipe is found. As many as seven have been killed in one day at Burley Ponds. They arrive in September, and depart in March.

167. Dunlin. *Tringa alpina*, Linn.

Reported from Tixover by A. C. Elliot before 1883. Seen in flocks near Seaton Viaduct by Mr. J. M. Mitchell during the hard winter of 1870-1. Three or four birds stated to be little stints, but which appear to have been dunlin, were shot by the Welland on 15 October 1902. They were like snipe, but only about half the size. Some were grey on the back.

168. Little Stint. *Tringa minuta*, Leisler.

One killed at Tixover on 25 December 1870, another at Tinwell on 6 November 1880, and a third about 1887 near Seaton. Several others are mentioned by A. C. Elliot as killed on the Welland.

169. Knot. *Tringa canutus*, Linn.

Mentioned by A. C. Elliot in his list of Rutland Birds.

170. Sanderling. *Calidris arenaria* (Linn.).

One instance. A specimen killed at Tixover was set up by A. E. Elliot before 1883.

171. Sandpiper. *Totanus hypoleucus* (Linn.).

Locally, Summer Snipe.

A regular visitor on passage, and not uncommon in certain localities. It has been seen in every month from March till October, and no doubt a few pairs nest regularly. A nest with two eggs was taken in 1872 at Caldecott, and one with four eggs was found on the Eye by the Rev. W. H. Parry on 26 May 1906. It has been seen in the breeding season at Burley Ponds, Barrowden, Empingham, Normanton, Edith Weston, and Seaton. A. C. Elliot records one at Ketton on 28 January 1881.

172. Green Sandpiper. *Totanus ochropus* (Linn.).

A regular visitor in autumn and spring, but also sometimes remaining all the winter. Has occurred as early as 1 August (1900), and as late as 21 April (1900), when one was seen at Empingham. One was shot 'in the summer' of 1887 at Oakham, and a specimen was seen at Burley Ponds in May 1905.

173. Wood-Sandpiper. *Totanus glareola* (J. F. Gmelin).

One was killed at Exton Ponds about 1897, and is now in Lord Gainsborough's collection.

174. Redshank. *Totanus calidris* (Linn.).

The latest species to become a breeder in Rutland. There is no record of it before 1890. In 1893 a nest with three eggs was found near Seaton. In 1897 one was killed at Exton. In May 1901 ten pairs were seen at Seaton, and at least three pairs remained to breed. A nest with four eggs was found there on 1 June and the birds were seen there again the two following years. They have also nested at Tixover and elsewhere along the Welland. In 1904 they were observed at Exton on 24 March, and the following year at Burley, and no doubt nested at both places. On 17 May 1906 a nest with four eggs was found at Seaton. This is a most satisfactory instance of increase and spread of a delightful species.

175. Greenshank. *Totanus canescens* (J. F. Gmelin).

Fairly common at Burley and Exton, and has occurred at Clipsham. Two or three have been killed at Burley and Exton.

176. Bar-tailed Godwit. *Limosa lapponica* (Linn.).

A pair of birds, frequently seen in the early summer of 1894 by Mr. S. Haslam and myself on the Eye, belonged, I believe, to this species.

177. Curlew. *Numenius arquata* (Linn.).

One was shot in 1858 at Thorpe by Water; a second at Seaton before 1883. In 1886 one was seen on 13 February flying over Thorpe, and an injured one was caught at Morcott in 1895. Five were seen flying over Uppingham on 23 May 1901, and one in the winter of that year near Barrowden. In 1900 one was shot at Empingham, and a pair were seen by two observers on the bed of the Normanton Pond, then dry, at the very unusual date of 5 and 6 June (1905).

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178. Whimbrel. *Numenius phaeopus* (Linn.).

Occasional. A small flock was seen by Mr. F. M. Burton on the Welland in 1855. One was shot at Seaton before 1883, another at Burley on 2 October 1890, and a third was seen there in April 1905.

179. Black Tern. *Hydrochelidon nigra* (Linn.).

Commonest of the terns, but now seldom seen. Between 1886 and 1903 seven specimens have been shot at Burley and Thorpe by Water, while one was found injured at Gretton on 28 April 1900.

180. Common Tern. *Sterna fluviatilis*, Naumann.

A. C. Elliot, in his 1883 list of Rutland birds, speaks of it as common, but there is no evidence that it was anything but a rare straggler. One was picked up, injured, in Exton Park in 1860; a second, a fine adult, was killed at Burley Ponds in 1886; and a third obtained there in December 1904.

181. Arctic Tern. *Sterna macrura*, Naumann.

Very occasional. Occurred in Rutland according to James Harley in 1842. A single specimen was shot at Oakham about 1883, and there are two in the Burley House collection, which may have been obtained there.

182. Little Tern. *Sterna minuta*, Linn.

Only three cases. One was killed about 1890 at Burley Ponds; a second was seen at Exton Ponds in 1901, and a third was shot there in 1896.

183. Bonaparte's Gull. *Larus philadelphia*, Ord.

In 1897 an uncommon gull was shot at Burley Ponds by the keeper, C. Masters. Mr. William R. Hine, of Southport, a competent authority, happening to be at the keeper's lodge at the time, positively identified the bird as a Bonaparte's gull. He cut off the wings and took them away with him. When I wrote to him in 1901, he said he had mislaid the wings, but assured me that his identification was correct, and that he was well acquainted with the bird in Canada. It certainly was not a black-headed gull (*Larus ridibundus*), as its legs were pale orange and not rose-madder in colour. It was in immature plumage, and had slate-black ear-coverts. The keeper who killed it, was familiar with the common gull (*L. canus*), kittiwake, and

other gulls, but declared it was not one of these. As the specimen was handled in the flesh and identified by a judge familiar with the gulls, and especially with the one in question, and as reasons are given why it could not have belonged to any of the commoner sorts which resemble *Larus philadelphia*, I have no hesitation in including this species.

184. Little Gull. *Larus minutus*, Pallas.

One appears to have been killed at Burley Ponds about 1882.

185. Black-headed or Brown-headed Gull. *Larus ridibundus*, Linn.

The most plentiful in Rutland after the herring-gull, and increased in late years. On 26 March 1898 over four hundred gulls were seen in Exton Park, and some of them doubtless were of this species. Similarly among hundreds of gulls seen on the Gretton Meadows on 24 February 1899, numbers were 'laughing gulls.' On 28 February 1902 I counted twenty near Barrowden on the flooded meadows, in company with forty herring-gulls. Eleven were seen in breeding plumage as late as 5 May 1903, by Mr. W. J. Horn on the Welland.

186. Common Gull. *Larus canus*, Linn.

Individuals, or small parties of two or three birds, seen occasionally here and there throughout the district during the autumn and winter months. But Mr. W. J. Horn saw three by the Welland on 5 May 1903.

187. Herring-Gull. *Larus argentatus*, J. F. Gmelin.

The species now most often seen in Rutland. Sometimes as many as a hundred are seen in the Welland valley during January and February and March. They occasionally appear also in April, and again in July and August.

188. Lesser Black-backed Gull. *Larus fuscus*, Linn.

One was shot at Ridlington about 1860, and it has been recorded since at Burley, Morcott, Barrowden, and Empingham, but it is not often seen.

189. Greater Black-backed Gull. *Larus marinus*, Linn.

A mere straggler. Three instances only are on record: Ridlington, about 1860; Burley, about 1882; Uppingham, about 1886.

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190. Kittiwake. *Rissa tridactyla* (Linn.).

Not common, though A. C. Elliot records 'many immature specimens' before 1883. I have only three other notices of it, viz. 2 January 1898, at Burley; one at Ketton about 1899; and a more recent specimen seen at Empingham by Mr. A. E. G. Dixon.

191. Arctic or Richardson's Skua. *Stercorarius crepidatus* (J. F. Gmelin).

One was picked up on Barrowden Heath in 1866. This specimen was sold with the rest of the late A. C. Elliot's collection at Peterborough in 1885.

192. Razorbill. *Aka torda*, Linn.

The only record is one killed at Seaton in 1879 by a Mr. Royce (A. C. Elliot).

193. Common Guillemot. *Uria troile* (Linn.).

One was shot in 1873 near Thorpe by Water; a second at Seaton in 1879, and a third near Liddington about 1890. A fourth was seen near the same place in 1900.

194. Little Auk. *Mergulus alle* (Linn.).

Stragglers have been taken at Casterton, Exton, Luffenham, Barrowden, Pickworth, Essendine, and near Stamford, nine in all, the last being on 18 October 1894.

195. Black-throated Diver. *Colymbus arcticus*, Linn.

One was shot at Exton about 1850. Mr. Montagu Browne pronounces it an immature bird, or an adult in autumnal plumage.

196. Red-throated Diver. *Colymbus septentrionalis*, Linn.

An immature specimen was shot at Exton Pond about 1858.

197. Great Crested Grebe. *Podiceps cristatus* (Linn.).

A summer migrant, breeding in the county. It returns to its breeding haunts in February. The earliest record of this species in Rutland was of one killed at Tixover on 28 November 1883. It was noticed at Exton Pond first in 1885, when it nested there, and was

seen there 24 March 1888. Since 1898 it has nested there yearly. At Burley it nests regularly. But I have no report of it from anywhere else in the county.

198. Slavonian Grebe. *Podiceps auritus* (Linn.).

'Not very scarce in Rutland,' said the late A. C. Elliot, writing in 1883, but there are few notices of its appearance. One was killed at Casterton on 27 February 1881. A second is said to have been seen at Exton Pond in 1897. It seems to occur at Burley Pond, and one is said to have been killed in 1896, described as a grebe, intermediate in size between the great crested grebe and the dabchick. The red-necked grebe (*Podiceps griseigena*) and the eared grebe (*P. nigricollis*) have not yet been recorded from Rutland.

199. Little Grebe. *Podiceps fluviatilis* (Tunstall).

Locally, Didopper.

Scarce except at Burley and Exton Ponds. A few pairs are to be found on the Welland and Gwash, and a pair generally on Burgess's Pond at Ridlington. A. C. Elliot describes a small variety, much less common than the usual kind, with dusky belly, dark-brown back, the bill of a horny-blue colour and rising up at the point, legs blue and blotched with white.

200. Storm-Petrel. *Procellaria pelagica*, Linn.

Two instances are recorded: one at Empingham in 1879, which formed part of A. C. Elliott's collection, sold in 1885. The other specimen was found killed against telegraph wires at Burley, and is preserved there (no date).

201. Leach's Fork-tailed Petrel. *Oceanodroma leucorhoa* (Vieillot).

One picked up dead at Empingham in 1876. It was very fat and oily.

202. Manx Shearwater. *Puffinus anglorum* (Temminck).

One picked up at Empingham, no date (A. C. Elliot).

MAMMALS

When the ancient forest of Rockingham was united to Leighfield Forest and the other wooded tracts of Rutland, the larger and fiercer carnivora, as old records imply, must have been plentiful enough in this district. But in its present condition of being eminently a pastoral and agricultural county, in which the woodlands form less than four per cent. and the waste lands less than one per cent. of the whole area, Rutland cannot boast a list of mammals which is either extensive or peculiar. It is, however, pleasant to be able to record that the badger and otter breed freely, and are much more numerous than is generally supposed. The wild cat does not linger even in tradition and the marten scarcely so, though it has occurred within living memory close to the border of Rutland.

Amongst the smaller mammals the English black rat has left no trace of its existence behind it. The bats are very badly represented owing to that want of competent observers so much lamented by the late Lord Lilford in one of the last letters he wrote.

Previous to the list now drawn up nothing had been written on the mammals of Rutland except a few notes, chiefly contributed by the Earl of Gainsborough and Mr. W. J. Horn, to Mr. Montagu Browne's *Vertebrates of Leicestershire and Rutland*, and the two or three references in Mr. J. E. Harting's *Extinct British Animals*.

CARNIVORA

1. Wild Cat. *Felis catus*, Linn.

It is impossible to say when the wild cat became extinct in Rutland, but that it was once to be found there would have been certain, even if we had not the express evidence adduced by Mr. J. E. Harting in his *Extinct British Animals*. Quoting Dugdale's *Baronage*, i. 466, and *Rotuli Hundredorum*, ii. 627, he says: 'In 1297 John Engaine died seized, *inter alia*, of the manor of Great Gidding in com. Huntendon, held by service of catching the hare, fox, cat and wolf within the counties of Huntendon, Northampton, Buckingham and Roteland.'

2. Fox. *Vulpes vulpes* (Linn).

Bell—*Vulpes vulgaris*.

Rutland abounds in foxes and affords sport for at least two packs of hounds. An enor-

mous dog fox, like a small wolf in size, was dispatched in Wardley Wood in 1897. In December, 1900, a curious incident occurred. While the hounds were following a fox in the Welland valley, another fox, sitting on the railway line, and intent no doubt upon the distant chase, allowed a passing train to cut off its brush.

3. Marten. *Mustela martes*, Linn.

Bell—*Martes abietum*.

This species no doubt lingered on in Rutland into the last century. Its former abundance is attested by references in early records.

4. Polecat. *Putorius putorius*, Linn.

Bell—*Mustela putorius*.

On the verge of extinction. The latest records are: one shot at Exton Park about 1850; one killed at Ridlington about 1858;

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one caught alive at Burley by C. Masters, no date; one seen near Empingham by Mr. John Fowler about 1884; one killed at Market Overton about 1900; and one trapped near Ketton about 1897.

5. Stoat. *Putorius ermineus*, Linn.

Bell—*Mustela erminea*.

Common everywhere. Many specimens in ermine dress have been seen or shot in winter. One in Wardley Wood in 1888; a second at Bisbrook, 8 March, 1898; and a third in the same locality, 29 March, 1900. A very big white one was seen in Quaker's Spinney, Ridlington, 9 February, 1901.

6. Weasel. *Putorius nivalis*, Linn.

Bell—*Mustela vulgaris*.

Very common. In Rutland as elsewhere the notion is prevalent that there are two varieties, one lighter in colour and much smaller than the other, the lesser one being denominated 'cane.' These are no doubt male and female. The Rev. Edward Bell records an instance of a weasel found coiled up at the bottom of a starling's nest 25 feet from the ground. A nearly white specimen was seen at Burley in December, 1897.

7. Badger. *Meles meles*, Linn.

Bell—*Meles taxus*.

Much more plentiful than is generally supposed. It breeds annually at Exton and Burley and in many other localities throughout the county, such as Preston, Stoke Dry, Thorpe, Wardley, Gretton and the Stamford district. In 1900 as many as twelve were dug out at Burley-on-the-Hill, and three earths were found at Thorpe and two old

badgers with two cubs at Preston. In 1901 as many as thirteen badgers were found. Two fine males weighing 30 lb. and 40 lb. were killed. In the case of the Preston badgers a fox was found sharing the same earth with them.

8. Otter. *Lutra lutra*, Linn.

Not at all infrequent on the Welland and Gwash, and found sometimes on the Chater and Eye; also at the Burley and Exton ponds. One was killed by foxhounds on the Eye, 17 October, 1885, and a second there 19 December, 1888, which weighed 22½ lb. and measured 4 ft. 1 in. from nose to tip of tail. Two were killed on the Eye in 1891, and one on the Chater in December, 1895; another on the Welland near Caldecott in 1897. Three were murdered by a shepherd with the help of a pitchfork and his dog on the Gwash under the railway bridge near Ketton about 1890, and another was killed at Ketton in 1898; a third, weighing 24 lb., near the same place, 29 April, 1899, and a fourth of 25 lb. weight in 1901. The 'Bucks Otter Hounds' at the end of April, 1900, killed on their first day at Ketton; on their second day they found two bitches and five cubs, and killed an old dog otter of 30 lb. weight, while on the third day they found and killed close to Seaton station on the Welland. No doubt the excellent eels of the Rutland streams attract them, but trout (who would grudge them a few ?) also pay toll, and I have found the head of a trout (about 1½ lb. weight) on the banks of the Eye near Wardley Bridge, which had evidently been left by an otter.

INSECTIVORA

9. Mole. *Talpa europæa*, Linn.

Very plentiful. A beautiful variety, which seems to be constant, is found at Burley. A specimen now before me is of a golden white colour all over except the snout, the part between the forepaws and a strip along the belly to the vent, these portions being reddish gold. Nearly twenty moles of this sort were taken in 1901.

10. Common Shrew. *Sorex araneus*, Linn.

Bell—*Sorex vulgaris*.

Common, especially round Ketton. Not often seen except when found dead by the roadside in July and August. An unusual number appeared at Uppingham in 1900. Bones of this species are very often part of the pellets of barn owls.

11. Pigmy Shrew. *Sorex minutus*, Linn.

Bell—*Sorex pygmaeus*.

Has eluded direct observation, but certainly occurs, as its skulls have been found in the castings of the barn owl and wood owl at Ketton.

12. Water Shrew. *Neomys fodiens*, Pallas.

Bell—*Crossopus fodiens*.

Sparingly distributed. It occurs in the Eye brook, and I have twice seen it (19 May, 1898; 17 May, 1899) in the Bisbrook stream.

13. Hedgehog. *Erinaceus europæus*, Linn.

Abundant, and has been observed near Uppingham in every month in the year except January. Young ones have been seen as early as 8 March (1898).

MAMMALS

CHEIROPTERA

14. Barbastelle. *Barbastella barbastellus*, Schr.
Bell—*Barbastellus daubentonii*.

No doubt occurs regularly, but I have only one record, a specimen caught in the coach-house at Caldecott Vicarage on 7 November, 1901. It was found hanging head upwards.

15. Long-eared Bat. *Plecotus auritus*, Linn.

Common near Uppingham and no doubt all over the county. An especially fine specimen was caught at Ridlington 9 December, 1856. Seven were observed hawking for flies at 3 o'clock on a bright September afternoon (1902). When fed with moths in captivity this species seize the moth by the head and eat steadily tailwards, letting the wings drop off on each side.

Other bats, such as Daubenton's (*Vespertilio daubentonii*), Natterer's (*V. nattereri*) and the whiskered bat (*V. mystacinus*) perhaps occur

in the county, but they have not been identified as doing so.

16. Pipistrelle. *Pipistrellus pipistrellus* (Schr.)
Bell—*Scotophilus pipistrellus*.

A common species. The winter hibernation begins in December and generally lasts till March.

17. Great Bat or Noctule. *Pipistrellus noctula* (Schr.)

Bell—*Scotophilus noctula*.

The biggest and most conspicuous of the Rutland bats and not uncommon. It has been noticed at Uppingham, Ketton, Gretton and Beaumont Chace, and no doubt is generally distributed. On 4 June, 1892, I saw one at 3 o'clock in the afternoon flying in broad daylight at least 100 feet above the Eye brook.

RODENTIA

18. Hare. *Lepus europæus*, Pallas.
Bell—*Lepus timidus*.

Rather local in the southern part of the county. On the west side of Uppingham it is rarely seen. At Barrowden it is common, and more than fifty were killed there in one day in 1896. Elsewhere throughout the county they are plentiful except at Braunston.

19. Rabbit. *Lepus cuniculus*, Linn.

Very plentiful and does great damage. Black specimens have been found at Wardley, Glaston and Ridlington. In 1896 a sandy-coloured one was killed.

20. Brown Rat. *Mus decumanus*, Pallas.

The late Mr. Elliot, a naturalist and taxidermist of many years' experience, affirmed that there were two species of rat in this county, the field rat and the house rat, of which the former had a long head, smooth hair and tail hairy to the tip, while the latter had a thick chubby head, coarse hair, a more scaly tail, thin hair and a rank smell. However that may be, and there is no reason why species should not become slightly differentiated, the common rat seems to be developing a taste for the country and for aquatic habits. It is very common along the Eye brook, and probably fares sumptuously on the young moorhens, and disputes possession of his quarters with the water rat. In 1887 Mr. W. J. Horn noticed a white specimen in his garden at Uppingham.

21. House Mouse. *Mus musculus*, Linn.

Very plentiful and injurious to the farmer.

22. Harvest Mouse. *Mus minutus*, Pallas.

Occurs, though sparingly, throughout the county. The late Mr. Cooper of Ayston told me he had met with it, and Mr. E. St. G. Betts of Ketton says it is occasionally met with there. Mr. Montagu Browne, in his book on the *Vertebrates of Leicestershire and Rutland*, mentions a nest found (12 Sept. 1888) near Billesdon (Leicestershire) towards Uppingham.

23. Long-tailed Field Mouse. *Mus sylvaticus*, Linn.

Has occurred at Exton and Uppingham, and no doubt is found all over the county.

24. Common Field Vole. *Microtus agrestis*, Linn.

Bell—*Arvicola agrestis*.

Common. A nest with four young ones was found at Uppingham 10 July, 1894, and another with three young ones in September, 1897, a young one also being caught 28 May, 1898.

The bank vole (*Evotomys glareolus*) doubtless occurs, but has been overlooked owing to its resemblance to the common field vole.

25. Water Vole. *Microtus amphibius*, Linn.

Bell—*Arvicola amphibius*.

Very common between the middle of December and the middle of February. On

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30 May, 1897, I observed an old one carrying a young one in her mouth through the water. This species is sometimes found seated upon a bough several feet above the water.

26. Dormouse. *Muscardinus avellanarius* Linn.

Bell—*Myoxus avellanarius*.

Rare. I have only heard of one specimen being obtained in late years. This was caught in 1891 in Ayston Spinney.

27. Squirrel. *Sciurus leucourus*, Kerr.

Bell—*Sciurus vulgaris*.

Very numerous, as many as six being sometimes seen at once in Wardley Wood. The buck is fond of nipping off the early shoots of chestnut. It is not perhaps generally known that squirrels will eat birds' eggs. Mr. Montagu Browne mentions a specimen shot at Rushpit Wood near Oakham about 1878, which had a broad band of white across the middle of its back, its tail also being pure white two-thirds from the tip.

UNGULATA

28. Red Deer. *Cervus elaphus*, Linn.

Introduced into Exton Park c. 1887 by the Earl of Gainsborough.

29. Fallow Deer. *Cervus dama*, Linn.

These have been in Exton Park since the

time of Charles I. About the beginning of the nineteenth century there used to be some in the wood near Beaumont Chace, which joined Stoke and Wardley Woods into one large wood (i.e. Leighfield Forest).

ADDENDA

4. Polecat. *Putorius putorius*, Linn.

One was killed at Market Overton about 1900.

9. Mole. *Talpa europaea*, Linn.

A pied example was found at Normanton in 1903.

11. Pigmy Shrew. *Sorex minutus*, Linn.

Skulls have also been found at Normanton.

14. Barbastelle. *Barbastella barbastellus*, Schr.

A specimen was found in Exton Church in August 1901.

17. Great Bat or Noctule. *Pipistrellus noctula*, Schr.

Has also been noticed at Normanton.

- 17A. Whiskered Bat. *Myotis mystacinus*, Leisler.

Bell—*Vespertilio mystacinus*.

A specimen was killed with a fishing-rod at Normanton on 29 June 1905 (E. H. V. Hodge).

23. Long-tailed Field Mouse. *Mus sylvaticus*, Linn.

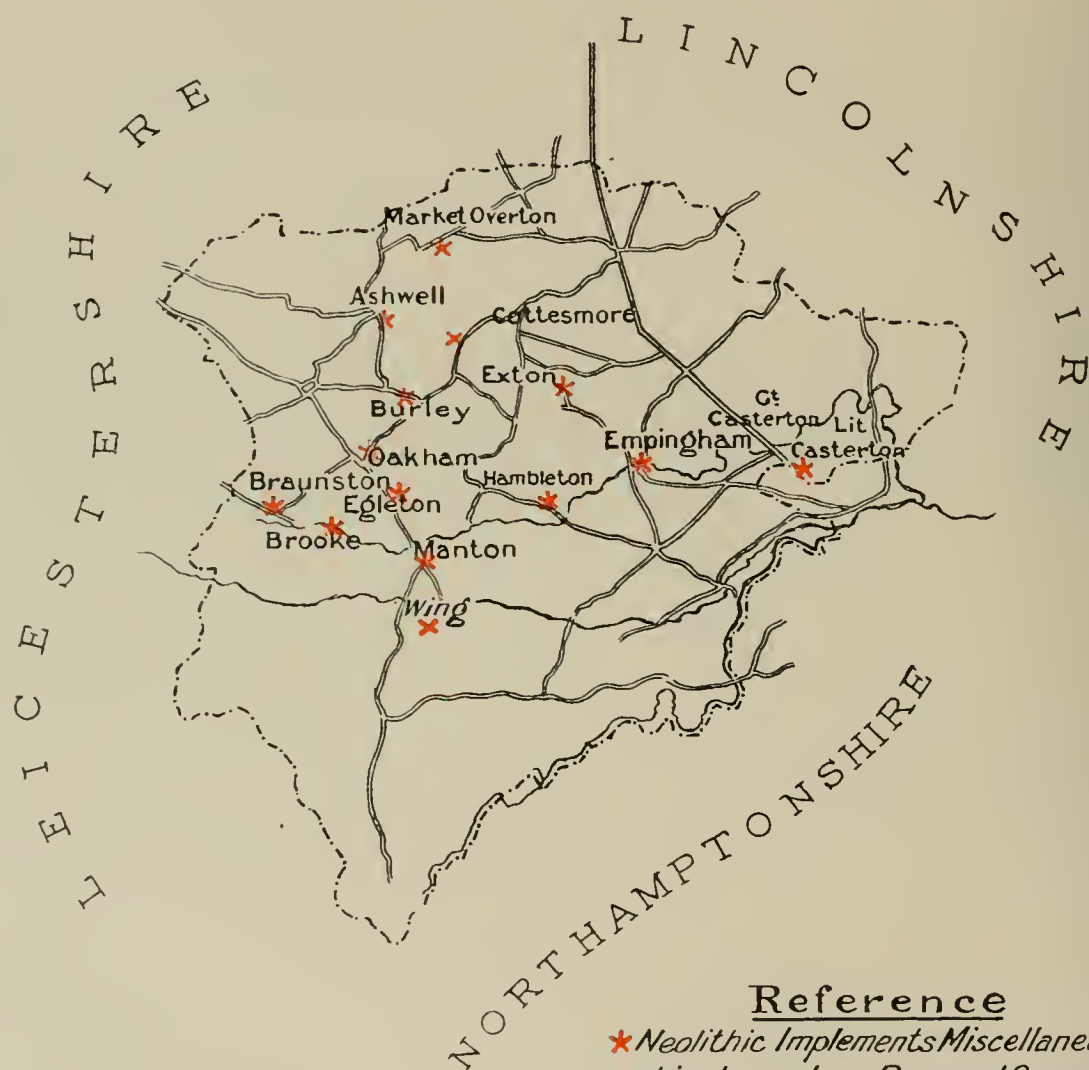
Has also occurred at Normanton.

- 24A. Bank Vole. *Evotomys glareolus*, Schr.

Bell—*Arvicola glareolus*.

Mr. E. H. V. Hodge tells me that he has found a number of skulls of this rodent in white owls' castings at Normanton.

PREHISTORIC MAP OF RUTLAND



Reference

- * *Neolithic Implements Miscellaneous objects such as Personal Ornaments Coins &c.*
- x *Bronze Implements and Weapons and Bronze Age Pottery also late Celtic Antiquities*

EARLY MAN

THERE is probably no branch of science which has made more striking progress during the last few decades than that of Prehistoric Archaeology. We have only to glance at the pages of topographical books, or even of works avowedly dealing with archaeology and written sixty or seventy years ago, in order to realize how vague and inaccurate (in the light of present-day knowledge) were the ideas then prevalent on the subject of the early races of man and other cognate matters.

In view of this widespread ignorance of, and even lack of interest in, Prehistoric Science, it is hardly surprising that Rutland, with its limited area and small population, should have long remained an almost entirely neglected field of investigation so far as Early Man is concerned. Hence the pages of such standard works as those of Sir John Evans may be searched in vain for any reference to the county, and even now, though the fact of the occupation of the district by man in the prehistoric period has been placed beyond a doubt, the list of finds, compared with those of most counties, is scanty and insignificant.

The accepted classification of the prehistoric period is that into four divisions :—

1. The Palaeolithic or Older Stone Age.
2. The Neolithic or Newer Stone Age.
3. The Bronze Age.
4. The Early Iron Age.

At present only the second and third of these divisions can with certainty be said to be represented in Rutland.

THE PALAEOLOGIC AGE

Of remains of the Palaeolithic period it is perhaps questionable whether Rutland is likely to yield any examples. The coarsely chipped and invariably unpolished stone implements characteristic of this period have been found for the most part either in river-drift deposits or in caves. Of these two classes Rutland possesses but very few of the former and none at all of the latter. The Memoir of the Geological Survey of Rutland and adjacent parts by Mr. J. W. Judd, F.G.S. (1875), states that no implements of the river-drift type have yet been found within the limits of Sheet 64 of the 1-in. Geological Survey Map. This statement must certainly now be modified with regard to part of the area named, and it is possible that it may also ultimately be falsified as regards Rutland.

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THE NEOLITHIC AGE

The Neolithic people were quite a distinct race from their predecessors, and show in most respects a great advance on them. We now find the first germs of social life, when men and women formed themselves into communities for mutual protection. Man, moreover, brought animals, such as dogs, oxen, sheep and goats, into a state of domestication; he cultivated cereals, the grain of which he reduced to flour by means of primitive querns or grindstones; nor were the arts of the potter, the spinner and the weaver beyond the reach of his skill. The fact that the dead were buried in a ceremonial fashion suggests that men had now acquired a certain elementary notion of religion and some belief in a future state.

As we might expect from their state of culture, the Neolithic people show a great superiority over the Palaeolithic race in their manipulative skill as applied to implement-making. They reduced the science of flint-chipping to a fine art, and introduced the method of sharpening the edges of their tools by grinding, the whole surface of the implement being frequently finished with a fine polish.

With regard to local finds of this period we may note that there are no available records of any discoveries previous to 1900, but the number of finds which have occurred since that time go to prove that it is to a lack of investigators and not to a dearth of material that we must attribute the absence of earlier records for the county.

One of the most industrious and successful local implement-hunters has been Mr. G. W. Abbott, who during his residence at Oakham School formed a considerable collection, comprising scrapers and other worked flints, as well as two good arrow-heads and a damaged specimen of larger size. These relics were found fairly widely distributed over the Oakham district, the principal settlement having apparently been close to the present site of Oakham, with another minor settlement near the neighbouring hamlet of Brooke. Other similar finds have also been made from time to time by other searchers in this district. Mr. W. H. Wing, F.S.A., has found two arrow-heads near Market Overton, and the neighbourhood of Empingham has produced two others, as well as a well-clipped thumb-flint.

In 1905 an interesting find occurred consisting of a Neolithic celt or axe-head 7 in. long, roughly flaked and unpolished but of very symmetrical form. This specimen came to light in the course of some drainage operations in Dean's Lane, Oakham.

The most noteworthy discovery, however, which has hitherto been made in the county took place in August 1905, in a stone quarry in the parish of Great Casterton. Here was found near the bottom of a clay-filled fissure in the Oolite, at a depth of 17 ft. 6 in. from the surface, a human skeleton accompanied by a polished and ground celt, a muller or triturating stone and three flat fabricating stones for the manufacture of horn or bone needles, etc. Although owing to the circumstances of the find there is some uncertainty as to whether the skeleton and the other objects can legitimately be associated together, yet all have been pronounced on competent authority to belong to the Neolithic period. The skull is of the long-oval Iberic type,



BRONZE-AGE HOARD FOUND AT COTTESMORE



TWO VIEWS OF NEOLITHIC SKULL FOUND AT GREAT CASTERTON ; POLISHED CELT, GREAT CASTERTON ; COARSELY-CHIPPED CELT, OAKHAM ; THREE FABRICATING STONES, GREAT CASTERTON

EARLY MAN

with low, retreating forehead, and showing considerable constriction behind the orbits. The cephalic index is 73·4, and the general form approaches that termed Neanderthaloid.

The fabricating stones above mentioned consist of small slabs of fissile stone, two having circular nicks or depressions in one of their edges, the other having across one surface a transverse groove. The method by which rough splinters of bone or antler could, with the aid of these implements, be worked into the round contour required for needles or skewers is of course obvious.

The celt accompanying this find may certainly be considered the most highly-finished example of Stone Age workmanship hitherto found in Rutland, and may be assigned to the later part of the Neolithic Period.

Two human skeletons were found near Ketton in 1900 and 1901, and their appearance and mode of sepulture afforded strong grounds for supposing them to represent Neolithic interments. Unfortunately no accurate note was taken of the surrounding facts, nor was any care taken to preserve the remains. No definite statement can therefore be made concerning these finds and their age.

THE BRONZE AGE

The round-headed Aryan invaders, whose incursion into Britain towards the end of the Neolithic Period marked the commencement of what is known as the Bronze Age, have left traces of their occupation in most parts of the British Isles. Only one find, however, and that a comparatively recent one, has occurred in Rutland. This came to light in 1906 in the ironstone workings at Cottesmore and consists of a small hoard—probably a founder's hoard. It includes two socketed celts in fairly perfect condition, and the lower portions of two others; a spear-head, measuring 5 in. in length in its present condition, though the socket, which is pierced with two rivet-holes, has evidently been an inch or two longer originally; a narrow socketed chisel; three gouges, all socketed, and finally a fragment of what has probably been a sword-blade. The presence of the last-named relic suggests that the hoard belongs to the latter part of the Bronze Age, since swords have not been found associated with any remains attributed to the earlier part of this period. Moreover the socketed form of celt is the last link in a chain of evolution traceable in this kind of weapon or implement. The earliest form of the celt is a copy in metal of the stone axe-head of the preceding Neolithic Period. This was gradually improved by the addition of flanges to the edges of the implement, and of a stop-ridge half-way down its length to prevent the splitting of the wooden haft. The metal loop was a further development, its purpose being to facilitate the attachment of the celt to its handle by means of a cord or thong. Both the Cottesmore celts are typical examples with loops and having oval openings to the sockets.

The Bronze Age tribes are frequently known as *Goidels*, this word being the equivalent of the English form *Gaels*. They were a Celtic-speaking race and reached our country from the nearest parts of the Continent, probably taking possession of most of our island south of the Clyde and Forth.

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THE IRON AGE

About 1000 B.C. another wave of immigration into Northern Europe took place, which, however, probably did not reach our shores till about 400 B.C. The new-comers, sometimes called Brythons (from which we get the name *Britons*), were a long-headed, Celtic-speaking race, and their civilization, at any rate so far as art is concerned, reached a very high standard. Though iron entered largely into their manufactures, it must not be supposed that this metal entirely superseded bronze, which latter, indeed, continued in very general use well into historic times.

The only remains found in Rutland which may with any degree of probability be assigned to this early Iron age are two examples of the type of quern or grindstone known, from its shape, as the 'Beehive' type. These were found at Braunston and Oakham respectively. Querns of this form have occurred in unquestionable association with Iron Age remains, but as the type continued in use during the time of the Roman occupation of our island, the prehistoric date of the Rutland examples must not be unduly insisted upon.

TOPOGRAPHICAL LIST

ASHWELL.—Worked flints found by Mr. G. W. Abbott.

BRAUNSTON.—'Beehive' quern found. Now in the possession of Mr. W. Higgs, Oakham.

BROOKE.—Two arrow-heads and numerous flints found by Mr. G. W. Abbott.

BURLEY.—Worked flints found (Mr. G. W. Abbott).

CASTERTON, GREAT.—Neolithic skeleton with celt and other relics found 1905 (*Proc. Royal Soc. of Edinburgh*, xxvi, pt. iv; *Rut. Mag.* iii, No. 17). Relics in possession of Mr. J. Woolston, Stamford.

COTTESMORE.—Bronze Age hoard found 1906. In possession of Mr. V. B. Crowther-Beynon, F.S.A.

EGLETON.—Worked flints found (Mr. G. W. Abbott).

EMPINGHAM.—Two arrow-heads found. In possession of Mr. V. B. Crowther-Beynon, F.S.A.

EXTON.—Worked flints found (Mr. G. W. Abbott).

HAMBLETON.—Thumb-flint found. In possession of the finder, Mr. E. H. V. Hodge.

KETTON.—Two skeletons (? Neolithic) found.

MANTON.—Worked flints found by Mr. G. W. Abbott.

MARKET OVERTON.—Two arrow-heads found. In possession of the finder, Mr. W. H. Wing, F.S.A.

OAKHAM.—Numerous worked flints found (Mr. G. W. Abbott). Large Neolithic celt found 1905.

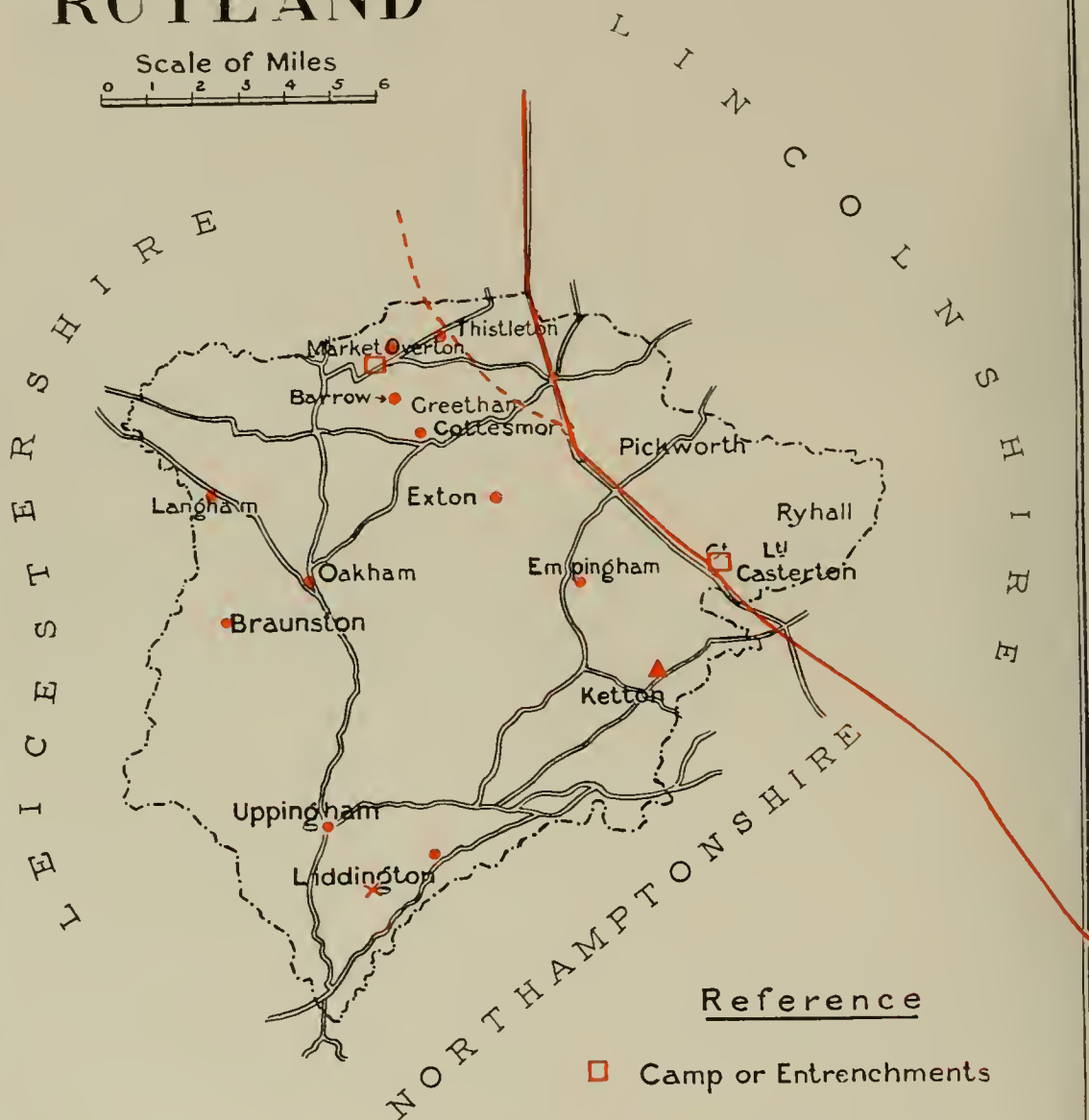
In possession of Mr. W. Higgs, Oakham (*Rut. Mag.* iii, No. 7). 'Beehive' quern found.

In possession of Mr. V. B. Crowther-Beynon, F.S.A.

WING.—Worked flints found by Mr. G. W. Abbott.

ROMAN MAP OF RUTLAND

Scale of Miles
0 1 2 3 4 5 6



Reference

- Camp or Entrenchments
- Miscellaneous Finds
- × Doubtful Finds
- ▲ Villas
- Roman Road
- Doubtful Roman Road

ROMANO-BRITISH RUTLAND

THE small division of the country now known as Rutland had, of course, no existence during the Roman occupation of Britain.¹ At the time of the Roman invasion the district was probably inhabited by the Coritani, a British tribe, whose chief towns of Lindum (Lincoln) and Rhage or Ratae (Leicester) are mentioned by Ptolemy, writing about A.D. 120.² The extent of territory occupied by this tribe is uncertain, but probably included the counties of Lincoln, Northampton, Rutland, Leicester, Nottingham, and Derby.

The Roman occupation under the Emperor Claudius began in A.D. 43, and at first the subjugation of the country was comparatively easy. A strong foothold was obtained in Kent and Essex, and then the army was formed into three divisions, the second legion going south-west towards Somerset and Devon, the fourteenth and twentieth north-west towards Shrewsbury and Chester, and the ninth north towards Lincoln.³ By A.D. 47 or 48 the whole of the eastern part of Britain up to the Humber, including the region now known as Rutland, was occupied, and in A.D. 48, or shortly afterwards, the subjugation of the more hilly districts northwards began.

Professor Haverfield divides Britain into two districts: the lowlands, or eastern, southern, and south-western district he describes as civilian, while the uplands, or northern and western district he defines as military.⁴ Rutland belongs to the first category, and was a part of the Midland area, which may be termed undistinguished. The physical features of the county lead to no conclusion but that it was occupied by a scanty and peaceful population, probably following primitive agricultural pursuits. The county shares the usual characteristics of the Midlands with the exception of mineral wealth, and is noteworthy for the low scale and small size of its hills, its rivers, and its forests.⁵ None of the Antonine routes cross Rutland, but the Ermine or Erming Street passes through its eastern side.⁶ Such evidences of Romano-British civilization as appear are chiefly to be found where this road enters the

¹ Much of the information contained in these opening paragraphs has been taken from Prof. Haverfield's contribution to the History of Roman Britain in the volumes of this series. The writers desire to express their acknowledgements to Messrs. V. B. Crowther-Beynon and W. H. Wing for general help and information, especially in regard to the Market Overton site.

² *Geographia* (ed. Didot, 1883), i, 99.

⁴ *V.C.H. Derb.* i, 192.

³ *V.C.H. Northants*, i, 215.

⁵ *V.C.H. Northants*, i, 165.

⁶ *Rut. Mag. and Hist. Rec.* i, 159; *V.C.H. Northants*, i, 203; Camden, *Brit.* (ed. Gough), ii, 270, 292; Stukeley, *Itin. Cur.* 84; *Assoc. Arch. Soc. Rep.* ix, 156.

A HISTORY OF RUTLAND

county near Great Casterton, and where it leaves the borders near Market Overton. Both these places have quadrilateral earthworks,⁷ which are usually described as Roman 'camps' or 'entrenchments,' but from the non-military character of the district it is possible that they were not much more than cattle-shelters, probably near to the sites of settlements or villages. Traces of habitation exist both at Great Casterton and Market Overton.⁸ It is conceivable that there was some sort of fortification at Casterton, as a protection at the passage of the River Welland. But, as Professor Haverfield has pointed out,⁹ 'none of the remains discovered in the Midlands indicate roads permanently fortified by blockhouses, or forests permanently occupied by unconquered natives. On the contrary, they seem to show a normal and peaceful life, differing only from the civilization of the rest of Britain in the scantiness of population and the lack of prominent and distinctive features.'

In this county there are very few traces of the villas which usually point to the existence of Roman landowners who organized the cultivation of the surrounding districts, but tessellated floors have been found at Ketton in the south, and the earthwork at Langham in the west may also possibly indicate the existence of some building on that site.¹⁰ Attention may also be drawn to the remains of a pottery kiln recently found at Market Overton, though it is not likely to have supplied more than the ordinary local needs.

Only three hoards of coins have been found in Rutland, one of 300 coins at Market Overton, covering the period from Claudius to Gratian (A.D. 54-383).¹¹ Another of 150 gold coins at Liddington has been recorded, but it is impossible even to be certain that they were Roman, so vague is the account given; and one hoard of 600 silver coins at Uppingham, the dates of which have not been preserved.

While this meagre evidence of remains in the county points to an unusually scanty and poverty-stricken population, the exceedingly small area of the district must not be forgotten. Considered with the rest of the province to which it belongs, there is nothing to show that it was in any way exceptional.

ROADS

The only well-authenticated road of early date in the county is the Ermine or Erming Street,¹ which crosses the north-east corner. This section of the road appears to form part of the fifth Antonine Itinerary (London to Carlisle via Colchester, Lincoln, and York), that between the stations of Durobrivae (Castor in Northants) and Causennae (Ancaster in Lincolnshire), the distance of the whole stage being given as 30 miles (M P M xxx). Of this, about twelve miles lie within or on the borders of Rutland. Between London and York the only part of the route which lies along Ermine Street is from Durolipons (Godmanchester) to Lincoln.

The general course of this road is due north, through Braughing, Royston, Huntingdon, and Castor, to Stamford. Here it crosses the Welland, and in

⁷ See Topographical Index under Casterton and Market Overton.

⁸ *Arch. Journ.* xxvi, 93; *Antiq.* xxxviii, 277.

⁹ *V.C.H. Warw.* i, 229.

¹⁰ See Topographical Index under Ketton and Langham.

¹¹ It seems doubtful whether this can be regarded as a *hoard* in the strict sense.

¹ Originally perhaps Erning or Earning Street. It is first mentioned in a charter of A.D. 957: 'Earninga Street' at Conington, Hunts. (*Cart. Sax.* iii, 203; *V.C.H. Northants*, i, 204, n. 1).



FIG. 1.—BRONZE STATUETTE FOUND AT LANGHAM



FIG. 2.—GAULISH BOWL AND JAR OF CASTOR WARE FOUND AT MARKET OVERTON

ROMANO-BRITISH RUTLAND

the course of a mile or so touches the county boundary in the parish of Great Casterton. Its general course from Royston as far as the middle of Rutland is north-north-west (in order to avoid the fen country), but near Stretton it turns due north, and so continues in a straight line through Ancaster and Lincoln to the Humber, a stretch of 48 miles.²

Up to the point where it reaches the boundary of our county there is little or no trace of this road from near Wittering in Northants, but at this point it unites with the modern Great North Road, with which it coincides as far as North Witham in Lincolnshire. Codrington³ describes its course as follows :—

The modern North Road descends the hill towards Casterton in a cutting, and after it rejoins the line of Erming Street, a county boundary follows it for more than half-a-mile. At Casterton,⁴ where there are some remains of a camp, the straight line which has been followed from Burleigh Park is swerved from to avoid the river, and is not altogether resumed until Tickencote Hall is passed. Then the road is straight for three miles, raised four, five, and six feet high with a width of eight yards, and with a parish boundary along it, after which there is a turn of about 30° towards the north, by which the road is kept upon the high ground.

The parishes on either side are Tickencote and Casterton, followed by Emplingham and Pickworth; between Tickencote and Greetham the road is known as Horn Lane.⁵ The road continues along the line of the modern road 'for three miles through Stretton⁶ as a wide raised road with a parish boundary [Greetham] along it for half a mile, and then leaves the line, which is shown by a hedgerow on the east of the road with a parish boundary and a county boundary along it for a mile.' It leaves the county for Lincolnshire finally at South Witham. A good section of the road was exposed in 1900 in a stone quarry near Great Casterton, several layers of different materials being clearly discernible;⁷ the point where this occurs is just where the road aligns with the county boundary, and the section is still visible.

There seems to be only one other possible Roman road in Rutland, which branches off from Ermine Street about a mile and a half south of Stretton and runs in a north-westerly direction past Greetham and Thistleton, where it passes the site of a Roman settlement,⁸ and crossing the boundary shortly afterwards, coincides with the boundaries of Leicestershire and Lincolnshire as far as Harston, where its traces are lost. This road was traversed by the Nottinghamshire antiquary, Dickinson, about a hundred years ago, and proved to his satisfaction to lead to Newark and so on to Southwell, or perhaps to Brough and Littleborough.⁹ Other antiquaries, such as Gale and Bishop Bennet of Cloyne, saw in this road one leading to Nottingham, or else to the supposed crossing of the Trent at Ad Pontem (Thorpe or Farndon in Nottinghamshire).¹⁰ That such a road existed in Roman times is quite possible, and the chief fact in its favour, at least so far as concerns the portion in Rutland,

² Codrington, *Rom. Roads in Britain*, 129.

³ *Op. cit.* 145.

⁴ See Index, s.v.

⁵ *Assoc. Arch. Soc. Rep.* ix, 160.

⁶ See *Rut. Mag. and Hist. Rec.* i, 264.

⁷ *Ibid.* i, 232; see also Codrington, *op. cit.* 144.

⁸ See Index, s.v. Market Overton.

⁹ Dickinson, *Antiq. of Notts.* ii, 10; see also his map at end of pt. i, and 'Expl. Obs.' 8.

¹⁰ Gale, *Anton. Iter. Rom.* 95 (he places Causennae at Nottingham); *Arch. Journ.* xliii, 42. Bishop Trollope says, 'There are no traces of such a road now' (*Assoc. Arch. Soc. Rep.* ix, 161).

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is that it passes the settlement at Thistleton,¹¹ and is here known as Fosse Lane. But the evidence for its existence, both literary and archaeological, is very slight, and for the present it is better to reserve judgement.

It may also be noted here that Mr. W. H. Wing has detected traces of a road at Market Overton, leading across the fields from that village to Thistleton, and thus meeting the last-named road almost at right angles ; but though a connexion between the camp and settlement in Roman times is quite conceivable, such a road stands in no relation to any known main track, and can only have a local significance.

TOPOGRAPHICAL INDEX

BARROW.—‘A perfect brooch with pin in working order,’ of the Roman period was found by Mr. W. H. Wing in a cottage in 1901. It had been picked up by a labourer thirty years previously. Pottery is found here scattered over the surface of the fields [*Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 2), xix, 194].

BRAUNSTON.—A quern was found here in 1901 [*Proc. Soc. Antiq.* xix, 200].

CASTERTON, GREAT.—Great or Bridge Casterton lies near the line of Ermine Street, about two miles north of Stamford and 10 from Durobrivæ (Castor), and as the name implies and remains indicate, was a Roman station of some kind. Camden endeavoured to identify it with the site of Causennæ,¹ mentioned in the fifth Antonine Itinerary ; but the distances of that place from Lindum and Durobrivæ respectively render such an identification impossible ; moreover, it is not quite on the line of the ancient road. Horsley says : ‘At Bridge Casterton two miles north from Stamford has been also a station. It is situated on the north-east side, and near a crook of the small river that runs by it. The author of the *New Survey* is disposed to set aside this station, and reject the proofs of its being so, as insufficient, but I think they are too strong to be overthrown ; and believe that this is not the only instance of a station, placed on the military way, and yet passed over in the Itinerary’ [Camden, *Brit.* (ed. Gough, 1806), ii, 333 ; Salmon, *New Survey*, i, 308 ; Burton, *Comm. on Itin. Anton.* 203 ; Horsley, *Brit. Rom.* 432 ; *Beauties of Engl. and Wales*, xii, pt. ii, 3 ; Blore, *Hist. and Antiq. of Rut.* i, pt. ii, 112 ; Codrington, *Roman Roads*, 148]. Part of the ridge of Ermine Street is said to be visible between Casterton and a lane leading to Tickencote on the west [*Beauties of Engl. and Wales*, loc. cit. ; Codrington, op. cit. 145 ; see also p. 87 above].

Stukeley says :—

Brigcasterton happened most convenient for a station, being ten miles from Durobrivis, but the Itinerary mentions not its name ; for the distances between them, and likewise to Lincoln, impugn Mr. Camden and such as place Causennis here : however, it was fenced about with a deep moat on two sides, the river supplying its use on the other two ; for it stands in an angle, and the Romans made a little curve in the road here on purpose to take it in, as it offered itself so conveniently, then rectified the obliquity on the other side of the town’ . . . this great ditch and banks are called the Dikes. I saw many coins that are found here ; and one pasture is called Castle Close at the corner : they say the foundation of a wall was dug up there.

[*Itin. Cur.* 84 ; see also Gough, op. cit., ii, 353, and Grose, *Antiq. of Engl. and Wales*, iiii, s. v. *Rut.*] He says in a note that he found coins in the fields by Ryhall : of Nero, Trajan, Maximian, Constantine, &c. Mr. Bell gave him a Pertinax found in Tickencote Lane, and he saw among others a silver denarius of Pompey found in 1733 in Casterton field.

Remains of earthworks are still visible in this parish on the north-east of the village, which lies almost wholly within the original area, in the south-west angle of which stands the

¹¹ In its course along the Leicestershire border such a road would pass near Sproxton, Saltby, Croxton Kerrial, and Belvoir, at all of which Roman remains have been found (see map in *V.C.H. Leic.* i). At Saltby a pavement ‘with wheel-marks’ is reported.

¹ He connects the name with that of the River Wash or Gwash, and says that Stamford grew out of its ruins.

² This is incorrect. He was misled by the course of the modern main road.



FIG. 3.—‘WASTERS’ FROM KILN AT MARKET OVERTON

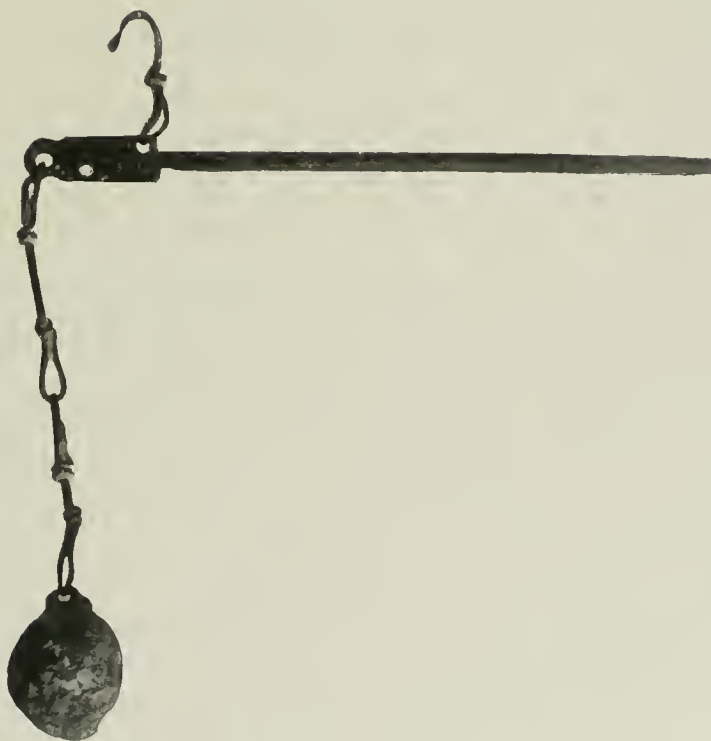
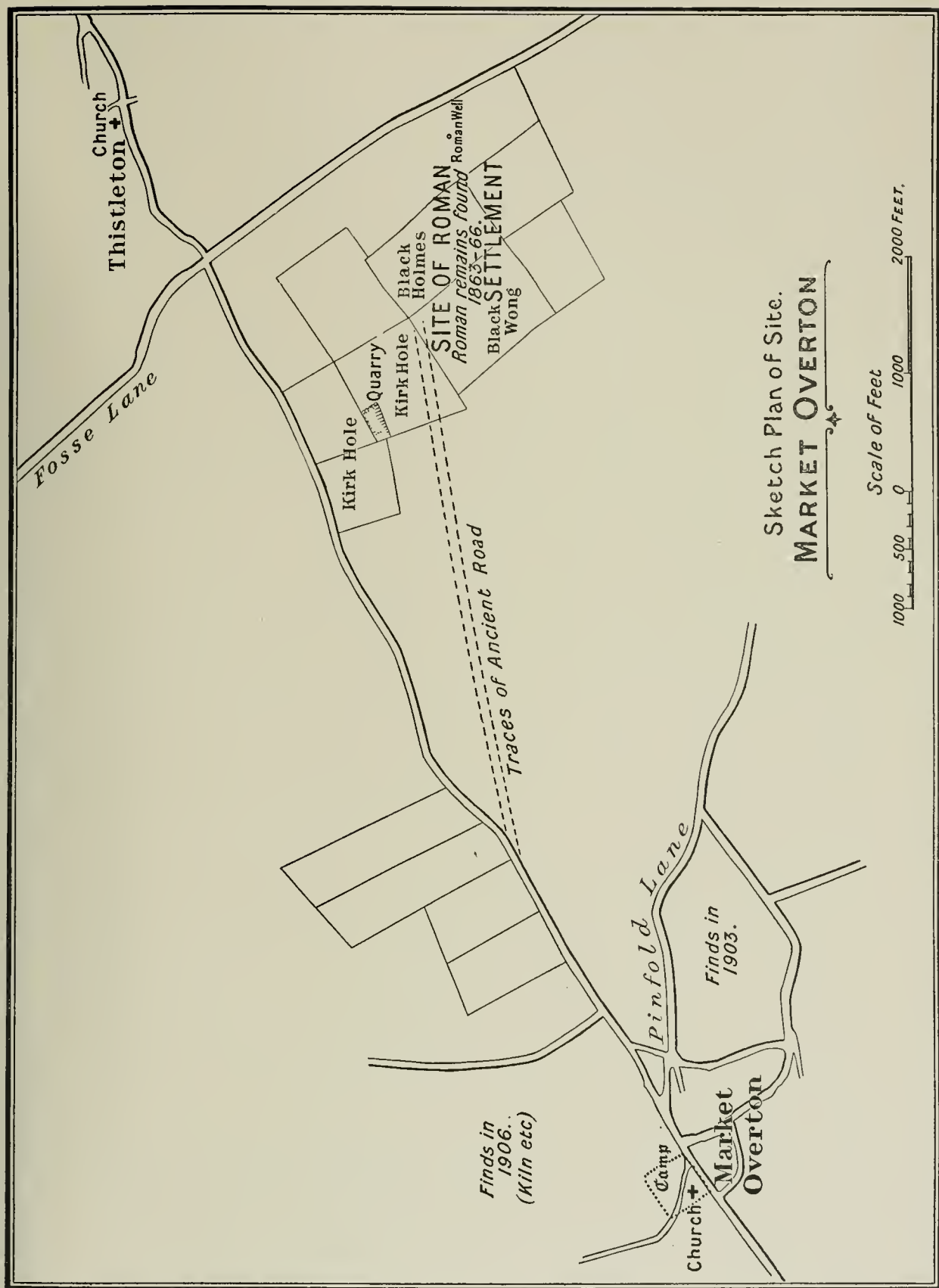


FIG. 4.—ROMAN BRONZE STEELYARD (MARKET OVERTON)



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parish church [O.S. Rutland, 25-in. x, 3-4; Lincoln, cl. 4]. The camp was probably made before the Roman road, and is thought to have included an area of about twenty-seven acres [*Assoc. Arch. Soc. Rep.* ix, 160; *Antiq.* xxxviii, 315]. The north, south, and east sides with the fosse and vallum, are still visible, the west, and part of the south side are protected by the river, and on the other sides the fosse is deep [Blore, *Hist. and Antiq. of Rut.* i, pt. 2, pp. 56, 112, pl. iv (with plan); *Rut. Mag. and Hist. Rec.* i, 159].

Coins in some quantities are still found in digging or ploughing fields in the vicinity of the village [Wright, *Hist. and Antiq. of Rut.* 35; *Antiq.* xxxviii, 315].

COTTESMORE.—Roman pottery found here [*Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 2), xix, 194].

EXTON.—Stukeley says that Lord Gainsborough showed him a 'fair large brass *Divo Antonino* reverse the Antonine column' dug up in Exton churchyard [*Itin. Cur.* 85].

KETTON.—In 1902 several square yards of tessellated pavement were found in digging the foundations of new cottages on the north side of the road leading to Stamford. The remains were broken up and covered by the new foundations. There is no previous mention of remains here to be traced, except that Mr. Crowther-Beynon of Edith Weston had several pieces of similar pavement which came from a sale at Ketton Priory [*Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 2), xix, 194].

LANGHAM.—The Ordnance Survey map marks the 'site of a supposed Roman settlement' on Ranksborough Hill, a quarter of a mile south-east of 'The Lake' in Leicestershire and 1 mile west of Langham [O.S. Rutland, 25-in. iv, 12]. Here was found part of a fine bronze statuette of Jupiter or Neptune, (fig. 1), in two portions, one consisting of the head with part of the neck and left shoulder, and richly-curved hair and beard, the other of the lower part of the body with right leg complete and sandal on foot. Height $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. and 10 in. It was given to the British Museum by Sir A. W. Franks in 1891.

LIDDINGTON.—In a gravel-pit two small jars were found about 1862, containing 150 coins, mostly of gold. They were claimed by the Crown as treasure-trove, and the dates are not known [*Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 2), xix, 201].

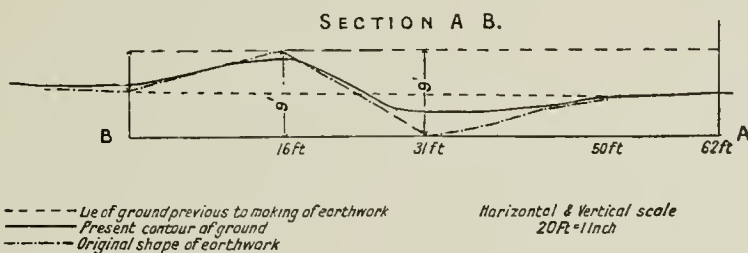
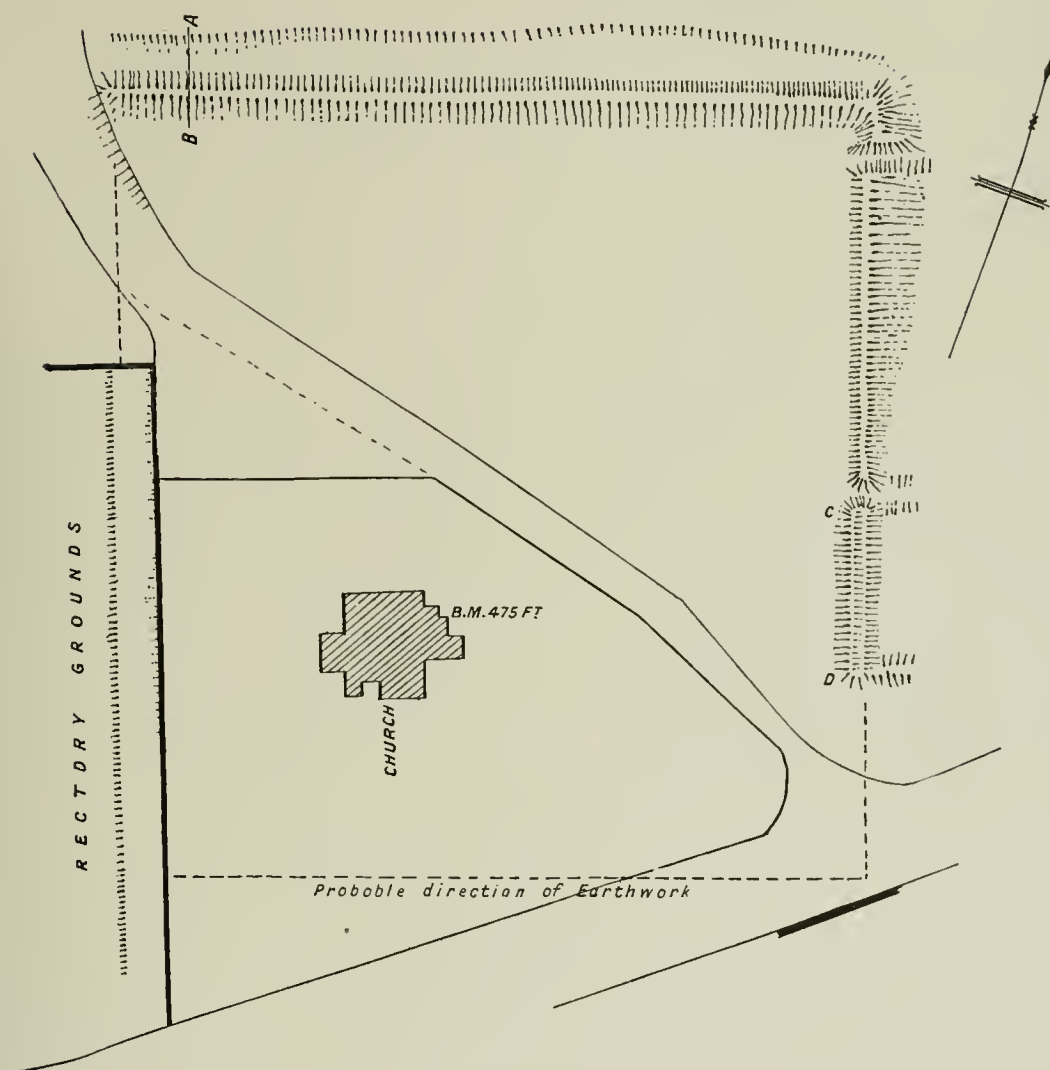
MARKET OVERTON AND THISTLETON.—Market Overton has been known as a Roman site since the time of Camden, who in his earliest edition identified it with Margidunum (now placed at East Bridgeford, Notts.), and ingeniously derived the name of the town ('Margedoverton') therefrom! He was followed by Grose, but his view was corrected in a later edition [Camden, *Brit.* (1586), 296; *ibid.* (ed. Gough, 1806), ii, 329; Grose, *Antiq. of Engl. and Wales*, iii, s. v. *Rut.*; see also Wright, *Hist. of Rut.* 87; *Gent. Mag.* 1866, ii, 609 (*Rom.-Brit. Rem.* i, 262); and a long discussion in *Beauties of Engl. and Wales*, xii, pt. ii, 76, the writer apparently adopting Camden's original view]. The site is also described by Stukeley, who records finds of coins, in particular a 'brass Alexander.' Gough says coins have been found 'in great abundance,' and mentions a silver Aurelius (A.D. 161-80), and a copper Carausius (A.D. 287-93) [Stukeley, *Itin. Cur.* 86 (note); Gough's Camden, ii, 329; Pointer, *Brit. Rom.* 41].

In 1779 Sir John Clerk reported to the Society of Antiquaries that he went 'to visit a Roman village about five miles (*sic*) from Stamford, in the way to Grantham. 'Tis upon a fine common between Market Overton and Thistleton, having a good prospect. There were to be seen foundations of the walls of a court, about one hundred feet square, & an ancient well newly scoured up: they call it the Holmes. In the Corn Fields there, after plowing, and a shower of Rain, are found great Quantities of Roman Coins, called by the people Holme Pennies' [Soc. Antiq. MS. Min. xvi, 400, 16 Dec. 1779]. In a letter to Roger Gale the same writer states that the wall seen by him was about one hundred feet square; he presumably means the earthen wall of the camp in the village [Stukeley, *Letters* (ii, 272, Surtees Soc.)]. Mr. T. G. Bennett, writing in 1899, gives an unpublished letter of Stukeley, dated August 1740, in which he says that Mr. Wing [Tycho Wing] informed him 'that digging at Thistleton by the Roman road to Newark they found a corpse with an urn by it' [*Grantham Journ.* 4 Oct. 1899].

The actual site on which considerable remains have been found at different times, as noted on the Ordnance Survey maps (25-in. ii, 16), is about a mile and a quarter to the east of Market Overton, on the borders of the parish of Thistleton; see Sketch Plan. In the village of Market Overton itself, and therefore at some distance from the 'settlement,' is a square earthwork or camp, within the circumference of which stands the parish church, as at Great Casterton. No evidence has come to light of the name borne by this settlement in Roman times. Mr. W. H. Wing, to whom we are indebted for the plan of the camp reproduced here, is of opinion that traces of a Roman road may be observed connecting it with the settlement, and it has already been noted (p. 87) that the latter lies on the line of a supposed road running in a transverse direction [O.S. ii, 15, 16].

Scale 100 feet to an Inch

NOTE:-The length of mound marked "C-D" has evidently been moved inwards at some later date, the lower portion of original mound still showing in its right line of direction



PLAN OF ENTRENCHMENTS, MARKET OVERTON

(From a Drawing by Mr. W. H. Wing)

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Systematic excavations have taken place from time to time, the first discoveries being made by Mr. Christopher Bennett in 1863-6, in two fields on the site of the settlement, one called 'The Wong,' the other known as 'The Black Holmes,' and also in a stone-pit called 'Kirk Hole.' The opening of the last-named pointed to the existence of a cemetery, as the pit contained numerous skeletons and bones [*Leic. and Rut. N. and Q.* iii, 34; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 2), xix, 192]. Unfortunately in recording the finds from the two fields, the distinction of the sites has not always been clearly observed; but the following two discoveries were certainly made on the settlement site: (1) Three so-called 'fire-places' (probably the remains of a pillared hypocaust), one covered with layers of flat stones. (2) In 1866 a capital of the Corinthian order, measuring 3 ft. 8 in. in diameter, and 9 in. in height, and weighing 6 cwt. The material appears to be a hard shelly oolite, called Clipsham stone; the column is semicircular, and the capital square with dovetail holes in the back, probably for the purpose of fixing it to a wall. It is described as having serrations appearing to represent the usual acanthus ornament [*Leic. Arch. Soc. Trans.* iii, 39; *Leic. and Rut. N. and Q.* iii, 34; *Gent. Mag.* 1866, ii, 609 (*Rom.-Brit. Rem.* i, 262); *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 2), xix, 194; *Rut. Mag. and Hist. Rec.* i, 22, 136].

The font in the church has been described as an inverted Roman capital of similar type, but if Roman at all, it is, like that of Wroxeter in Shropshire (Cranage, *Churches of Shrops.* pt. vii, 658), an inverted *base*, and only the upper rim preserves its original form, the lower part of the basin having been re-modelled in the Norman period; the base of the font is certainly mediaeval. The two baluster-shafts with plain caps and bases, on each side of the churchyard stile, have also been thought Roman;³ but they may equally well have been the mid-wall shafts of windows in a late Saxon church. As now placed, they are inverted.

The smaller finds include coins, pottery of Gaulish and Castor ware, querns, brooches, pins, rings, keys, *styli*, and other articles in bronze and bone, a short sword with curved bone handle, knife with bone handle, three steelyards, one of which is illustrated in fig. 4, a hand-mill, iron clamps, and hypocaust tiles. Among them were also a silver spoon,



BRONZE AND ENAMELED BROOCH
(MARKET OVERTON)

a ring with the letters MISV, and a perfect circular bronze brooch found in 1866, about half an inch in diameter, the centre being inlaid with silver and blue and green enamel in the form of a star. The pottery included an abundance of plain and ornamented Gaulish red ware, and specimens of the local Castor ware with figures of animals (see fig. 2); among the former were pieces of bowls of Form (Dragendorff) 37,⁴ with mythological subjects, such as Hercules in the garden of the Hesperides, and Mercury, as well as animals and vine patterns. Among the potters' stamps recorded are CARATILLI (Form, Dragendorff, 33; see fig. 5),

DOVECCI, and QVINTIM, all Lezoux names of the 2nd century; SERVILIO OFI and OF R . . . (Form, Dragendorff, 18); SABINIANI (Form, Dragendorff, 32, a German potter); also CABIAN (i), DOC, and VXOPILLI. The coins numbered some three hundred, ranging from Claudius (A.D. 41) to Gratian (A.D. 383), and including two 'third brass' of Carausius (A.D. 287), a coin of Lucius Verus (A.D. 161), and one of Constantine the Great with CONSTANTINOPOLIS (A.D. 336). Many of these objects were exhibited at Melton Mowbray in 1865; they were for some time in the possession of Mr. Bennett, and some now belong to Mr. Phillips of Oakham, others to Mr. W. H. Wing and Mr. V. B. Crowther-Beynon of Edith Weston, to whom we are much indebted for photographs and information [*Gent. Mag.* 1865, ii, 144; 1866, i, 700; ii, 609 (*Rom.-Brit. Rem.* i, 262); *Leic. Arch. Soc. Trans.* iii, 39; *Leic. and Rut. N. and Q.* iii, 31-33; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* xix, 192-4; *Arch. Journ.* xxxv, 288; *Grantham Journ.* 4 Oct. 1899 (T. G. Bennett); *Oakham Almanack* for 1900 (illustrations of pottery, &c.)].

In 1884 excavations of the Black Holmes' site yielded the base of a Roman column, 3 ft. 8 in. across and 9 in. high; also Roman pottery, including a fragment stamped BRICCIM, and part of a *mortarium* with RA . . . on the rim; *denarii* of Alexander Severus (A.D. 222-35) and Constantius II (A.D. 317-40), and small brass coins of Constans (A.D. 351-4), Magnentius (A.D. 350-3), and Honorius (395-423), with other débris, all about two feet below the surface [*Arch. Journ.* xli, 219].

In 1900 more systematic excavations were conducted on the site of the settlement, in which portions of eight vases, objects of bronze and bone, keys, fibulae, knives, hair-pins, an *auriscalpium* or ear-pick, fragments of a glass necklace, and the left arm of a bronze statuette

³ For Roman shafts of this type compare an example from the Roman fort at Kannstadt in South Germany (*Obergermanisch-Raetische Limes des Römerreichs*, xxviii, pl. v, fig. 32).

⁴ See *V.C.H. London*, i, 'Romano-British Remains.'



FIG. 5.—GAULISH ORNAMENTED POTTERY OF SECOND CENTURY, FOUND AT MARKET OVERTON

ROMANO-BRITISH RUTLAND

with drapery hanging over it were found, as well as Gaulish and Castor pottery. The latter includes Castor ware with figures of animals, and a vase of grey ware described as a wine-cooler. In 1901 a bronze coin of Carthage was picked up, dating 200–180 B.C., with head of Persephone on *obv.*, and horse's head on *rev.*; also about twenty Roman coins, including a 'first brass' of M. Aurelius (A.D. 161–80) and an ancient forgery of Caracalla [*Leic. Arch. Soc.* ix, 228; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 2), xix, 194]. In 1903 Mr. W. H. Wing brought to light remains of supposed Roman date in a field to the east of the village [*Rut. Mag. and Hist. Rec.* i, 136].

In August 1906 excavations were started in a field to the north of the village for the purpose of obtaining ironstone. Here were found traces of a pottery kiln, in the shape of two or three 'hand bricks' of coarse red clay,⁵ stands for vases, several cracked jars of grey ware, obviously 'wasters' (fig. 3), and part of a mould. Unfortunately all remains of the kiln itself were unwittingly destroyed in the operations, but Mr. Beynon describes it as a 'circular chamber lined with baked clay.' Among other finds are a quern, found in two pieces some distance apart, with the iron spindle still remaining in the centre; cooking-vessels with pierced bottoms, and other plain pottery; a bow-shaped fibula with good patina, a bronze tag for a girdle, and coins of Allectus (A.D. 293) and Constantine II (A.D. 337–40).⁶ A well found in December 1906 contained skulls, fragments of pottery, a *mortarium*, a door-hinge (?), and pieces of leather. In 1907 a section of the *vallum* of the camp was made by Mr. Wing at the expense of the Rutland Archaeological Society.

OAKHAM.—Inside the castle inclosure is a mound, said to be the remains of an old Roman or British encampment [*Leic. and Rut. N. and Q.* i, 76]. A plaster head was exhibited at Melton Mowbray in 1865, which came from a spot near the castle, and was said to be Roman [*Leic. Arch. Soc. Trans.* iii, 39]. At a later date a stone quern was found [*Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (Ser. 2), xiv, 200].

RANKSBOROUGH. See LANGHAM.

SEATON.—A very perfect harp- or bow-shaped bronze fibula (probably early 2nd-century) was found in 1869 near the Rectory [*Leic. Arch. Soc. Trans.* iv, 1].

THISTLETON.—In a house in the village there is a base of a Roman column from the site of the Roman settlement. The site is discussed under the heading MARKET OVERTON (q.v.).

UPPINGHAM.—In 1814 a vessel containing 600 silver coins of various dates was found in a wood near here [*Rut. Mag. and Hist. Rec.* i, 150]. Gold coin of Arcadius (A.D. 383–408) found in 1905 [Information from Mr. V. B. Crowther-Beynon].

⁵ Similar objects found in a kiln on the Medway are now in the Brit. Mus.

⁶ Some of these objects were exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries by Mr. Crowther-Beynon, 30 Jan. 1908.



PART OF BRONZE
FIGURE
(MARKET OVERTON)

ANGLO-SAXON MAP of RUTLAND

Reference

● Burials



ANGLO-SAXON REMAINS

THE administrative arrangements of the late Saxon period which led to the formation of counties no doubt proceeded in some cases on the lines of the early tribal settlements, and formally recognized political divisions that had existed since the pagan period ; but such was evidently not the case with Rutland. It was not till after Domesday Book had been compiled that the present county emerged, and in the Great Survey its area was included partly under Northamptonshire and partly under Nottinghamshire, which is removed from the present border by a broad strip of Leicestershire. The connexion of Rutland with the county across the Welland is a close one in several respects, and many parallel finds will be quoted below ; but before the actual relics from the soil are noticed a few words are necessary to show similar features in these two counties which would be apparent to the earliest Teutonic settlers.

The river that forms the boundary from Stamford to Rockingham was not in the nature of a physical barrier, at least when not in flood ; and the geological formation is practically the same on both sides of it. The Lower Oolite that underlies the Forest of Rockingham extends over more than half of Rutland mainly on the east, while the Lias, which is exposed by river-erosion in Northamptonshire, comes to the surface in the west of Rutland, and gives the county its richest vale. Catmose, however, is not known to have produced any relics of the early Anglo-Saxon period ; and it has been noticed that the majority of such sites in Northamptonshire are at the junction of Lias Clay with Northampton Sand.¹ In regard to them the suggestion was hazarded that there were material reasons for the occurrence of relics in such localities. It is easy to draw erroneous conclusions from the fact that antiquities of a certain class do not occur in certain areas, for they may still be awaiting discovery, or have been found and not recorded ; but in dealing with a series of finds in similar circumstances we practically eliminate the element of chance, and may proceed to conclusions. In Northamptonshire the Anglo-Saxon population of the pagan period evidently preferred to settle where, on the one hand, they could procure a dry site for a dwelling, on porous soil in the neighbourhood of springs ; and, on the other hand, have access to a clayey formation which would provide them with timber for fuel and forest pasture for their herds of swine. Similar considerations seem to have governed the early settlement of Rutland. At

¹ *V.C.H. Northants*, i, 226-7.

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present only three burial sites are known that must have been close to habitations of the new-comers who were destined to change the name of Britain; and these sites correspond to the majority in Northamptonshire, not only as regards geological formation, but also in the character of the finds.

Without crediting the early English with geological knowledge in a scientific sense, we can imagine that before the days of systematic drainage and forest-clearing, the superficial indications of the subsoil were clearer than they are to-day, and there would be a marked distinction between the two main formations of the county. The line of demarcation would pass north and south practically through the centre, and it may therefore be not merely an accident that the three discoveries in the county have been made on this line. North of Burley the belt of Northampton Sand is, on the average, three quarters of a mile wide; and while the Market Overton and Cottesmore sites are in the centre of this belt, the sand-pits between Edith Weston and North Luffenham, which have proved so rich in Anglo-Saxon remains, are at the junction of the Lincolnshire Oolite and Northampton Sand, where the latter is somewhat narrower than further north. These coincidences justify the hope that further discoveries of the kind will be made in or adjoining this belt, and the efforts of local antiquaries should be more specially directed to this particular outcrop, in which agricultural operations, not to mention ironstone working, may at any moment give the clue to another cemetery or settlement of the early Anglo-Saxon Period. It should, however, be pointed out that favourable situations elsewhere in the county that have not been disturbed by digging for ironstone or sand may still retain many traces of the Anglo-Saxons, and it would be strange indeed if the fertile vale of Catmose did not attract these early settlers. That the Lias formation was not purposely avoided is proved by the fact that in the adjoining county of Leicester most of the finds have been in the clay area continuous with that of Rutland.

Exhaustive papers on the North Luffenham finds were read by Mr. Crowther-Beynon, F.S.A., before the Leicestershire Architectural and Archaeological Society in 1902 and 1904,² and the following cannot claim to be more than a summary of his communications, together with a few references to discoveries elsewhere in England, which will throw some light on the affinities of the earliest Teutonic inhabitants of the county.

The cemetery, as it has been proved to be, occupies the brow of one of the ridges which constitute the leading physical feature of the county, at an altitude of about three hundred and fifty feet, and commands its surroundings. The nearest road is called Weston Gate, which has given its name to Weston Gate Field, where the Northampton Sand was first dug many years ago, the land then belonging to Lord Aveland, father of the Earl of Ancaster, and the late Mr. W. R. Morris. Any mounds that may have existed to mark the graves would have been obliterated by the plough; but as some of the graves discovered were only about one foot apart, it is probable that they were originally marked by little hillocks of earth (not 'barrows' in the ordinary sense) such as are to be seen in graveyards

² *Assoc. Arch. Soc. Rep.* xxvi, pt. i, 250; xxvii, 220; *Rut. Mag. and Co. Hist. Rec.* i (1903-4), 87, 116, 152. A cinerary urn 6 in. high is in Leicester Museum.

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at the present day. Such, indeed, existed on Farthing Down, Surrey, when the Anglo-Saxon cemetery there was explored in 1871,³ but sporadic burials were, perhaps, indicated by circular mounds of larger dimensions, as in the Bronze Age.

The working of the pit had brought to light swords and other objects before any deliberate search for burials was undertaken, and the natural weathering of the pit-face, especially after frost, gave Mr. Crowther-Beynon a hint as to the nature of the site. As a resident in the adjoining village of Edith Weston since 1894 he has had opportunities for collecting information from the workmen and adding to his own collection of antiquities, but unfortunately has not been permitted to conduct a systematic exploration of the site. It is probable that the folk buried in this ground lived in the village which derived its present name from Queen Edith, daughter of Earl Godwin and wife of Edward the Confessor, land in Rutland forming part of her marriage portion.

The earliest record of Anglo-Saxon finds on the site was contributed by Mrs. Morris to the *Stamford Mercury*, 1863,⁴ from which it appears that skeletons were found on Mr. Morris' ground, some at a depth of 18 in. and others at five or six feet below the surface, placed in some cases only 1 ft. apart, and each covered with a flat stone about sixteen inches square. Two cinerary urns, which when found contained sand and dark-coloured earth, lay at a depth of six or seven feet, and their position suggests that they belonged to the earliest period of the cemetery, though the workmen's investigations and statements were too indefinite to prove this point. Bronze brooches, tweezers, and other toilet articles, iron swords, knives, and shield-bosses, glass beads, and miscellaneous objects were also found in association with skeletons, and even gold is mentioned in the list, but this is probably a mistake for gilt bronze, which is by no means uncommon. Discoveries of brooches and beads in May 1863 showed that some at least of the burials were 3 ft. deep, apparently on the top of the sand, which lies 3 ft. to 5 ft. from the surface. Special reference is made in the account to urns of rough hand-made earthenware (fig. 3), and to a battle-axe from an adjoining pit on Lord Aveland's property. This weapon is of the 'francisca' type (used for throwing), rarely found in this country, and points to a Frankish origin,⁵ as does also an incised vase of Merovingian form⁶ in the collection of Mrs. Morris.

Still more remarkable, however, is the discovery of two iron arrow-heads still in the possession of Mrs. Morris, who has kindly allowed their reproduction here (see fig. 1). The bow was rarely used by the pagan Anglo-Saxons, but arrow-heads, now preserved at the Tower of London, were found in the cemetery on Chessell Down, Isle of Wight, with a bow about five feet



FIG. 1.—IRON ARROW-HEADS, CEMETERY, NORTH LUFFENHAM (†)

³ *V.C.H. Surr.* i, 265.

⁴ Reprinted in *Gent. Mag.* 1863, ii, 34; *Gent. Mag. Lib.* 'Archaeology,' pt. ii, 188.

⁵ *V.C.H. Surr.* i, 260 (three found at Croydon).

⁶ A plain, but otherwise similar, vase has been found at Toddington (*V.C.H. Beds.* i, 185). It lay at the head of a woman's grave.

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long,⁷ and several were found in graves on Kingston Down, near Canterbury,⁸ while single specimens are mentioned from Marston St. Lawrence, Northamptonshire, and Lowesby Hall, Leicestershire. That the bow was known in England about A.D. 700 is shown by the carving of Egil the archer, on the Northumbrian casket presented by the late Sir Wollaston Franks to the British Museum, and the weapon seems to have been fairly common among the Teutonic peoples on the Continent about the 6th century.⁹

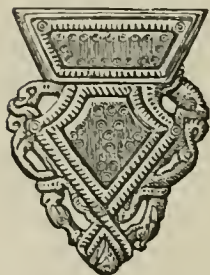


FIG. 2.—BRONZE
GIRDLE-END, SAMSON,
NAMUR ($\frac{1}{2}$)

A bronze relic of more than ordinary interest is illustrated in colours on the frontispiece (fig. 5), and a continental example is here given for comparison (fig. 2). Both are tags for the girdle, and served not merely as decorative terminals, but also to facilitate the passing of the leather strap through the hoop of a buckle. The close resemblance between the two will be obvious, and that they are approximately contemporary few will be disposed to doubt; but the Samson specimen¹⁰ is rightly referred to the 5th century, when animal forms were being introduced into the art of northern Europe, which was still strongly influenced by late Roman models. The blunt end of the tag was split to receive the end of the girdle, which was secured by a pair of rivets; and in both specimens animal heads may be detected springing from the lower angles of this upper band. The incomplete lozenge forming the centre is ornamented in one case with punched rings and in the other with openwork, but both are flanked by fairly realistic animals in side view, the heads pointing downwards and almost meeting at the point. The occurrence of the Rutland example in a cemetery that may on other ground be referred to the latter part of the 6th century, can only be explained by supposing it to have been in safe keeping during the long interval, or to have been brought by some immigrant or trader from the neighbourhood of Namur in the 5th century. Another early example of this style has been found in Kent,¹¹ the pair of animals being attached to the foot of a brooch that may be derived from Denmark, but belongs to the same school of art.

The accompanying photograph of pottery in Mrs. Morris' collection comprises four vessels of cinerary type, the smaller vases coming probably from unburnt burials. The largest cinerary (middle of top row) is 9½ in. high, and shows the characteristic knobs and incised markings of this ware. All are hand-made, that is, are not turned on the potter's wheel, and the clay is a dark brown, with some impurities. Besides these may be mentioned a vessel with spout of peculiar form (front centre of group), the connecting joint (only) of a pair of girdle-hangers,¹² the ferrule of a spear, 3 in. long,

⁷ *V.C.H. Hants*, i, 388; Hillier, *Hist. of Isle of Wight*, p. 30.

⁸ *V.C.H. Kent*, i, 346, 363; Faussett, *Inventorium Sepulchrale* (index); *Arch. Cant.* viii, 249. The Kentish specimens were frequently found in children's graves.

⁹ As at Reichenhall and Nordendorf, Bavaria; Rittersdorf, Luxemburg; Castel Trosino, Asculum.

¹⁰ Figured, with others similar, by Sven Söderberg, in *Prähistorische Blätter*, 1894, pl. xi, p. 7; and *Antiquarisk Tidskrift för Sverige*, xi, 17; cf. Salin, *Die altgermanische Thierornamentik*, 128, fig. 346. Another was found at Vermand, Dept. Aisne (5th cent.); Eck, *Deux cimetières gallo-romains*, pl. xv, fig. 4, p. 214.

¹¹ *V.C.H. Kent*, i, 397, pl. ii, fig. 3.

¹² In the British Museum is a complete specimen from Searby, Lincs. figured in *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xvi, 311, pl. xxiii, fig. 6; cf. de Baye, *Industrial Arts of the Angl. Sax.* pl. xi (Searby, and Little Wilbraham, Cambs.).

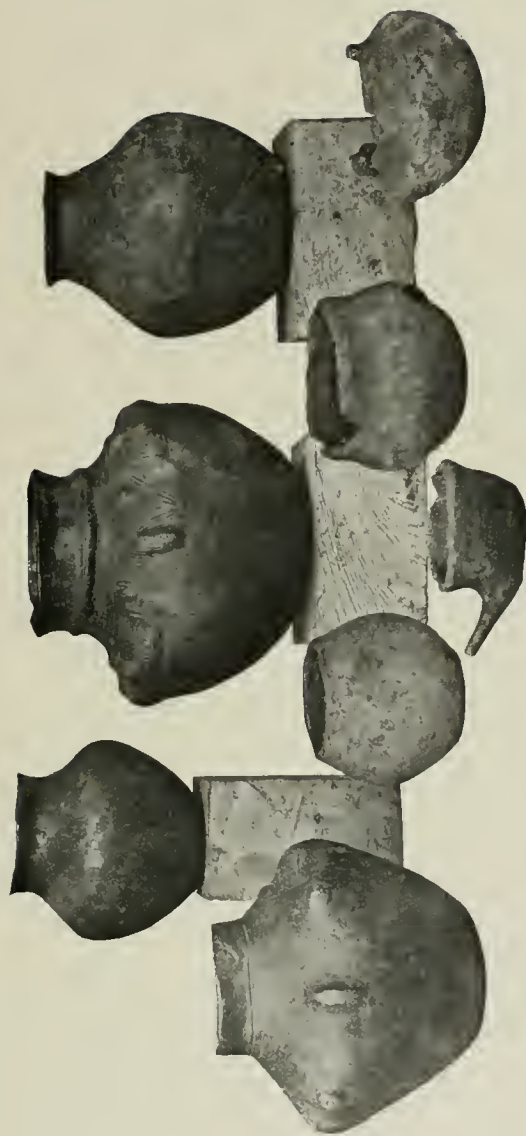


FIG. 3.—SEPULCHRAL POTTERY, NORTH LUFFENHAM (d)

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shield-bosses of three patterns, lance-heads and spear-heads of two main types, two good specimens of the 'long' brooch in a debased form occurring only in England, two openwork swastika brooches (as coloured plate, fig. 3), and the bases of two 'applied' brooches of a type best represented at Kempston, Bedfordshire.¹³ The face of these brooches consisted of a disc of gilt bronze embossed with a cruciform or other pattern, and attached to a plain base by means of cement, which was kept in place by a collar passing all round the rim. The base bore at the back a pin for attachment, and was slit to receive the hinge and catch. Such a base and collar are figured separately (nos. 4, 5 and ring next no. 12) in a photograph accompanying the original account and showing the best specimens in Lord Ancaster's possession. There may be seen two pairs of long and cruciform brooches (nos. 3, 6-8), two studs from the point of shield-bosses (nos. 1, 2), and the pyramidal bronze pommel of a sword, two sword-blades being included in the collection. There are also five pottery vessels, two of which are ornamental ($5\frac{1}{2}$ and $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. high), the others being common accessory vessels (as fig. 3). The most interesting specimen is a pair of bracelet clasps with triangular addition (nos. 10, 11) of bronze-gilt with silver disc at the point of the latter. That these belong together is shown by the occurrence of two similar sets at Barrington, Cambridgeshire,¹⁴ associated in one case with an 'applied' brooch. These clasps have often been found in position on the wrists of skeletons and evidently served to fasten leather bands, and the triangular plate was purely ornamental.

In removing a long strip of soil from the edge of Lord Ancaster's pit in 1901, the workmen found a grave covered with stone slabs, which had apparently contained the body of a woman, the only relics being a small square-headed brooch (very like fig. 9 on plate), a 'long' brooch of the 6th century, also of bronze, and a rude bowl of pottery, 4 in across by 3 in. high, of an ordinary type but of uncertain significance. Covering-stones are not unfrequently found in localities where suitable stone could be procured, but it will suffice to mention examples at Medbourne, Wigston Magna, and Glen Parva, Leicestershire, as being not far removed from Rutland.

During these operations Mr. Crowther-Beynon was happily present at the opening of two graves, which may be described at length in his own words :—

The first was that of a person of some distinction. The skeleton was almost entirely gone, such portions of bone as remained being so decomposed as to be incapable of being handled. As has been frequently observed before, the enamel crowns of the teeth showed in this case their superior capability of withstanding the ravages of time. The body had been buried at full length, with the head pointing nearly due west. Along the left side of the body had lain the warrior's spear, the pointed ferrule of which was found near the feet, and the socketed head, $10\frac{1}{2}$ in. long, about level with the skull. Between the spear and the body, or possibly overlying the latter, was a two-edged iron sword of typical Anglo-Saxon shape and length (about



FIG. 4.—IRON SHIELD-BOSS, NORTH LUFFENHAM ($\frac{1}{3}$)

¹³ *V.C.H. Beds.* i, 180 (coloured pl. figs. 11, 13).

¹⁴ Figured in colours in *Camb. Ant. Soc. Communications*, v, pl. iv, fig. 4; pl. xi, fig. 2; evidently a woman's ornament. In one case the triangular plate is in one piece with the clasp.

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thirty-six inches), and over the hilt of the sword lay the iron boss (*umbo*) of a shield (see fig. 4). Near the left arm was a large variegated glass bead, while a small pair of bronze

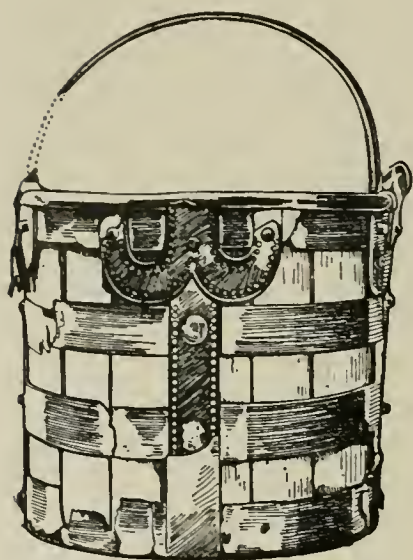


FIG. 5.—BRONZE-MOUNTED BUCKET,
NORTH LUFFENHAM ($\frac{1}{2}$)

tweezers was found near the right shoulder. Slightly beyond the head, and to the south-west of it, I unearthed a bronze-mounted *situla* or bucket (see fig. 5), the wooden staves and bottom being singularly perfect when removed, though, owing to warping and shrinkage in the course of drying, it now presents a more dilapidated appearance. The ground under part of the grave had the appearance of a thin layer of indurated sandstone, bearing upon its surface a noticeable resemblance to the grain of wood, which, though it had itself entirely perished, had left its impression upon the surface on which it lay.

Even if a coffin was not used as in the majority of Kentish graves, there were apparently planks laid below (and probably above) the body in this instance, a mode of interment noticed also at Mildenhall, Suffolk.

The single bead (not unlike fig. 7 on plate) was doubtless attached as a sword knot to the grip, as at Brighthampton, Oxfordshire,¹⁵ and Ipswich; and the presence of tweezers, but absence of brooches, should also be observed. The

small bucket with bronze hoops and handle is frequently found, either at the head or feet, and is supposed to have contained some food or drink-offering to the dead. It was evidently represented in graves of the poorer class by rough bowls of pottery like that already mentioned. Subsequent investigation rendered it probable that another urn, of the type commonly used as cineraries, also belonged to this grave, rendering still closer its resemblance to that next to be described.

A few days later another grave was reached, lying a few feet to the west of that previously described. The body was similarly disposed, with the head to the west. The weapons in this grave were of the same character as in the first, though differing slightly in form. The spear, however, lay on the right of the body, the sword resting diagonally on the breast, the hilt near the right arm and the point near the left knee. The shield-boss lay upon the sword, and a small iron knife was near the right hand. On the right (or south) side of the head was a bronze-mounted bucket, as well as an urn of elegant make $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. high, displaying the protuberances and incised decoration characteristic of Anglo-Saxon fictile vessels. This urn was broken into small pieces by the weight of the superincumbent soil, though it retained its original form as it lay in its earthy matrix. Neither the urns nor the buckets appeared to contain anything but earth. A small pair of bronze tweezers, and what appears to have been the handle of a small iron implement, also accompanied this interment.

The human remains from North Luffenham have been examined and reported on, and it was noticed that several of the clavicles were stained green by contact with the bronze brooches evidently worn on the shoulders.¹⁶

The sword is occasionally the only weapon in a grave, and is at times found with a shield or spear; but the two graves at Luffenham show that all three weapons were sometimes borne together, and this conclusion is hardly in accordance with the common view that the sword marked thethane or horseman, while the ceorl or foot-soldier carried only spear and shield. The shield, which was generally circular, about eighteen inches in diameter,

¹⁵ *Arch.* xxxviii, pl. ii, figs. 1, 8.

¹⁶ *Rut. Mag.* ii (1906), 50.

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was as a rule placed over the middle of the body, but the transverse position of the sword in this instance is quite irregular: that weapon is found in most cases close alongside the body, on the right or left indifferently.

The list of finds on this occasion (July 1901) closes with a fine bronze-gilt brooch (fig. 6) which may safely be described as cruciform, such being the last stage in the development of the cruciform type of Scandinavia, perhaps better described as the 'long' brooch in England. Apart from its exceptional dimensions, this specimen is remarkable for its composite character, the top limb being clumsily attached, and having two pierced lugs at the back as though for a hinge, but quite useless in that position.¹⁷ Were it not that the style of decoration is identical with that of the two side limbs, one would be tempted to suppose that the brooch had been repaired in Saxon times, and part of some other ornament (such as a bracelet clasp) added to replace a missing terminal. It was apparently furnished with a long spring coil through which ran an axis held at the ends by two pairs of ears on either side of the head-plate. The pin which sprang from the coil would have spanned the bow and had its point protected by the catch seen behind the foot, at a point just below the bow. The oblong wings here seen are a feature specially developed in this country and point to the early part of the 7th century, and some idea of the artistic progress (or otherwise) of the Anglo-Saxons may be gained by comparing this brooch with an earlier long brooch in the series. This has been already referred to (p. 99), and is itself a late specimen of the typical Scandinavian brooch, the evolution of which is now determined with considerable precision.¹⁸ The tendency in pagan England to unwieldy shapes, to florid decoration, and overloaded surfaces is here well exemplified, and a close parallel is afforded by the neighbouring county of Northampton.¹⁹

During these operations several fragments of pottery were recovered, but there was no trace of complete vessels. Two at least had evidently belonged to large decorated urns, such as were used in some districts to contain the ashes of the dead; and though it is possible to see in these sherds the origin of the practice noticed by Shakespeare—of throwing 'sherds, flints and pebbles,' into a suicide's grave—it is at least possible that in digging graves on this spot the pagan Anglo-Saxons had disturbed earlier interments of cremated remains; and several knives found on the site are themselves good evidence of as many inhumations.

Some of the brooches found have been noticed above, but two specimens of bronze remain and will serve to connect this cemetery with others beyond the county borders. One found by Mr. Crowther-Beynon next a skull is a variety of the 'long' brooch, but of the smaller kind, with expanding foot and trefoil head, the three projections from the head-plate representing the knobs seen in a less developed form on early specimens. The other is an annular brooch, consisting of a flat hoop pierced near the inner edge for the reception of a pin which crossed the central opening. The surface is tinned and decorated within either edge with a punched pattern, which is

¹⁷ A similar arrangement has been noticed on a cruciform brooch from Warren Hill, Mildenhall, Suffolk (*Proc. Bury and West Suff. Arch. Inst.* vi, 67).

¹⁸ Haakon Schetelig, *Cruciform Brooches of Norway* (Bergen, 1906).

¹⁹ *V.C.H. Northants*, i, 233, 247 (coloured plate).

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also frequently seen on long brooches otherwise plain. Both types are frequently found in cemeteries of the pagan period in the east-central part of England, and references may be made to West Stow, Suffolk; Holdenby, Northamptonshire; and Bensford Bridge, on the border of Warwickshire and Leicestershire.²⁰

The objects illustrated on the frontispiece have (with the exception of figs. 4 and 5) all been found in a field called Land Close, now being worked for ironstone in the neighbourhood of Market Overton. They have been collected by Mr. W. H. Wing, F.S.A., and are figured by permission of the owner, Major Wingfield. Fig. 1 represents an annular brooch of bronze, ornamented on the front with punch marks in the usual manner. The pin, of which the rusted stump alone remains, was of iron, and worked by means of a loop in a hole bored near the inner edge of the hoop. The point passed through a notch on the opposite side of the opening, and in use would be placed beside the opening, the raised edges of which would prevent its slipping back through the notch. Another brooch (fig. 3) is also of bronze, with a flat front, the centre consisting of a curiously formed swastika or fylfot in open-work, and the pin for fastening being invisible from the front. The surface bears a few punch marks, and the type is remarkably uniform in certain parts of England, most of the extant examples coming from the counties of Cambridge (Little Wilbraham), Northampton (Islip and Northampton), Warwick (Offchurch), and Lincoln (Sleaford).

The central brooch (fig. 6) has a more limited distribution, and is comparatively rare. It is a variety of the 'saucer' brooch, but is only found on the outskirts of the old West Saxon area, to which the main type is practically confined. It consists of a stout bronze disc turned up at an angle all round and gilt inside, the ornamentation consisting of an outer band of triangular punch marks, and two inner bands of engraved animal pattern much debased, separated by two notched borders. At the centre is a stud raised on a short stem and decorated with a silver plate on the top, while the pin at the back worked on the same principle as fig. 3. One said to have been found at Dover was presented to the British Museum by Lysons, and others are illustrated from Offchurch, Warwickshire,²¹ and Rothley Temple, Leicestershire,²² but this variety is very rare in England, and unknown elsewhere. A pair of similar brooches, but with a garnet-setting in place of the stud, was found at Longbridge, Warwickshire,²³ with buckets as at North Luffenham.

The small square-headed brooch (fig. 9) was evidently more for use than ornament, and belongs to a common type. It has a low and narrow bow below the square head-plate to accommodate the fold of the garment caught by the pin, but the expanding foot seems out of proportion, and the genesis of this pre-eminently Anglo-Saxon brooch has yet to be determined. More definite results may be obtained from the remaining two brooches (figs. 8 and 10). The first has a greenish appearance, due to the rusting of the bronze, but traces of the original gilding may still be seen in the centre of the foot. The engraving in this case is somewhat more intelligible than that on fig. 6, but both are derived from the animal motives common in the Teutonic world from about the year 500 to the artistic renaissance under

²⁰ *V.C.H. Leics.* i, 222.

²² *V.C.H. Leics.* i, 226, n. 12.

²¹ *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxii, 466.

²³ *V.C.H. Warw.* i, 262, fig. 2 on plate.

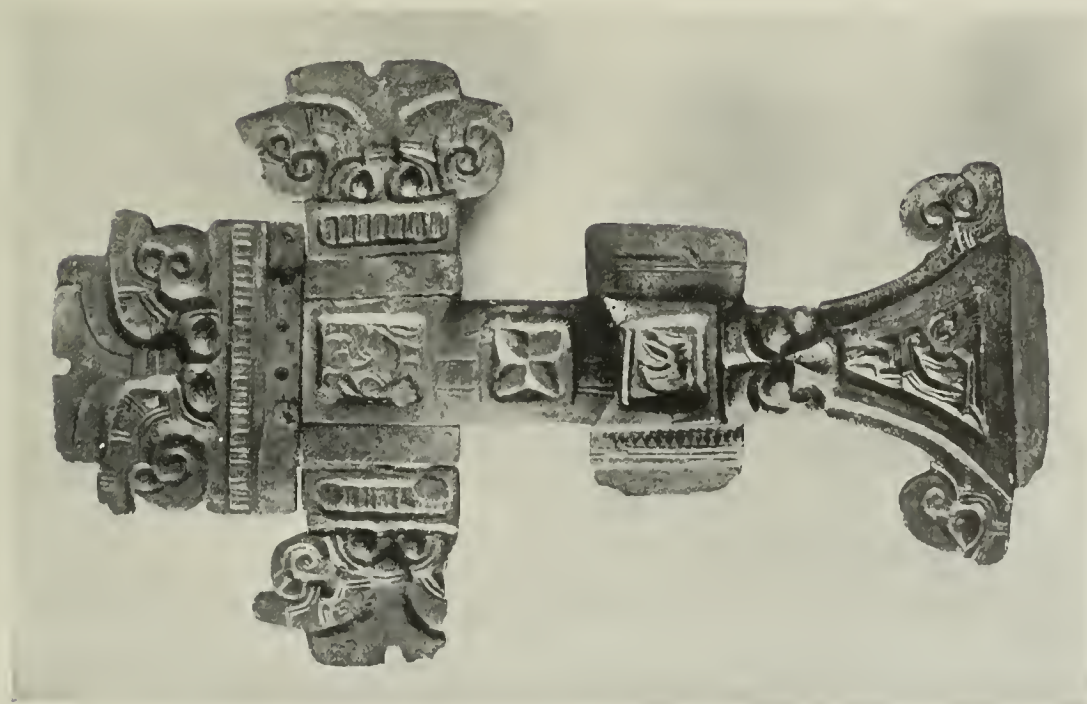
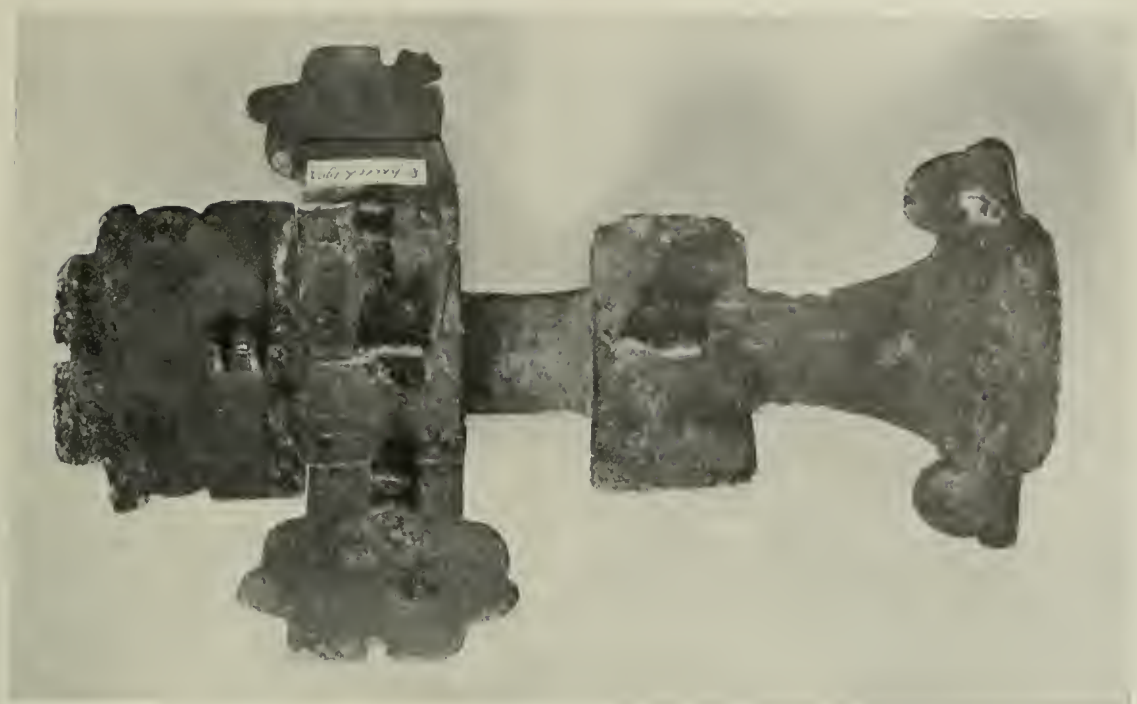


FIG. 6.—BRONZE-GILT CRUCIFORM BROOCH, NORTH LUFFENHAM (4)

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Charlemagne early in the 9th century. In the earliest examples the quadruped is generally recognizable and complete, though there is always some doubt as to what the animal should be called. Within a short time the design deteriorated, and the animal is represented very imperfectly by means of detached limbs, eyes, and heads, which the engraver arranged regardless of anatomy to fill a given space. Thus on the head-plate of the brooch in question legs and trunks can be traced on either side, and two heads meeting in the middle produce a pattern remotely resembling a human face, and used independently at the bottom of the brooch. Two curved heads with open jaws also spring from the base of the bow, and with other details prove the descent of this specimen from the square-headed brooches of the 5th century found in Scandinavia and North Germany. It was apparently by way of Hanover that the large square-headed type penetrated into Southern Germany and crossed to England in the early part of the 6th century,²⁴ but their distribution in this country is somewhat unexpected.

A general resemblance will be noticed between figs. 8 and 10, but the latter is by far the handsomer specimen, not only on account of its excellent gilding and terminals of silver, but also for the amount of surface left free of ornament. To cover all available space with engraving was the chief failing of the Teutonic art of this period, and it is seldom that so simple and dignified a production as fig. 10 is recovered from an Anglo-Saxon site. In the middle space of the head-plate can still be seen the animal motive in hopeless confusion, and the designs just below the bow and above the terminal are reminiscent of that already referred to on the foot of fig. 8; but elsewhere geometrical patterns are introduced, the diamond in the middle of the foot and the general arrangement of the whole being still characteristic. The larger specimen is, in point of style, the later, but there cannot be many years' difference in date, as both belong to the latter part of the 6th century. Earlier examples differing in many respects from each other, but both explaining the salient features of fig. 10, have been found in Norfolk²⁵ and the Isle of Wight,²⁶ while another from Wight²⁷ throws some light on the ancestry of fig. 8.

The beads illustrated as specimens (fig. 11) comprise glass of various colours, rough amber, and faceted crystal: such are generally found, in the form of a necklace, in graves of women, while the large bead (fig. 7) was probably attached to the sword hilt, as single specimens of this size are sometimes found in the graves of warriors. On the coloured plate is also the remarkable specimen (fig. 5) from the collection of Mrs. Morris, who kindly lent it for reproduction: its use has already been discussed under finds at North Luffenham, and this alone among the Anglo-Saxon finds in Rutland shows at all adequately the original form of the quadruped so often referred to as an ornamental motive. Two forms may be seen, heads downward, attached to the lower edges of the lozenge-shaped centre.

The remaining ornament from North Luffenham, illustrated in colour (fig. 2), is a silver disc with a small boss at the centre, from which radiate five

²⁴ Salin, *Die altgermanische Thierornamentik*, 353-4.

²⁵ *V.C.H. Norf.* i, 340 (fig. 5 on plate).

²⁶ *V.C.H. Hants.* i, 388 (fig. 6 on plate).

²⁷ *Ibid.* (fig. 2 on plate).

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points stamped in the metal, while round the edge are punch marks of triangular form. Slight as it is, this kind of ornament is frequently found (as at West Stow, Suffolk; Sleaford, Lincolnshire; Faversham, Kent), but how or where it was worn remains a question.



FIG. 7.—PORTION OF BRONZE BROOCH, MARKET OVERTON (3)

The annexed figure represents the head, bow, and upper portion of the foot of a square-headed brooch,²⁸ found at Land Close, Market Overton. It is, as usual, of bronze, and much of the original gilding remains on the front. The two outer borders of the head recall earlier work, before the animal motive had been adopted, but there are also features of decadence that point to the end of the 6th century. In the centre of the head may be distinguished two detached legs of a quadruped placed horizontally, furnished with several claws or toes; but below them the animal design is so debased as to be unintelligible. At the upper angles are two pointed ovals in relief, with plain gilt surfaces, clearly survivals of the enamel or garnet settings seen in this position on a few specimens²⁹ in

England; while below the bow are the normal heads, also much debased, that curve to right and left with open jaws, as on fig. 8 of the coloured plate. Behind the head is the rusted stump of an iron pin between two perforated lugs. Part of a girdle-hanger, a plain bronze girdle-end beautifully patinated, and a spindle-whorl of Kimmeridge shale complete the list of Market Overton finds that can be definitely referred to the pagan Anglo-Saxon period; but it may be added that coins of Constantine, an iron padlock key, some iron binding, the point of a sword-sheath, and two Roman brooches have also been collected from the site, with a saucer-shaped vessel of thin bronze 4½ in. in diameter, peculiar in having a small hole pierced in the centre of the base. Its date is uncertain, but its good patina suggests antiquity, and it may perhaps be explained as a water-clock of the kind employed by the early Britons.³⁰ The bowl, always of very thin bronze with flattened base, was placed on the surface of water, and allowed to fill through the perforation: on sinking in a definite time, it was emptied and replaced.

This cumbersome method of measuring time has been known in India and Ceylon from very early times; but whether it was derived thence by the Britons of our Early Iron Age or independently invented here is a question at present unanswered; nor is it possible to decide whether the Market Overton specimen belongs to the British, Roman, or Anglo-Saxon periods. The shape is peculiar, and the proximity of a plain globular vase of Anglo-Saxon date suggests that this kind of clock was not altogether supplanted by the Roman form, in which the water dripped from one vessel into another.

²⁸ When perfect it must have resembled one from Billesdon, figured in colours *V.C.H. Leics.* i, 238, fig. 2 on plate.

²⁹ *V.C.H. Warw.* i, 285, fig. 6 on plate.

³⁰ *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* xxi, 326.

ANGLO-SAXON REMAINS

The third early Anglo-Saxon site in Rutland is Cottesmore, where excavations for ironstone have brought to light a few relics of that period as well as a hoard of the Bronze Age noticed elsewhere. As the two small pottery vases and shield-boss from this site were not excavated with any proper supervision, it is impossible to say if they belonged to an isolated grave or marked the confines of a cemetery that has yet to be revealed; but it is permissible to infer from the shield-boss that a fighting-man had been laid to rest on this spot, which was probably near his home. The vases are of common type and manufacture, resembling fig. 3, but the shield-boss deserves special mention for a gilt bronze stud attached to the point. This has been illustrated (fig. 4 on coloured plate) as being somewhat of a rarity and a good example of debased animal form, which can only just be recognized in the interlacing bands that fill the central space. Other shield-bosses ornamented in this way are known from the neighbouring county of Northampton,³¹ and from Barrington, Cambridgeshire.³²

Repeated references to Northamptonshire and Leicestershire will have prepared the reader for the conclusion, based on archaeological evidence, that Rutland was formerly the home of Anglo-Saxon settlers who were closely akin to those in the valleys of the Nene and Soar. Mixed burials are found in all three counties, and the relics that come from inhumations indicate with fair consistency the 6th century as the earliest date for Teutonic settlement in force. The cinerary urns may be earlier, but as datable objects are but seldom found in association, it would be unwise to consider them as evidence of an earlier immigration. There must have been extensive woodlands in Rutland, and the population cannot have been dense at any point, but there are peculiarities about the county that have perplexed historians and are not explained by the extant series of finds. The late Mr. Grant Allen³³ suggested a connexion between the British *Ratae*, the tribal name of Leicester, and the mysterious Rutland, adding that this alone of the Mercian shires is not named after its county town. 'Apparently it remains a solitary example of an old native Mercian division which has outlived the West-Saxon redistribution of the country into shires on the southern model, rudely mapped out around the chief Danish burghs. In this connexion it is interesting to note that Danish local names are unknown in this county.' Danish relics are likewise unrecorded, in spite of the proximity of Stamford, which belonged to the confederation of the ninth and tenth centuries known as the Five Burghs; and one is almost forced to the conclusion that apart from a few early settlements on the belt of Northampton Sand, Rutland in pre-Norman days was deserted forest, like the vast tract of Rockingham across the Wel-land, where Anglo-Saxon finds are altogether wanting.

Another view as to the early affinities of the county may be based on the dialect. In this respect Rutland belongs to the north-eastern group which comprises also Northamptonshire, Huntingdonshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Middlesex, Hertfordshire, Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk, counties that were not occupied by Saxons or Anglians exclusively in the early period. More closely connected with Rutland by dialect are Cam-

³¹ Barton Seagrave (*V.C.H. Northants*, i, 244, fig. 9).

³² Baron de Baye, *Industrial Arts of the Angl.-Sax.* 35, fig. 6.

³³ *County and Town in England*, 104.

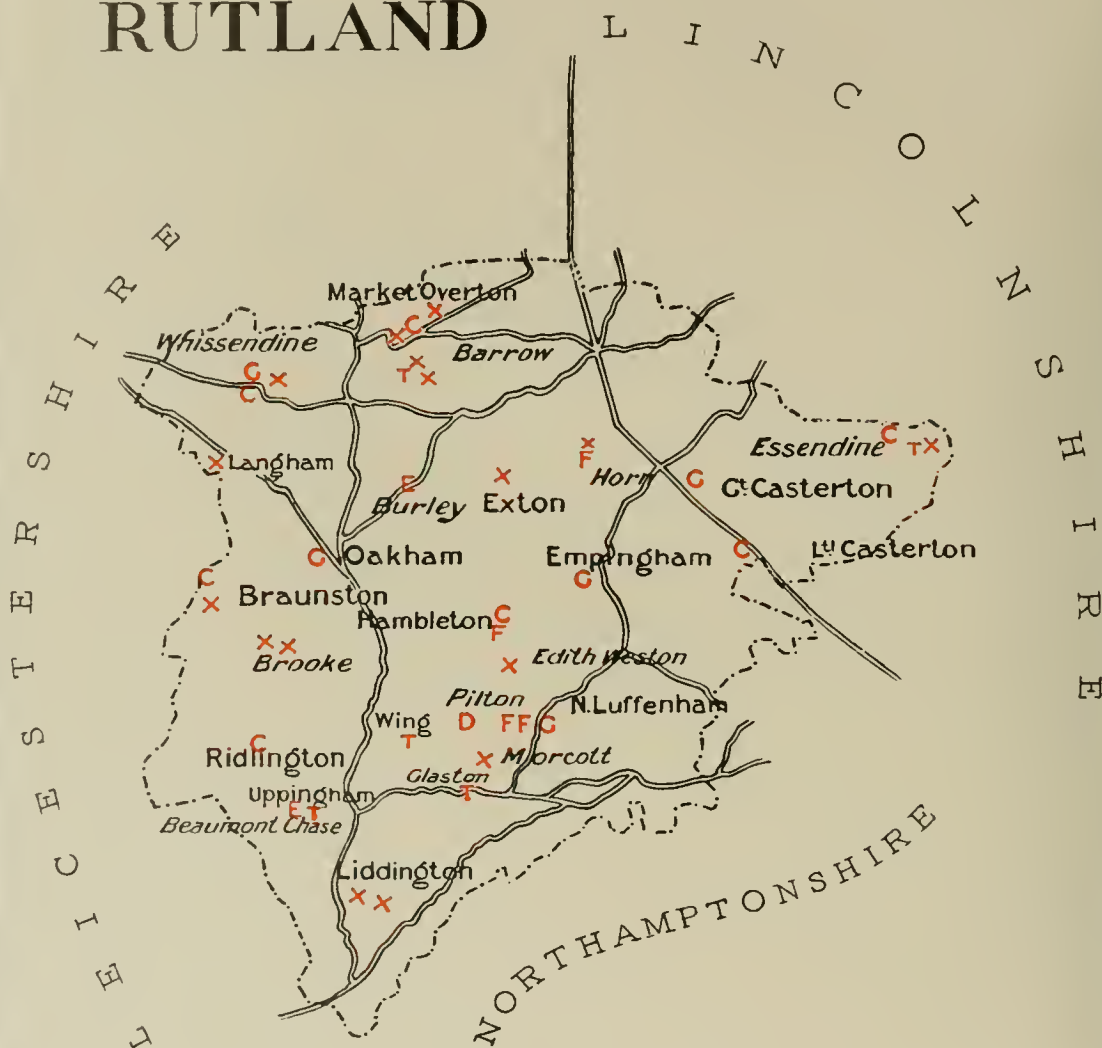
A HISTORY OF RUTLAND

bridgeshire and the north-eastern part of Northamptonshire ; ³⁴ and there is some archaeological warrant for connecting together the two latter areas, ³⁵ but further discoveries alone can make clear their relation to Rutland. The Roman road from Stamford through the north-east of the county, with possibly a branch towards the Trent, would have given easy access from the north or south. From which quarter the Anglians actually arrived cannot as yet be determined, but it seems clear that they were in possession before the efforts of Oswiu resulted in the conversion of the Midlands to the new faith. After that date cremation cannot well have been practised, and few if any relics would be recovered from graves, even if the latter were still in the open country and not confined to the consecrated and inviolable ground of the churchyard.

³⁴ A. J. Ellis, *English Dialects, their Sounds and Homes*, 58 and map.

³⁵ *V.C.H. Northants*, i, 251.

MAP showing EARTHWORKS of RUTLAND



Reference

- | | |
|---|--|
| A Promontory Fortresses (no example) | F Homestead Moats |
| B Hill Forts &c (no example) | G Moated Enclosures with stronger works |
| C Simple Enclosures | X Miscellaneous Earthworks |
| D Mounts | T Tumuli |
| E Mounts with Bailey | |

ANCIENT EARTHWORKS

Rutland, the smallest of the English counties, with no great waterway by which pirates might be enticed to ascend for plunder, and no lofty eminences whereupon the early inhabitants could construct their great hill forts, affords little scope for the builders of earthworks. The natural character of the land also destroys any great hope of the survival of many important works even on the successive ridges of hills which traverse the county from east to west.

On the highest ground in the county, at Flitteris in the parish of Oakham, is a girdled area, with surrounding works of doubtful early or mediaeval construction. Various relics found in the neighbourhood give evidence of the occupation of the height by early man, but if these works are of prehistoric origin, they were certainly adapted to later uses, as is proved by documents of the 14th century.

There are undoubted remains of the Romano-British period at Great Casterton and Market Overton, and Roman influence may possibly be seen in the rectangular entrenchments at Hambleton, Ridlington, and Whissendine.

Of the mount type of fortress, attributed to a later age, there are but two examples, at Beaumont Chase and Burley, and these are but feeble. An entrenched mound at Pilton is traditionally ascribed to Cromwell, but it may have a far earlier origin.

In Oakham Castle is seen a type of fortified residence of a somewhat different character from the accepted examples of feudal strongholds, yet far more formidable in its defences than the moated manor-house. It has been suggested that the earthen vallum inclosing the great court was originally a British stronghold, but this is a theory which cannot be taken seriously, and no early remains have been found to give any support to such a surmise. The castle at Oakham was the principal fortress in Rutland; the strength of the castles of Essendine and Woodhead, or of those at Beaumont Chase and Burley, we have no means of ascertaining.

The simple defensive moats, so numerous in some counties, here number but seven. One noble moat, destitute of the slightest sign of a habitation within its entrenched area, is at Whissendine, and that, from its construction, would suggest the rampart and fosse of an early military work, utilized and adapted as a defence in later times. A small circular island surrounded by running water, situated in Hambleton parish, is one of those unexplained works which may possibly have served as a heronry. A twin moat was made at Essendine so as to safeguard the church as well as the manor-house, and to provide a forecourt to the main defence.

At Market Overton the protection of the Roman camp was sought in building the church. It is doubtful whether the extensive earthworks at Brooke were for the defence of the monastery, or were the work of the sappers of the Parliamentary army.

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The village sites to which Class H is devoted may include the entrenchments at Flitteris and the inclosed site near the ruins of the priory of Brooke, but until excavations are undertaken it is impossible to decide in which class these should be placed. They have consequently been relegated to the list of miscellaneous works.

The sides of various hills are scored by entrenched lines, single as at Barrow or more numerous as at Essendine. The latter are attributed to Oliver Cromwell, but traditions of his presence in this locality must be received with caution.

The provision of fish-ponds, or stews, common to large manor-houses and religious foundations in the midland counties, are not wanting in Rutland; the most elaborate are at Essendine and Liddington, and others are found at Edith Weston, Empingham, Horn, North Luffenham, and Oakham.

Tumuli are scarce, but that may possibly be due to the arable nature of the soil.

All the types of earthworks in the general classification adopted by the Archaeological Congress are not represented in Rutland, and the complete list will show three important classes of works which the county lacks.

CLASSIFICATION OF EARTHWORKS

CLASS A.—Fortresses partly inaccessible, by reason of precipices, cliffs, or water, additionally defended by artificial works, usually known as promontory fortresses.

CLASS B.—Fortresses on hill-tops with artificial defences, *following the natural line of the hill*; or, though usually on high ground, less dependent on natural slopes for protection.

CLASS C.—Rectangular or other simple inclosures, including forts and towns of the Romano-British period.

CLASS D.—Forts consisting only of a mount with encircling ditch or fosse.

CLASS E.—Fortified mounts, either artificial or partly natural, with traces of an attached court or bailey, or of two or more such courts.

CLASS F.—Homestead moats, such as abound in some lowland districts, consisting of simple inclosures formed into artificial islands by water moats.

CLASS G.—Inclosures, mostly rectangular, partaking of the form of F, but protected by stronger defensive works, ramparted and fossed, and in some instances provided with outworks.

CLASS H.—Ancient Village sites protected by walls, ramparts, or fosses.

CLASS X.—Defensive works which fall under none of these headings.

CLASS T.—Tumuli.

The first name to each note is of the parish in which the work is situated. The Roman numerals following the name of the parish refer to the number of the sheet in the Ordnance Survey maps. All the measurements of the escarpments, &c., are perpendicular.

The author tenders his thanks to Mr. V. B. Crowther-Beynon for his valuable assistance in drawing his attention to certain works not recorded by the Ordnance Surveyors.

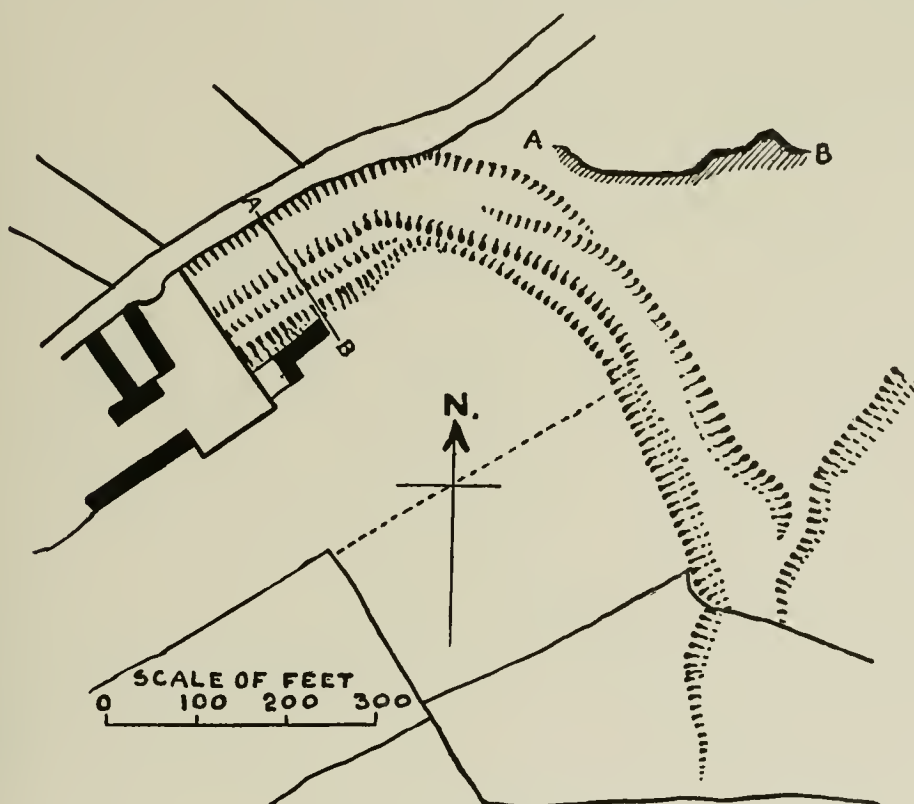
SIMPLE DEFENSIVE INCLOSURES

(CLASS C)

GREAT CASTERTON (x, 3 and 4).—This village, 2 miles north-west from Stamford, is also known as Bridge Casterton from its situation at the bridge which carries the Ermine Street over the River Gwash. North-east

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of the church are the remains of a camp of great strength, the small part yet existing being remarkably perfect. The southern and western parts are utterly destroyed, but the northern portion of the north-western side appears to be almost in its original state; here the rampart is 6 ft. high, and 16 ft. broad at its base. It has a scarp 6 ft. deep on to a berme 12 ft. wide, and another escarpment 7 ft. deep into a flat-bottomed fosse 33 ft. wide, the counterscarp being also 7 ft. At its northern angle the fosse is 10 ft. in depth, but at the eastern side of the corner a modern cart road into the fosse has misshapen its formation. At the northern angle the rampart no longer remains, but the berme and the fosse continue for 300 ft. towards the south-east, beyond which the works have been delved out of all recognition, but the presence of a former rampart is indicated where the dotted



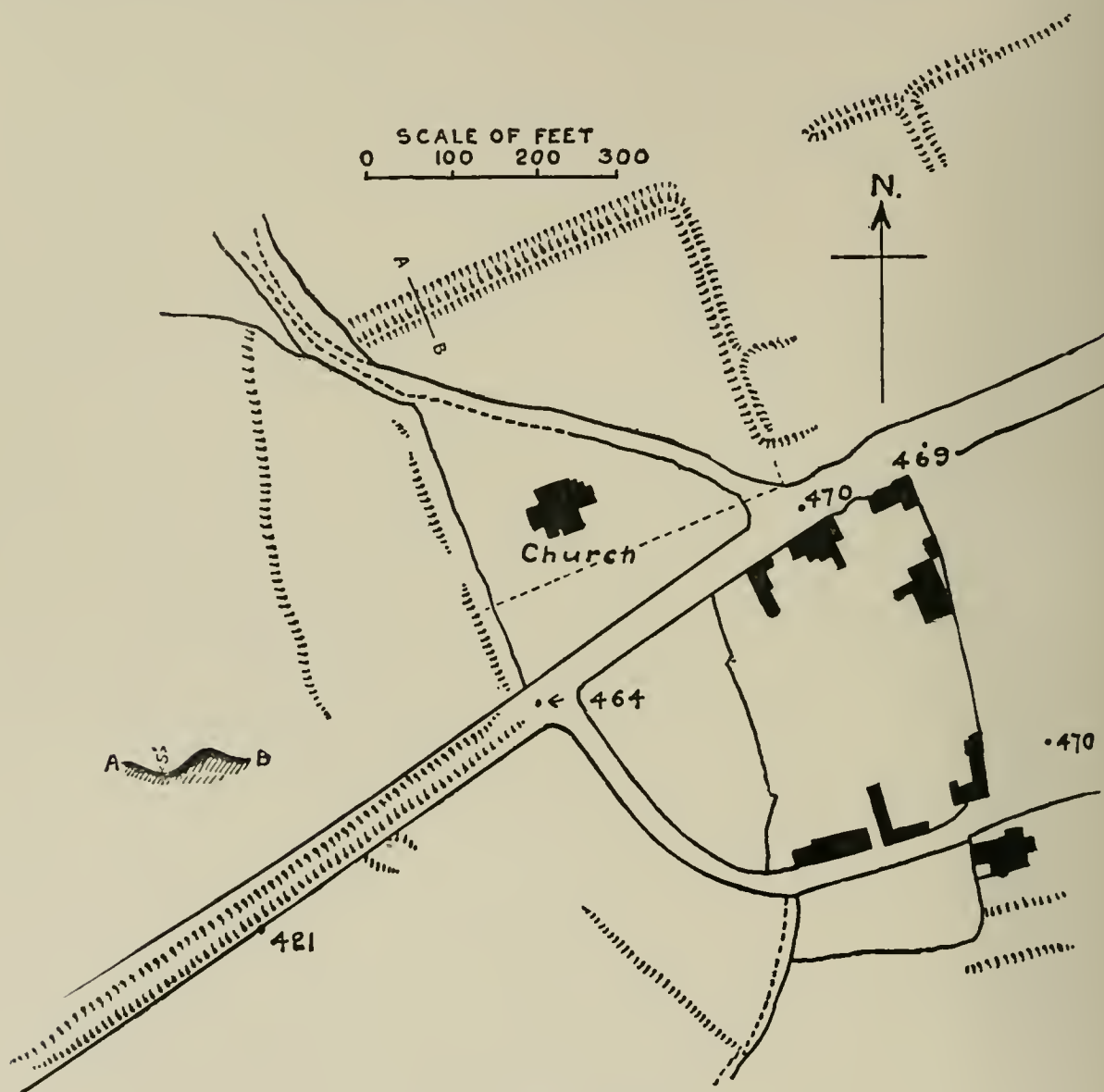
THE CAMP, GREAT CASTERTON

line in the plan takes a south-westerly course. It is situated by the River Gwash, which defends two sides of the stronghold.

HAMBLETON (ix, 8).—North of Edith Weston, and 4 miles south-east-by-east from Oakham, close to Half-moon Spinney is an oblong camp. It is situated above the confluence of two rivers upon a high roundly-curved hill in the midst of other similar heights of scarcely inferior altitude. The long axis is 234 ft. from east to west, the shorter sides measuring 120 ft. on the west, and 132 ft. on the east. The south, west, and eastern sides are distinct, and have a rampart rising from 2 ft. to 1 ft. 10 in. in height with a scarp 6 ft. 6 in. deep into a fosse 11 ft. wide, and with a counterscarp 4 ft. 6 in. on the east, 3 ft. 8 in. on the south, and 5 ft. 4 in. on the west. The northern side has gone, but may still be traced by a series of depressions where the fosse has not been entirely levelled.

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MARKET OVERTON (ii, 15).—Five miles north-by-east from Oakham are very definite remains of a quadrangular inclosure which can perhaps be attributed to the Roman period as relics of that age are numerous. The north-eastern side comprises a vallum rising 5 ft. at its most perfect point with an escarpment from 3 ft. to 4 ft. 8 in. deep ; this vallum is broken through in two places, but whether these were original features it is impossible to determine, for the rampart was at some later period included in



CAMP, MARKET OVERTON

manorial embankments, which may in part be seen against and beyond this side of the camp. The north-western side consists of a vallum and fosse ; the former, 2 ft. high, has a scarp of 5 ft. with a counterscarp of 2 ft. ; this has recently been cut through by a trench to ascertain the original depth of the escarpment, which appears to have been 9 ft. A road has been made diagonally through the inclosure from the south-east to the north-west, destroying the works at these two angles ; the south-western side of the vallum may, however, be traced in a terrace within the wall of the rectory garden. The

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southern side has wholly perished, owing to the graveyard of the church—at first constructed within the protection of the vallum—having outgrown its former limits.

An ancient road, deeply sunken, extends towards the south-west, and various fragments of mediaeval embankments lie around the outskirts of the camp.

OAKHAM (viii, 4).—Flitteris Park is surrounded by a double vallum and intermediate fosse ; the innermost vallum has an escarpment of 5 ft., the fosse is 3 ft. deep, and the outer vallum has a scarp from 3 ft. to 4 ft. This work is possibly of the 13th century, as in 1252 Henry III granted licence to Richard, Earl of Cornwall, 'to enclose the wood of Fliteris.' From an inquiry taken in 1300 it appears that there was 'a little park called Flytters' belonging to the demesne of the manor of Oakham, with a stockade surmounting the earthwork, and that, in 1372, William Flore of Oakham was allowed a sum of money by the Crown 'for the palisades of 160 acres enclosed within the park of Flyters.'¹ The double earthwork has the appearance of greater age, while the discovery of a celt, ancient pottery, and flint flakes suggest its origin as being a settlement of an early race.

RIDLINGTON (xiii, 1).—In a field west of Ridlington, 2 miles north-west from Uppingham, are the remains of an irregular oblong camp with rounded corners situated on the side of high ground sloping down to a stream on the north. A shallow trench, parallel with the road, runs in a westerly direction, with a slight vallum on its northern side ; 2 ft. is now the greatest height of the escarpment, and both vallum and fosse have been spread to an extreme width by the action of the plough. The work becomes more definite towards its western extremity, where there are traces of a bank beyond the fosse at the angle where the rampart turns towards the north and descends the hill. At the north-west the curve of the scarp is nearly 5 ft. ; on the northern side of the inclosure the scarp is 9 ft. and the counterscarp 4 ft., beyond which is a natural escarpment of nearly 10 ft. At the north-east the fosse opens into a sunk road which extends along the eastern side of the camp beneath a scarp of 9 ft. down the hill to some springs. All traces of a rampart on this side are destroyed.

WHISSENDINE (v, 1).—East of the village, 4 miles north-north-west from Oakham, two sides of a strong rectangular inclosure are situated in the garden of the Manor House ; the site of the latter was evidently chosen within the protection of the ancient fort. On the eastern side the rampart is 2 ft. 3 in. high and 12 ft. wide, with a scarp of 6 ft. with a fosse 3 ft. deep. At the north-eastern angle the rampart rises to 4 ft. and has an escarpment of 12 ft. with a counterscarp of 3 ft. Slight traces of the turn of the rampart at the north-west are visible.

MOUNTS

(CLASS D)

PILTON (ix, 16).—On the west side of the road from North Luffenham to Morcott, and south of the River Chater, 3½ miles north-east from Uppingham, is a mount nearly circular in plan surrounded by a fosse.

¹ *Abbrev. Rot. Orig.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 326.

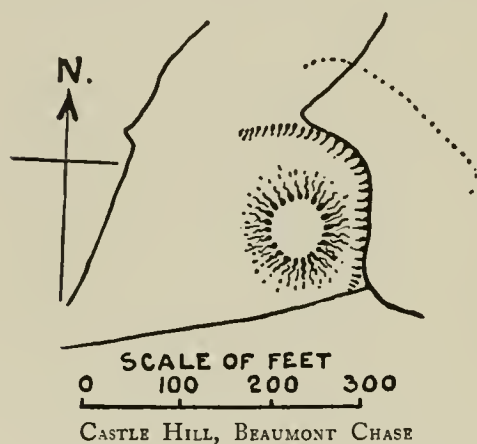
A HISTORY OF RUTLAND

The flat summit of the mount is 78 ft. in diameter, the escarpment, 9 ft. perpendicular measurement, is acute, and descends into a fosse 12 ft. wide with a counterscarp of 4 ft. It is said to be the spot on which the Parliamentary guns were planted for the destruction of the Old Hall at North Luffenham.

MOUNTS WITH ONE OR MORE ATTACHED COURTS

(CLASS E)

BEAUMONT CHASE (xiii, 5).—‘Castle Hill’ is situated on the borders of this parish adjoining that of Uppingham, 1 mile north-west from Uppingham. It is an artificial mount with a very round escarpment 38 ft. in height. The summit, nearly flat, has been 54 ft. in diameter, but that measurement is retained only from the north-east to the south-west, the subsidence



of the soil on the west having altered its original character. A fosse surrounds the base of the mount on the northern and eastern sides—where the ground is nearly level—with an average breadth of 37 ft. and a counterscarp of 12 ft. On the south and west the decline of the ground is very steep, descending a long distance into a valley, and around this part no fosse was constructed. Certain ridges on the western side which have the appearance of entrenched lines are formed by landslips from the mount. On the only level ground adjacent to the mount, on

its north-eastern sides, are traces of two baileys, a scarp 90 ft. distant from the mount indicating a court approaching an oblong in plan, and 140 ft. beyond this is the possible site of a vallum to another court, but the plough has almost obliterated it. A very small stream flows along the western base of the hill. The mount commands an extensive view of the country.

BURLEY (v, 11).—In a field by the roadside north-east of Burley, and 3 miles north-east of Oakham, is a mount fortress; the summit, 16 ft. high, has a rounded top, and the base is surrounded by a fosse 3 ft. 4 in. deep and 9 ft. wide, except on the north, where it is 12 ft. broad. The mount is situated within the area of an oblong bailey, the circumvallation of which has largely gone though sufficient remains to leave no doubt as to its former plan. At the rounded north-western angle the fosse only is seen, and here it is 3 ft. deep and 8 ft. wide; the other parts are not so clearly defined except at the south-west where a portion of the vallum remains from 1 ft. 9 in. to 2 ft. 4 in. in height, giving an escarpment of fully 5 ft. into the fosse, with a counterscarp of 3 ft. A debased semicircular rampart on the eastern side indicates the former existence of a second bailey. A stream flows close to the north-east of the inclosure.

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HOMESTEAD MOATS

(CLASS F)

HAMBLETON (ix, 8).—Near the northern bank of the River Gwash, half a mile north from Edith Weston, a small circular plot of ground is surrounded by water obtained through a channel from the river.

HORN (vi, 9).—Six miles north-east-by-east from Oakham, within a valley sheltered by hills, is a rectangular site surrounded by a moat 16 ft. wide. The banks are generally 4 ft. high above the water, except on the west, where they rise to 6 ft. A tributary of the Gwash flows in a southerly direction close by its eastern side, and extensive fish-stews lie to the north.

NORTH LUFFENHAM (ix, 16).—South of North Luffenham Hall, and 6 miles south-east from Oakham, on the northern bank of the River Chater, there is a rectangular site surrounded by a shallow moat 14 ft. broad. The banks gradually slope to the water, rising 3 ft. on the north and 5 ft. on the south. The area is divided into two parts by a branch of the moat, the smaller eastern part is generally lower than the larger western portion. The south-eastern corner is within a few feet of the river. To the north of this moat is a long artificial trench and various field banks.

West of North Luffenham Church is the site of Old Luffenham Hall, to the south of which is a portion of a semicircular moat.

MOATED INCLOSURES WITH STRONGER DEFENSIVE WORKS

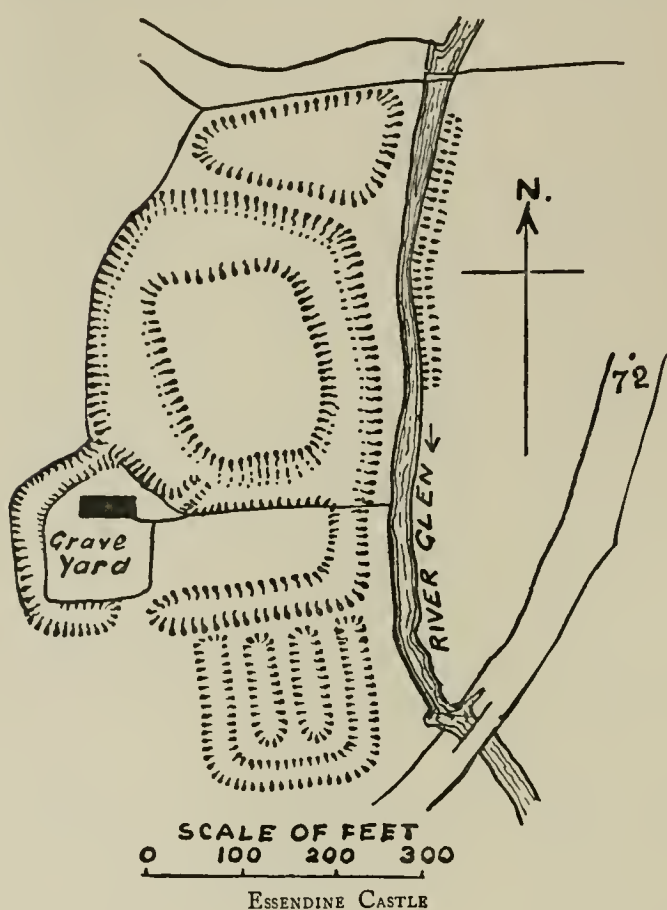
(CLASS G)

EMPINGHAM (x, 1).—To the south of the village, $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles east from Oakham, is a rectangular moated site with its long axis running parallel to, and close by, the northern bank of the River Gwash. The scarp into the moat is 5 ft. deep, and the moat, 24 ft. wide, has a counterscarp generally measuring 3 ft. in height, but on the north, farthest from the river, it is 5 ft. 6 in. The northern and southern sides are strengthened by a rampart which on the north is 5 ft. from the outer edge of the moat. Beyond the western side is another square inclosure, one side of the moat already mentioned forming its eastern side; the northern defence is an extension of that side of the first moat, but on the south and the west fish-ponds take the place of the moat whilst providing the same character of defence. A small channel at the south-western angle conducted the water from one pond to the other, and at the south-east corner, which is also the south-west angle of the principal moat, is an outlet for the waters into the Gwash. To the north of the moat are the remains of field embankments.

ESSENDINE (vii, 5).—The site of Essendine Castle, 4 miles north-east-by-north from Stamford, is surrounded by a very wide moat, a defence which extends to the church and graveyard, and round a small court on the south. The great moat close to the western bank of the River Glen is 37 ft. wide at its narrowest part, and nearly twice that breadth at the north and west. The central oblong area stands 18 ft. above the base of the moat, and its counterscarp is 12 ft. From the south-west another moat branches outwards

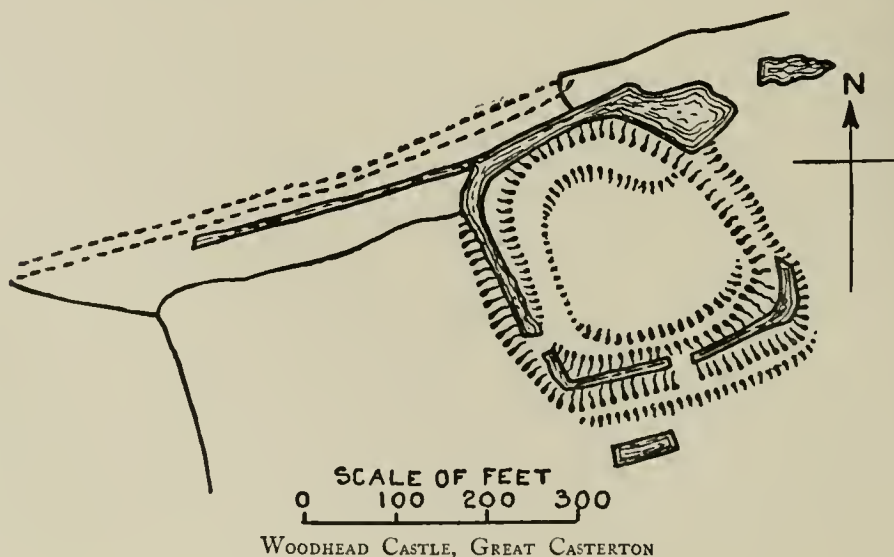
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in a westerly direction and surrounds the west and south of the churchyard ; this is 14 ft. wide and 6 ft. deep, with a counterscarp of 9 ft. To the east



of the path to the church this moat is 20 ft. wide and from 5 ft. to 8 ft. deep, but round the south-eastern angle the banks rise to 10 ft., and turning towards the north the moat joins into the greater one. Within this court and east of the church the remains of a causeway crosses the great moat. South of the outer moat another shallow trench surrounds two ponds 3 ft. and 5 ft. deep respectively, with the easternmost bank rising 6 ft. in height ; this arrangement together constituted elaborate fish-stews. To the north of the great moat is a large triangular pond 8 ft. deep, connected with the moat by a culvert. On the opposite, or eastern, bank of the river is a rampart 5 ft. high and 12 ft. broad at the base.

GREAT CASTERTON (vi, 11).—Woodhead Castle, $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles north-west from Stamford, south of Fairchild's Farm, is situated on high ground with a very extensive view of the surrounding country. It is irregularly quadrangular in plan, but the earthworks, as now seen, must not altogether be considered as such, the broad rampart, and mounds rising over the interior



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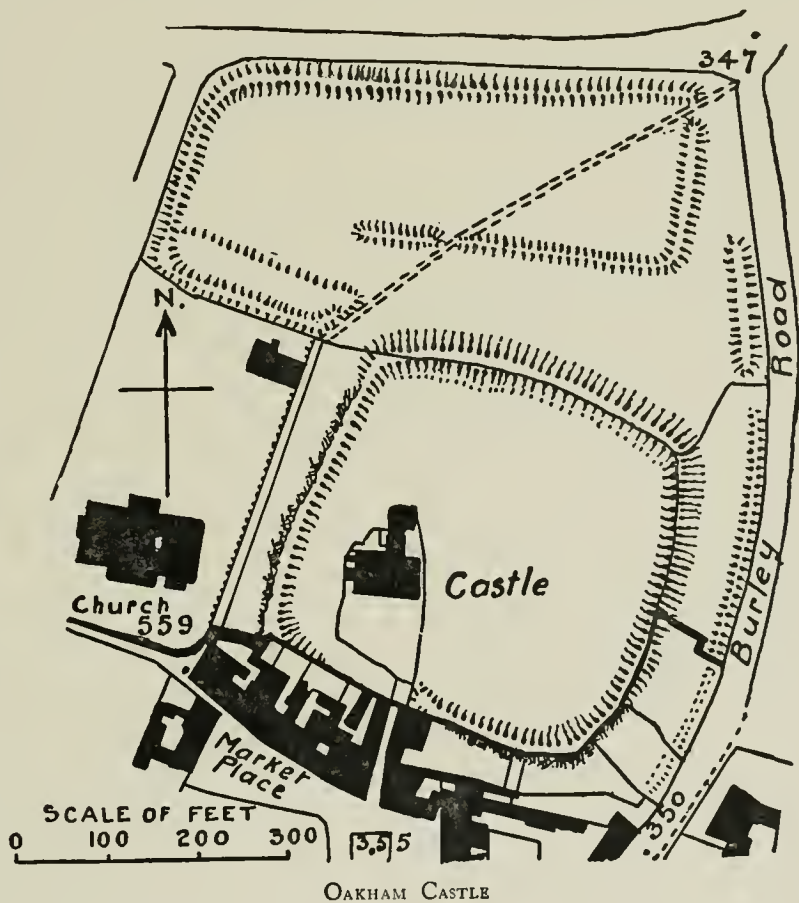
area, rather representing the foundations of masonry. As it now appears there is on the north a semicircular rampart 19 ft. wide; rising 6 ft. from the interior, it has an escarpment of 16 ft. descending into a stream. The rampart on the west is 34 ft. broad and the counterscarp is 11 ft. high; on the south the rampart is weak, but on the top of the counterscarp, or outer edge of the moat, a bank 3 ft. high extends along the length of this side. At the south-east corner the rampart is very prominent, and here the moat widens to 14 ft. On the eastern side the absence of foundations indicates the former position of the gateway, and here the moat is partially filled; beyond this side a bank 3 ft. high has inclosed a quadrangle.

NORTH LUFFENHAM (ix, 16).—On the northern bank of the River Chater, 5 miles south-east from Oakham, is a rectangular site surrounded by a moat 27 ft. broad, the outer edge of which is surrounded by a bank 1 ft. 6 in. high, making the total height of the counterscarp 4 ft. 2 in. A fish-stew occupies an unusual position in the southern part of the interior area. The arrangement for the supply of water for the moat was by a channel at the north-west where a bend of the river curves close to the moat, whilst to empty the same an outlet was made at the south-west into another rivulet which flows near the western side, where the contour of the land is lower.

OAKHAM (ix, 2).—Oakham Castle is a valuable example of a fortified hall, the head of a manor, which was not a castle in its true sense until a later period; and its earthworks represent a type between the mount castle and the moated residence so common to mediaeval times in a country with no great eminence.

The works comprise two courts, one of the inclosures being called a garden in documents of the 14th century.

The castle stands in the town of Oakham, and within its first court is the hall of the Ferrers, while the foundations of the later buildings are indicated by the inequalities of the grass-covered court, which also contains a well from which the garrison obtained their water. In an inquisition of 1340² there is said



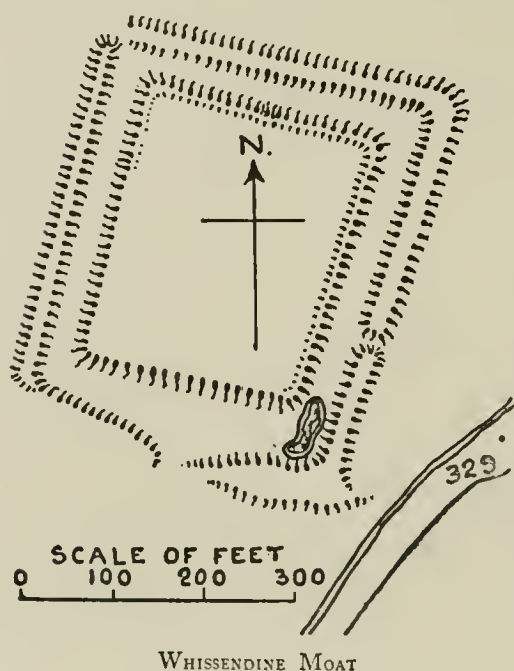
² Inq. p.m. 14 Edw. III, no. 67.

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to be 'at Oakham a castle well walled,' which wall now consists of a vallum rising to various heights from the interior. On the eastern side of the entrance this is 10 ft., increasing to 23 ft. at the south-eastern corner, where it also assumes considerable breadth; declining to 14 ft. on the east and 9 ft. on the north, it again rises irregularly to 12 ft. on the west, and at the south-west corner it is of much greater width. The whole of this vallum is surmounted by the remains of a wall of masonry which, around the west, south, and part of the eastern sides, descends to the fosse, but otherwise the earthen vallum is on the outside also, having an escarpment of 17 ft. The fosse on the south is covered by buildings; on the western side, in the midst of which are the ruins of a bastion protruding into the fosse, the counterscarp is now occupied by the churchyard wall; and on the eastern side are the lowered remains of the counterscarp, beyond which the road to Burley occupies the site of a second fosse the counterscarp of which is now represented by the high footpath on the eastern side of the road. The position of the northern fosse was occupied by the 'stews under the castle,' mentioned in 1300³ and 1340.⁴ This fish-pond extended the whole length of the northern wall of the court, and at its narrowest part measures 64 ft. in breadth; on its eastern extremity it is inclosed by a bank 4 ft. 4 in. high, and on its northern side by the vallum of the second court, but its western extremity, where it joins the entrance to the outer court and the western fosse of the castle, has been so altered by the making of a public footpath that the original arrangement is lost.

That which we have called the outer court is found mentioned in the two inquisitions above quoted as a garden, and is inclosed by a rampart 8 ft. high; this has an escarpment on the west of 6 ft., but here a road has destroyed the fosse and raised the external ground high above its former level. On the north the vallum has a scarp 12 ft. in height and the fosse is partially left, but again a roadway has almost obliterated it; and at the north-eastern

angle the vallum rises somewhat higher for a better defence towards the open country. The southern bank of the garden has been noticed as the northern boundary of the fish-stew, but at the south against the eastern side is something more than a garden wall; here a defensive work overlooks the ground outside the western fosse of the castle on which stands the church. It is a platform 4 ft. above the level of the garden and 29 ft. wide, with a rampart 3 ft. high continuous with the western vallum of the garden, the southern fosse to which has been filled up with the accumulated soil on which the old grammar school stands, by which the escarpment is destroyed. The entrance



³ Inq. p.m. 28 Edw. I, no. 44.

⁴ Ibid. 14 Edw. III, no. 67.

ANCIENT EARTHWORKS

to the garden and the connexion of the ramparted platform with the castle cannot now be traced.

WHISSENDINE (v, 1).—Half a mile north-east from the village, in a field north of Moor Lane, is a quadrangular area strongly fortified by a moat and ramparts. The central site rises above a moat varying from 30 ft. to 35 ft. broad, and a rampart 2 ft. high remains on the inner edge of the northern and eastern sides. The outer edge of the moat is surrounded by a bank 2 ft. high on the south-west, which increases to 4 ft. in height and 16 ft. broad on the west, making the counterscarp of the moat 12 ft. at this part; the bank is carried around the other sides, but is more debased. On the south the work has lost its regularity, and there are traces of other banks extending in a southerly direction. An opening, evidently ancient, is cut through the outer bank on the east; and the whole work suggests a very ancient inclosure adapted to a later manorial defence. A low bank surrounds the north, east, and western sides some 90 ft. beyond the moat.

A short distance from the latter, near the manor-house, are portions of a moat 18 ft. wide, strongly embanked, the bank rising 4 ft. from the ground-level with a scarp of 9 ft. into the moat. This appears to have originally been an entrenchment having some relation to the camp noticed in Class C.

MISCELLANEOUS EARTHWORKS

(CLASS X)

BARROW (v, 3).—North of Cottesmore, $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles north-east-by-north from Oakham, and immediately to the north-east of the chapel, the remains of a shallow rampart and fosse run from east to west for a distance of 108 ft., beyond which it is lost in a ploughed field. The rampart is 1 ft. in height and 7 ft. broad, with an escarpment 4 ft. deep, the fosse is 16 ft. wide, and has a counterscarp of 2 ft. 8 in. The fosse is on the northern side of the rampart, and overlooks deeply-receding ground towards a wide valley.

Close to the last-named entrenchment, on lower ground, are traces of field inclosures in two rectangular areas with banks from 3 ft. to 4 ft. high.

BROOKE (ix, 9).—Nearly 2 miles south-west from Oakham, on the site of the house of Austin Canons, a cell to the abbey of Kenilworth, are many grass-grown ridges indicating the position of foundations, adjacent to which are extensive quadrangular terraces, generally 8 ft. in height, extending a considerable distance until they abut on the road, where they assume an appearance of military origin, having a rampart 4 ft. 6 in. in height, with a scarp 11 ft., and a counterscarp 6 ft. At each of the two angles of that part by the side of the road is a conical mound 16 ft. in height. It is now impossible to ascertain how far these were the work of the inhabitants of the priory, or to what extent local tradition is right in attributing them to the Parliamentary army.

To the west of the priory grounds, and on the banks of the Gwash, a large tract of land is inclosed between a stream and a long curved rampart; this is covered by innumerable mounds, giving it the appearance of the site of an early settlement, upon which flint flakes have been found. Just within

A HISTORY OF RUTLAND

the point where the long earthen bank touches the stream a great dam is built across the latter, by which a large pond is formed.

BRAUNSTON (viii, 8).—North-west of the village on the hill-side above the northern bank of the River Gwash are various traces of entrenchments of no definite form. They extend to the boundaries of Flitteris Park, and on the summit of the hill fragments of early pottery have been thrown up by the plough.

In the same parish is a part of the 'Old Leicester Lane,' a sunken road 3 ft. deep.

EDITH WESTON (ix, 12).—Adjacent to the grass-grown foundations of the Alien Priory are the low quadrangular banks of field divisions, and to the west of the priory grounds is the ancient fish-pond, with a stream flowing in at one end, and out of the other, on its course to the River Gwash.

ESSENDINE (vii, 10).—South-east of Essendine Castle, 4 miles north-east-by-north from Stamford, situated on high ground overlooking the village, are long lines of parallel entrenchments taking a general direction from the north-east to the south-west. At their north-eastern extremity they consist of two ramparts and two trenches, but after a short distance they are increased to four ramparts and three trenches (the latter on the village side of the ramparts), and vary from 3 ft. to 5 ft. in depth. Towards the south-west the lines curve in a westerly direction and decrease in number to three ramparts and two trenches.

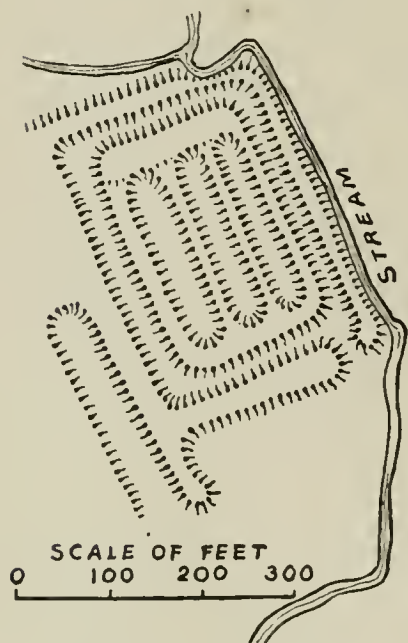
On a natural projection from the hillside on which the entrenchments are cut is a tumulus.

EXTON (v, 12).—Four miles north-east-by-east from Oakham is the site of Exton Old Hall; on the east and south-east of the plateau on which it stands is a triple terrace, each of the two upper banks having a height of 5 ft. and the lower one of 3 ft. above the ground-level.

HORN (vi, 9).—Close to the homestead moat (Class F) a dam is built across the river and extensive ponds are formed.

LANGHAM (iv, 12).—On Ranksborough Hill, 3 miles north-west from Oakham, is the supposed site of a Roman settlement, but of the earthworks a scarped platform is all that remains.

LIDDINGTON (xiii, 14).—One and a half miles south-by-east from Uppingham, an elaborate series of excavated trenches are situated in a field north-east of the church. These were the fish-stews belonging to the old manor-house of the Bishops of Lincoln. One embracing rectangular trench 7 ft. deep contains three long ponds, each of them about 2 ft. deep. All these ponds were probably supplied with water pumped from a stream which flows on the northern and eastern sides, the outlet into the same stream being at the south-eastern angle. At the south-west the inclosing bank—formed by an outer excavation—is 26 ft. wide, with a flat top; to the south-west of this another trench



FISH STEWS AT LIDDINGTON

ANCIENT EARTHWORKS

6 ft. deep and 58 ft. wide is part of a once larger pond between those mentioned above and the margin of the stream on the south ; the boundaries of this, however, have been lost by more modern digging.

Bee Hill, on the roadside between Liddington and Thorpe-by-Water, exhibits faint traces of entrenchments.

MORCOTT (xiii, 4).—In the spinney on the west side of the road to North Luffenham are faint traces of entrenchments.

WHISSENDINE (v, 1).—On the eastern side of the manor-house is an embanked fish-stew and the remains of low field divisions.

TUMULI

BARROW (v, 3).—The barrow which has given the name to this parish is situated on a short spur of high ground, close to the chapel, a conspicuous spot from the wide valley beneath. It is circular, but the summit which was levelled for the building of a windmill upon it is now slightly concave.

ESSENDINE (vii, 10).—On a small promontory jutting out from the high ground on which lines of entrenchments remain (Class X) is a round tumulus 40 ft. in diameter and 7 ft. high.

GLASTON (xiii, 8).—‘Beacon Hill,’ in a field on the north side of the road leading to Morcott, is apparently a tumulus, which, however, has not been excavated to confirm the surmise.

UPPINGHAM (xiii, 5).—On the northern side of the Leicester Road, $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles north-west from Uppingham, is a bowl-shaped tumulus 6 ft. high, with a trench surrounding its base.

WING (xiii, 3).—Close to the road south-east of Wing, and just to the south of the ‘Ancient Maze,’ is a bowl-shaped tumulus 76 ft. in diameter and 4 ft. in height, with a flat top.

INDEX

OF THE

PARISHES IN WHICH EARTHWORKS EXIST, WITH THE LETTER OF THE CLASS
TO WHICH THEY BELONG

Parish	Class	Parish	Class
Barrow	X, X, T	Horn	F, X
Beaumont Chase	E	Langham	X
Braunston	X	Liddington	X, X
Brooke	X, X	Market Overton	C, X
Burley	E	Morcott	X
Edith Weston	X	North Luffenham	F, F, G
Empingham	G	Oakham	C, G
Essendine	G, X, T	Pilton	D
Exton	X	Ridlington	C
Glaston	T	Uppingham	T
Great Casterton	C, G	Whissendine	C, G, X
Hambleton	C, F	Wing	T

NOTES TO DOMESDAY MAP

(Compiled by F. M. STENTON, M.A.)

THIS map is based upon the index to the Ordnance Survey of Rutland. Most of the place-names assigned by Domesday to this district have existing representatives, but two have disappeared: 'Smelistone,' where the Bishop of Lincoln had an estate; and the Alstoe manor of 'Alestanestorp' (see Introduction). So late as the beginning of the 17th century, however, both these villages were in being, and they are contained in Speed's Survey of 1610, from which their position has been calculated for the present map. In estimating the amount of land owned by the King in 1086, it must be remembered that he possessed the whole of Martinsley Wapentake in demesne; and that the blank space on the west of the map is due to the omission from Domesday of the berewicks which belonged to the royal manors of Oakham, Hambledon, and Ridlington. There were few church lands in Rutland at this date, and the single Peterborough manor of Tinwell exceeded the joint assessment of the Bishop of Lincoln's lands in Liddington and Essendine and of the Bishop of Durham's estate at Horn.

SUB-DIVISIONS OF THE DISTRICT

- | | |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Alstoe Wapentake | 3. 'Wiceslei' Hundred |
| 2. Martinsley Wapentake | (in Northamptonshire) |

DOMESDAY MAP OF RUTLAND

Reference

King's manors	<u>Ocheham</u>
Peterborough manor	<u>Tedinwelle</u>
Countess Judith's manors	<u>Wichingedene</u>



DOMESDAY SURVEY

THE description in Domesday Book of the district which forms the modern shire of Rutland is scattered over many disconnected pages of the Great Survey. The north and west of the county, the modern hundreds of Alstoe, Martinsley, and Oakham Soke, are collectively described on a folio following the survey of Nottinghamshire, and constitute the 'Roteland' of Domesday, but the vills contained in the modern hundreds of East and Wrangdike are included in the Northamptonshire Survey, and are there disposed, not according to their geographical position, but according to the tenant in chief who held them in 1086. At the date in question the latter district formed the Northamptonshire hundred of 'Wiceslei,' a name now represented by Witchley Warren near Ketton; Alstoe Hundred, although described as a wapentake in Domesday, possessed its present boundaries; and Oakham Soke Hundred formed part of Martinsley Wapentake.

The distinction between wapentake and hundred in Rutland covers much more than a difference in local nomenclature. Its meaning will best become apparent upon a comparison of two typical entries, one of which is taken from each part of the county :—

WHISSENDINE [ALSTOE WAPENTAKE]

M. In Whissendine Earl Waltheof had 4 carucates of land (assessed) to the geld. (There is) land for 12 ploughs. There Hugh de Hotot has of the Countess (Judith) 5 ploughs; and (there are) 27 villeins and 6 bordars who have 8 ploughs. In King Edward's time it was worth £8; now (it is worth) £13.

GLASTON [WICESLEI HUNDRED]

William holds of the Countess (Judith) 4 hides in Glaston. There is land for 8 ploughs. In demesne are $1\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs and 2 serfs; and 5 villeins and 3 sokemen, with 2 bordars, have 5 ploughs. There (are) 10 acres of meadow. It was and is worth 40 shillings. Edward held it with sac and soc.

It will be seen that although similar information is afforded by each of these entries the form into which that information has been cast varies somewhat in the two cases, and that in regard to one matter, the most important of all from the standpoint of the Domesday Commissioners, there arises a difference of terminology. At Glaston we read of hides; at Whissendine, of carucates. Now the carucate was the unit of assessment which obtained in the counties of Lincoln, Nottingham, Leicester, Derby, and York; the hide occurring south and west of this area; and this geographical distinction is accompanied by a notable variation in regard to the manner in which these units are normally distributed among the vills of the several counties in which they are respectively found. The typical Lincolnshire vill, for instance, is found to be assessed at six or twelve carucates; the typical Bedfordshire vill will answer for five or ten hides; or, in general terms, the assessment of the south and west was decimal in character, that of the north and east was duodecimal. The nature of the Rutland assessment will shortly be

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discussed in detail, but it is necessary first to notice the peculiar position in which the modern county stands in relation to the boundary which separates the 'hidated' from the 'carucated' parts of England. The southern part of Rutland, the 'Wiceslei' Hundred of Domesday, is the only part of England north of the Welland which is assessed in hides; and the fact that the boundary between the hidated and the carucated shires, for nearly all its course, coincides with well-defined geographical features—the Dove, the Trent, Watling Street, the Avon, and the Welland—makes its divergence from the latter river, for so short a distance, very remarkable. In considering the Rutland assessment it is essential to observe this fiscal distinction between the north and south of the modern county, and the assessment of North Rutland, which occupies a position unique in Domesday, to some extent throws light upon the difficult problems presented by the south.

Alstoe Wapentake, as described in Domesday, included twelve villis. In a prefatory note to the survey of this part of Rutland we are told that Alstoe Wapentake contained two hundreds; in each of which there were 12 carucates of land assessed to the geld and 24 plough-lands. The survey of Lincolnshire makes us acquainted with a system by which local groups of 12 carucates were described as hundreds, although the meaning and origin of this system are still obscure; and the number of carucates assigned to the several villis in Alstoe Wapentake, if counted up, will duly amount to twenty-four. Unfortunately, however, the survey of the wapentake accounts for eighty-four plough-lands instead of the forty-eight which are required by the statement in the prefatory note, and thus a new difficulty is raised. But on the other hand it is no infrequent thing for Domesday arithmetic to be inconsistent with itself, and it seems plain that the compiler of the prefatory note meant to tell us that each of the two Alstoe 'hundreds' contained an equal number of plough-lands, although he was wrong in his statement as to the number in question. But if this were so we ought to be able to divide the villis of the wapentake into two groups, each of which contained 12 carucates and forty-two plough-lands, and experiment proves that this division can be made in one way, and to all seeming in one way only. The result is given in tabular form:—

	Carucates	Team-lands	Teams	
Cottesmore . . .	3	12	24	} 12 42 58½
Overton . . .	3½	12	12	
Thistleton . . .	½	1	2	
" . . .	½	1	1½	
Teigh . . .	1½	5	6	
'Alestanestorp' . . .	1	5	6	
Ashwell . . .	2	6	7	} 12 42 43
Greetham . . .	3	8	10	
Whissendine . . .	4	12	13	
Exton . . .	2	12	11	
Whitwell . . .	1	3	3	
Burley . . .	2	7	6	

The peculiar importance of these figures lies in the fact that their combination into duodecimal groups is attested by the direct statement to that effect in the prefatory note to the survey of the district. Elsewhere in the carucated shires we frequently meet with villar assessments as irregular as those

DOMESDAY SURVEY

which are set down in the above table, but nowhere else do we obtain so definite a clue to the system which governed their distribution. In the assessment of Alstoe Wapentake we are given, by a fortunate chance, an explicit example of a fiscal organization, the existence of which in other shires is only probable by deduction and hypothesis.

It will be evident that the 'carucate' in North Rutland was in no sense a term of land measurement. Not a few Lincolnshire villis in 1086 were reputed to contain as many carucates as are here assigned to the whole of Alstoe Wapentake. When we are told that Earl Waltheof had held 4 carucates of land in Whissendine we are only to understand that he had been required to pay 8s. in respect of this vill when the geld had been levied at the normal rate. But at first sight it might seem that we are dealing with areal quantities when we approach the question of the 'plough-land.' The statement 'there is land for 12 ploughs' bears, on the surface, the obvious meaning that the vill in question contained an amount of arable land sufficient to find employment for twelve of those eight-ox ploughs which formed the staple implements of English agriculture in the 11th century.¹ In many counties it is probable that this formula really does bear its obvious meaning, but an exception must certainly be made in the case of northern Rutland. It is clear at least that the 'plough-lands' were distributed among the villis of this district according to a system just as artificial as that which governed the distribution of the carucates; the division of Alstoe Wapentake into two portions, each of which contained its forty-two plough-lands and 12 carucates, is too symmetrical to be the representative of agrarian facts. Then, too, it will not escape notice that in eight out of these eleven villis the number of plough-teams exceeded the number of plough-lands. If this were an isolated phenomenon it would be intelligible; it might well happen that some enterprising manorial lord or steward had been attempting to increase the value of his estate by crowding on to it more plough-teams than were necessary according to traditional agricultural practice. But when, as here, the overstocked manor is the rule, the problem assumes serious proportions, especially when it appears that in this respect Rutland is sharply distinguished from the neighbouring counties.

Of late years increasing attention has been paid to the problems which centre round the Domesday plough-land, but up to the present no theory on the subject has proved valid beyond the limits of a single county or group of counties, and it seems probable that the Domesday Commissioners in different shires adopted different methods of conducting the inquiry about potential plough-teams. In recent studies on the Northamptonshire Domesday it has been proved that the 'plough-land' of that county really represents an obsolete assessment,² higher than the assessment of 1086, and in general bearing some definite but variable relation to it. In Nottinghamshire, again, although no consistent ratio appears between the carucates and plough-lands of this county it has been argued on other grounds that the latter term is in reality

¹ In regard to the vill of Exton we happen to know that there was room in 1086 for the reclamation of waste land; for subsequently to 1128 David I, King of Scotland, then in possession of the manor, granted to the monks of St. Andrew's Priory at Northampton 'ut apud Extonam terra illa quod vocatur Wiliges frangatur et seminetur.' Land and tithes in Exton had originally been given to the priory by Earl Simon I of Northampton, the son-in-law of the Countess Judith.

² See Baring in *Engl. Hist. Rev.* xvii; and Round in *V.C.H. Northants*, i, 266-8.

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the record of an old assessment ;³ and it seems highly probable that such a theory supplies the best explanation of the difficulties presented by the Rutland plough-lands. On this theory the 84 plough-lands and 24 carucates of Alstoe Wapentake are the record of a great reduction of geldability, not distributed equitably over the several villis of the wapentake, but bringing down the burden of geld laid upon the district as a whole to two-sevenths of its former total ; and the artificiality of the plough-land in this quarter becomes even more apparent when we pass from Alstoe Wapentake to the three royal estates which constituted the neighbouring wapentake of Martinsley :—⁴

		Carucates	Team-lands ⁵	Teams
Oakham	. . . . .	4	16	39
Hambleton	. . . . .	4	16	45
Ridlington	. . . . .	4	16	34

Here the carucates of assessment laid upon each manor are exactly one-quarter the number of reputed plough-lands, which is constant in each case, while the number of actual teams is so greatly in excess of the number of plough-lands as to preclude all possibility that the latter are in any correspondence with agrarian reality. It is evident that the team-lands of the above table are conventional quantities just as much as the gelding carucates, and the simplest explanation of this fact is to suppose that in the plough-land here we are given a record not of present agricultural condition but of past geldability ; a record, it may be added, which would be quite relevant to the purpose of the Domesday Survey, for the inquiries under this head were conducted solely with reference to a possible increase of the king's dues, and a reduction of the geld laid on any particular vill by no means barred the king from increasing the assessment to its former level again at some future date.

From these considerations we may now pass to the fiscal questions which arise out of the survey of South Rutland, the 'Wiceslei' Hundred of 1086, a district which, as we have already seen, formed part of Northamptonshire at the latter date. Owing to this fact, we are enabled to trace the fiscal history of the district further back than is generally the case, for there has been preserved a survey of Northamptonshire, dating from the period 1067-75,⁶ and commonly known as the Northants Geld Roll, in which 'Wiceslei' Hundred is included. From this document we gather that the district in question, which appears as a single hundred in Domesday, had formerly comprised two hundreds, known respectively as 'Hwicceslea west' and 'Hwicceslea east,' and we gain some important, if perplexing, information about them. We may express this information below in tabular form.

	Hides	Hides 'Gewered'	Inland	Waste
Hwicceslea west	80	10	40	30
Hwicceslea east	80	15	34	31
Total	160	25	74	61

³ *V.C.H. Notts.* i, 211-13.

⁴ The facts relating to this anomalous wapentake were discussed by Maitland, *Dom. Bk. and Beyond*, 471.

⁵ In addition to these forty-eight team-lands we are told in the prefatory note to the description of 'Roteland' that there was room for fourteen ploughs in 'the king's three demesne manors.' In fact, however, the latter contained eleven ploughs 'in dominio,' and at Oakham there could have been four more.

⁶ Printed by Ellis, *Introd. to Dom.* i, 186 ; see also *V.C.H. Northants*, i, 357-89.

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The terms used in this record have been fully explained in the *Victoria History of Northamptonshire*, and we need only note here that the figures in the 'gewered' column represent the hides which had actually paid the tax; that the word 'inland' as employed here means land exempt from payment of the geld; and that the entries of 'waste,' referring as they do to more than 37 per cent. of the two hundreds, form the record of a wholesale devastation of this district which was most probably the work of the Northumbrian insurgents of 1065 on their march from York to Oxford in the latter year.⁷ But the point which immediately concerns us is that while the assessment of the two hundreds is greatly in advance of the assessment of the district as it can be pieced together from the scattered entries in Domesday, it falls far short of the number of plough-lands assigned to the several villis of this region in 1086.

In Domesday the total assessment of Wiceslei Hundred amounts to 75 $\frac{3}{4}$ hides, and the hundred is reputed to contain 184 plough-lands. It will be evident that if the Domesday plough-land in this quarter is really, as we have argued, the record of an old assessment, the assessment in question must be older than that recorded in the above survey, and as we are expressly told that the figures in the latter document relate to 'King Edward's day,' we are dealing in the plough-lands of South Rutland with a fiscal arrangement prior, at any rate, to 1066. In connexion with this it has been suggested that 'Hwicceslea' originally formed a double hundred, and as such was once assessed at 200 hides,⁸ the Domesday plough-lands representing the portions of this assessment which had formerly lain upon the individual villis of the hundred. If we accept this theory we shall at once be provided with an important clue to the system which underlay the mass of discrepant figures which lies on the surface of our records. Originally the assessment of South Rutland will have stood at 200 hides, and a reduction of 20 per cent. made before 1066 will have brought that figure down to the 160 hides of the Northamptonshire Geld Roll. The uneven figure 75 $\frac{3}{4}$ hides which Domesday in its scattered entries assigns to this district becomes significant when compared with the latter total; for in 1130 the Northamptonshire portion of the modern Rutland paid geld amounting to £8,⁹ a sum representing 80 hides, or exactly half the assessment cast upon the district between 1067 and 1075.

If we take into account the difficulty of compiling the total assessment of a district from the scattered entries relating to it in Domesday, and also bear in mind the frequent scribal errors which are known to exist in the descriptions of other counties, a discrepancy of 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ hides will not seriously affect the probability that 'Wiceslei' Hundred in 1086 as in 1130 was assessed at 80 hides, and had thus already secured a reduction of 50 per cent. upon the assessment which it bore in the early years of the Conqueror's reign.¹⁰

⁷ *V.C.H. Northants*, i, 262.

⁸ Baring, 'The Hidation of Northamptonshire,' *Engl. Hist. Rev.* xvii, 470.

⁹ Pipe R. 1130, rot. xiv.

¹⁰ It is a curious fact that 'Wiceslei' Hundred can be divided into two parts, each of which contained roughly an equal number of hides in 1086, and that this division coincides more or less with the modern boundary between the hundreds of East and Wrangdike. As, however, the two divisions contain an unequal number of team-lands, we cannot assume that they represent the 'Hwicceslea east' and 'Hwicceslea west' of the Northamptonshire Geld Roll.

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If we are right in assuming that the assessment of South Rutland had been subjected in the half-century before 1086 to a series of reductions of the nature just described we should naturally expect to find that the plough-lands of the district, as representing the original units of assessment, were distributed among the local villis according to some definite system. An analysis of Wiceslei Hundred may therefore be given here :—

	Hides	Plough-lands		Hides	Plough-lands		Hides	Plough-lands
Great Casterton	3½	9	Glaston . .	5½	12	Tolethorpe . .	½	4
Little Casterton	¾	1½	Horn . .	3	6	Tinwell . .	5¼	8
Seaton . .	2¾	10	Essendine . .	1	6	Ryhall . .	1¼	8
Bisbrooke . .	2¼	3½	Tickencote . .	2½	6	Belmesthorpe . .	1½	
Empingham . .	14½	27	N. Luffenham	4	10	Tixover . .	2	8
Barrowden . .	4	10	S. Luffenham	7½	14	Thorpe by Water	1¼	4
Ketton . .	7	13	Sculthorp . .			Morcott . .	4	8
						Liddington . .	2	16

In the first column of this table the figures are all irregular, and suggest no system. In the second column the plough-lands are all duodecimal in arrangement, for the 24 plough-lands assigned to North and South Luffenham with Kelthorpe can hardly be the result of chance. The figures in the third column are more peculiar. They are all multiples of four ; a unit which seems meaningless at first, but becomes significant when we remember the arrangement of the plough-lands in Martinsley Wapentake, given on page 124. It seems certain that if, as in the latter case, we possessed the clue to their disposition, we should find that these eights and fours all fitted into duodecimal groups just as artificial as the system which governed the distribution of the gelding carucates in the neighbouring counties of Leicester and Lincoln, and we cannot well doubt that the figures in column one, however irregular they may appear, were originally intended to fall into the same general scheme. In other words, we gather from the above analysis that the plough-lands of South Rutland, like those of the north of the modern county, were really conventional quantities, connected with an obsolete fiscal system which was based on a duodecimal system of rating and bore no necessary relation to the divisions of the soil upon which the agriculture of the period was based.

At the date of the compilation of Domesday Book the northern part of Rutland, the wapentakes of Alstoe and Martinsley, was annexed for fiscal purposes to the shrievalty of Nottingham, and we are also given the perplexing statement that Alstoe Wapentake was half 'in' the wapentake of Thurgarton and half in that of Broxtow in the latter county. No explanation of this singular arrangement is afforded by Domesday, and it is not easy to understand in what sense one wapentake could come to be divided between two others forming part of a somewhat distant shire. So far as we can tell the statement can only mean that the sheriff of Nottingham, in making his account with the king, assigned half the Alstoe geld to Thurgarton Wapentake and half to that of Broxtow, and even so the origin of this practice is left unexplained. But an analysis of the Nottinghamshire Domesday, wapentake by wapentake, supplies at least a possible clue to the meaning of this strange piece of administrative geography. Nottinghamshire in 1086 contained eight wapentakes, and the following table gives the

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assessment of each in so far as it can be gathered from the relevant entries in Domesday :—

Wapentake	Caru- cates	Bovates	Wapentake	Caru- cates	Bovates
Newark . . .	46	$4\frac{4}{5}$	'Lide' . . .	44	$6\frac{1}{6}$
Rushcliffe . . .	49	$7\frac{1}{2}$	Oswardbeck . . .	41	$7\frac{1}{5}$
Bingham . . .	95	$4\frac{3}{4}$	Bassetlaw . . .	101	$2\frac{2}{5}$
Thurgarton . . .	77	$6\frac{1}{4}$	Broxtow . . .	84	3

These figures must only be taken as approximately correct,¹¹ but such as they are they suggest that the assessment of the several wapentakes of Nottinghamshire was governed by a definite scheme of distribution. The average assessment of the first four wapentakes is, roughly, 46 carucates ; the average of Bingham and Bassetlaw is 98. Now, bearing in mind the prevalent duodecimal character of the Danelaw assessments, we should expect the original assessment of each wapentake to stand at some duodecimal figure, and on correcting the figures in the above table to the nearest multiple of twelve, the first four wapentakes will each stand burdened with 48 carucates, while Bassetlaw and Bingham will be rated at double this amount—96 carucates each. The two wapentakes the assessments of which are incompatible with the system just described are Thurgarton and Broxtow, and if in accordance with the statement in the prefatory note to the description of Rutland we divide the 24 carucates of Alstoe Wapentake equally between them, Thurgarton Wapentake will answer for 89 carucates, and Broxtow Wapentake for 96, each being thus brought within measurable distance of the figures required by the scheme for the existence of which we are arguing. That such a scheme was really operative in determining the assessment of the Nottinghamshire wapentakes is made probable by that practice of grouping villar assessments into blocks of 12 carucates each, on which we have already commented with reference to the Rutland wapentakes, but which governed the distribution of the Nottinghamshire geld also ; and it is significant that at a later date we read in relation to the latter county of 'half wapentakes,' a term which would naturally be applied to the wapentakes of 48 carucates in contrast to those of 96.¹² But if the scheme in question did really underlie the distribution of the Nottinghamshire geld, we have in it a simple explanation of the mysterious division of Alstoe Wapentake, which will have resulted from the necessity of bringing up the assessment of the Nottinghamshire wapentakes of Thurgarton and Broxtow to the level demanded by their place in the general fiscal arrangement of the county. It may also be noted that when once the Alstoe geld had been assigned to Nottinghamshire,¹³ the

¹¹ Owing to modern changes there is much difficulty in determining the boundaries of the Nottinghamshire wapentakes in 1086. It is probable that the figure given above for Bassetlaw includes a few carucates which rightly belong to 'Lide' or Oswardbeck ; and there is a matter of 6 carucates representing the borough lands of Nottingham, which in 1086 probably belonged to Thurgarton Wapentake, in which these lands lay in later times. For other information concerning these wapentakes see *V.C.H. Notts.* i, *passim*.

¹² An early reference to a system of half wapentakes in Nottinghamshire occurs in a charter of Henry I in favour of the Bishop of Lincoln. Dugdale, *Mon.* viii, 1272. 'Si wapentachium episcopi Linc' de Niwercha defendit se versus me pro dimidio wapentachio ; tunc praeicipio,' &c. In the 'Nomina Villarum' Rushcliffe appears as a 'half wapentake.'

¹³ This arrangement cannot have been made before 1049, for Bishop Wulfsgie of Dorchester, who succeeded in that year, is addressed in a writ of Edward the Confessor directed to the thegns of Northamptonshire. This document (for which see below, p. 135) may have been issued in any year between 1049 and 1066, but being granted in favour of Westminster Abbey, it probably belongs to the close of this period, and the change which we are considering most likely took place after the Conquest.

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attribution to that county of the Martinsley geld would naturally follow from the obvious convenience of making the same officer responsible for the dues payable by the whole of Rutland as it then stood.

After giving the assessment of each vill, and describing its agricultural condition, Domesday proceeds to give the value of the vill in question at the date of King Edward's death and in 1086. It is one of the anomalies presented by the Rutland Survey that the values which it assigns to the local vills at the former date seem as artificial as the figures which represent the carucates of assessment.

		Value 1066 ¹⁴		Value 1086
Alstoe Wapentake	Greetham	£7	} £40	£10
	Cottesmore	£7		£11
	Overton and Stretton	£12		£20
	Thistleton	£1		£2
	Thistleton	£1		£3
	Teigh	£4		£4
	Whissendine	£8		£13
	Exton	£8		£10
	Whitwell	£1		£2
	'Alestanestorp' . . .	£2		£2
Martinsley Wapentake	Burley	£4	} £200	£5
	Ashwell	£5		£6
	Oakham	£40		} not given
	Hambleton	£52		
	Ridlington	£40		
	Albert's land	£8		
				£10
				£88

The neatness of the total *valuit* for the two wapentakes makes it very doubtful whether the figures of which it is composed represent real estimates of manorial value. We are definitely told that in 1086 Rutland rendered £150 in assayed coin to the king, and it seems by no means impossible that the £200 which Domesday asserts to have been the value of the two wapentakes in 1066 really means that they jointly paid a *firma* of that amount at the earlier date. The figures for 1086 are irregular, so far as they go, and they may therefore give us values in the normal sense of the word, though we shall presently come upon a fact which decidedly tells the other way.¹⁵ The one serious difficulty in the way of our regarding the Alstoe values of 1086 as representing contributions to a *firma* lies in the fact that the total sum paid by the two wapentakes was only £150; so that if we are right in our explanation of the values of 1066 the share borne by Alstoe Wapentake must have been raised from £60 to £88 at the same time that the Martinsley contribution was being reduced from £140 to £62. The question cannot be decided here, but we may notice that by 1130 the *firma* of Rutland had been enormously reduced, for in the Pipe Roll of that year £37 13s. 9d. represents the payments due to the Crown on this head. In any case, then, the facts before us suggest that Rutland secured a series of successive abatements on its *firma*; the first bringing it down from the £200 seemingly represented by the values of 1066 to the £150 due in 1086—a reduction of just one quarter; the second reducing the latter amount by nearly three-quarters, and giving us the curiously irregular figure recorded in the Pipe Roll of 1130. But of the

¹⁴ These figures are here set out in the order in which they occur in Domesday. No special importance belongs to the fact that the 'valuit' of Alstoe Wapentake divides in the manner indicated.

¹⁵ See the case of Thistleton below, p. 130.

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reasons which called forth these acts of favour from the Crown we know nothing.

In the preceding pages reference has been made to the existence of scribal errors in Domesday Book. Owing to the small number of contemporary records which have come down to us it is rarely possible to prove Domesday inaccurate by direct comparison with other documents, but it sometimes happens that the Domesday scribes themselves give two versions of the survey of the same manor, and the result is usually instructive. In the survey of Lincolnshire, for example, the compilers of Domesday Book have inserted descriptions of eight out of the twelve manors which composed the Alstoe Wapentake of 1086; and the duplicate entries are given below in parallel columns.

Whissendine, folio 293*b* (Rutland)

M II.—In WICHINGEDENE habuit Wallef comes iiii carucas terrae ad geldum. Terra xii carucis. Ibi Hugo de Hotot de comitissa habet v carucas 7 xxvii villanos 7 vi bordarios habentes viii carucas. T.R.E. valuit viii libras modo xiii libras.

Whissendine, folio 366*b* (Lincolnshire)

M.—In WICHINGEDENE habuit Wallef comes iiii carucas terrae ad geldum. Terra xii carucis. Ibi Hugo homo comitissae habet v carucas in dominio 7 xxvii villanos 7 vii bordarios cum viii carucis. Pratum x quarentenae longitudine 7 viii quarentenae latitudine.

Between these entries there is some variation in the formulas employed, but it is more noteworthy that the Rutland entry omits all reference to the meadow, gives the number of pre-Conquest manors in the vill, wrongly, as two instead of one, and asserts that there were six *bordarii* in the manor instead of seven as recorded in the Lincolnshire entry. On the other hand the latter gives no value for the estate.

Exton, folio 293*b* (Rutland)

M.—In EXENTUNE habuit Wallef comes ii carucas terrae ad geldum. Terra xii carucis. Ibi habet Judita comitissa iii carucas 7 xxxvii villanos cum viii carucis; 7 ii molendina (de) xiii solidis. Pratum vi quarentenae in longitudine. Silva per loca pastilis v quarentenae longitudine 7 v latitudine. T.R.E. valuit viii libras, modo x libras.

Exton, folio 366 (Lincolnshire)

M.—In EXENTUNE habuit Wallef comes ii carucas terrae ad geldum. Terra xii carucis. Ibi habet Jud(ita) comitissa iii carucas 7 xxxvii villanos cum viii carucis 7 ii molendina (de) xiii solidis. Pratum vi quarentenae in longitudine. Silva pastilis per loca v quarentenae longitudine 7 v latitudine. T.R.E. valuit viii libras modo x libras.

Thistleton, folio 293*b* (Rutland)

M.—In TISTERTUNE habuit Erich dimidiam carucatam terrae ad geldum. Terra i caruca. Ibi Hugo de Judita comitissa habet i carucam 7 vi villanos cum i caruca. T.R.E. valuit xx solidos, modo xl solidos.

Thistleton, folio 366 (Lincolnshire)

M.—In TISTERTUNE habuit Erich dimidiam carucatam terrae ad geldum. Terra i caruca. Ibi Hugo habet homo comitissae i carucam 7 vi villanos cum i caruca. T.R.E. valuit xx solidos, modo xl.

Whitwell, folio 293*b* (Rutland)

M.—In WITEWELLE habuit Besy i carucatam terrae ad geldum. Terra iii carucis. Ibi Herbert de comitissa Judita habet i carucam 7 vi villanos 7 iiii bordarios habentes ii carucas. Ibi ecclesia 7 presbiter 7 xx acras prati 7 i molendinum (de) xii denariis. Silva per loca pastilis vi quarentenae 7 vi perticae longitudine 7 iii quarentenae 7 xiii perticae latitudine. T.R.E. valuit xx solidos, modo xl.

Whitwell, folio 366 (Lincolnshire)

M.—In WITEWELLE habuit Besy i carucatam terrae ad geldum. Terra iii carucis. Ibi Herbert homo comitissae habet i carucam 7 vi villanos 7 iiii bordarios cum ii carucis. Ibi ecclesia 7 presbiter 7 i molendinum (de) xii denariis 7 xx acras prati. Silva pastilis vi quarentenae 7 vi perticae longitudine 7 iii quarentenae 7 xiii perticae latitudine. Valet xl solidos.

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The Rutland and Lincolnshire versions of the above three entries are substantially identical, except for the omission of the 1066 value from the Lincolnshire account of Whitwell. The variations in the next entry are more important.

Market Overton, folio 293b (Rutland)

M.—In OVERTUNE 7 Stratone (Berewica) habuit Wallef comes iii carucatas terrae et dimidiam ad geldum. Terra xii carucis. Ibi habet Judita comitissa iii carucas 7 xxxv villanos 7 viii bordarios habentes ix carucas ; 7 xl acrae prati. Silva pastilis per loca i leuca longitudine 7 dimidia leuca latitudine. T.R.E. valuit xii libras, modo xx libras. Alured de Lincole calumniatur quartam partem in Stratune.

Market Overton, folio 365b (Lincolnshire)

M.—In OVERTUNE 7 Stratone habuit Waltef comes iii carucatas terrae 7 dimidiam ad geldum. Terra xii carucis. Ibi Judita comitissa habet iii carucas in dominio ; 7 xxxv villanos 7 viii bordarios cum ix carucis ; 7 xl acrae prati. Silva pastilis i leuca longitudine 7 dimidia latitudine. T.R.E. valuit xii libras, modo xx libras.

It will be noted that the Lincolnshire entry omits the description of Stretton as a 'berewick' (of Overton), which is interlined in the Rutland entry. The point is important ; for when two or more place-names are included in the same manorial heading, it is frequently uncertain whether the subsidiary vills were separately organized as dependent parcels of the chief manor. It is also the Rutland entry alone which acquaints us with the claim which Alfred of Lincoln put forward to a quarter of Stretton, and the statements of the value in the manuscript of the Lincoln entry look like later additions to the text.

Thistleton, folio 293b (Rutland)

M.—(In TISTERTUNE) habuit Siward dimidiam carucatam terrae ad geldum. Terra i caruca. Ibi Alured de Lincole habet i carucam 7 iii villanos 7 ii bordarios cum dimidia caruca. T.R.E. valuit xx solidos, modo lx solidos.

Thistleton, folio 358b (Lincolnshire)

M.—In TISTELTUNE habuit Siward dimidiam carucatam terrae ad geldum. Terra i caruca. Ibi Glen homo Aluredi habet unam carucam 7 iii villanos 7 ii bordarios cum dimidia caruca. Precium ejus in Wime.

In this case the name of the sub-tenant is only given by the Lincolnshire entry, but the peculiar interest of the latter lies in its closing words. The value of South Witham, the place represented by 'Wime' above, was £2 in 1066 and £2 10s. at the date of the Survey, exclusive of a manorial tallage of 10s. ; whereas the value of Thistleton alone at the latter date was £3 according to the Rutland entry. As we are definitely told in the Lincolnshire entry that the value (*precium*) of Thistleton was included in that given for South Witham, we obtain the absurd result that the conjoint value of the two vills was less by 10s. than the value of Thistleton alone. This discrepancy might be explained away by the supposition of a scribal error in one or both of the entries ; but it is also possible, as has been suggested above, that the values in the Rutland section of Domesday give us, not estimates of manorial wealth, but statements as to the contribution which each manor made towards the 'firma' due from the district to the Crown. Such statements would possess no interest for the compilers of the Lincolnshire Domesday, who, in general, have set down the figures in question without any hint that they may possess an unusual significance ; but in any case the discrepancy which we are considering gives a useful warning as to the complexity of the actual facts which may underlie the specious uniformity of a series of entries in Domesday Book. It is also noteworthy that from the Rutland

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entry alone we should learn nothing of the connexion, whatever its nature, which existed between Thistleton and South Witham.¹⁶

Burley, folio 293b (Rutland)

M.—In *BURGELAI* habuit Ulf ii carucatas terrae ad geldum. Terra vii carucis. Ibi Goisfrid homo Gilberti de Gand habet ii carucas 7 xxx villanos 7 viii bordarios habentes iii carucas 7 xxx acras prati. Silva per loca pastilis i leuca longitudine 7 iii quarentenae latitudine. T.R.E. valuit iiiii libras, modo c solidos.

Burley, folio 355b (Lincolnshire)

M.—In *BURGELAI* habuit Ulf ii carucatas terrae ad geldum. Terra vii carucis. Ibi habet Goisfrid homo Gisleberti ii carucas 7 xxx villanos 7 vii bordarios cum iiiii carucas 7 xxx acras prati. Silvae i leuca longitudine 7 iii quarentenae latitudine. T.R.E. valuit iiiii libras, modo c solidos.

Ulf, the pre-Conquest owner of Burley, was no doubt identical with the Ulf who had preceded Gilbert de Gand in his great manor of Folkingham, Lincolnshire, and with the Ulf 'fenisc' who was Gilbert's 'antecessor' in this and many other counties. The chief point, however, which arises out of this pair of entries is the discrepancy between their respective figures relating to the bordars and the villeins' teams, Rutland giving 8 bordars and 3 teams, as against the 7 bordars, 4 teams recorded in the Lincolnshire entry. No external evidence being available, it is not possible to check either statement.

Ashwell, folio 293b (Rutland)

M.—In *EXWELLE* habuit comes Harold ii carucatas terrae ad geldum. Terra vi carucis. Ibi Gozelin homo comitis Hugonis habet ii carucas 7 xiii villanos 7 iii bordarios habentes v carucas 7 xvi acras prati. T.R.E. valuit c solidos, modo vi libras.

Ashwell, folio 349b (Lincolnshire)

M.—In *EXWELLE* habuit comes Harold ii carucatas terrae ad geldum. Terra ad vi carucas. Ibi Gozelin homo comitis Hugonis habet ii carucas 7 xiii villanos 7 ii bordarios habentes v carucas 7 xvi acras prati. T.R.E. valuit c solidos, modo vi libras.

Here, as in the previous entry, discrepant figures are given for the bordars on the manor. In view of the similar facts which have resulted from our comparison of the Rutland and Lincolnshire surveys in relation to other manors, we seem justified in claiming that a considerable margin of error should be allowed for before any theory involving an extensive employment of Domesday statistics is held disproved, and we may also gather from this series of parallel entries that the precise formulae into which the statements furnished by the original returns should be cast were left in great measure to the discretion of the individual scribes who compiled Domesday Book. No one would claim infallibility for Domesday Book, the production of foreign scribes working against time on unfamiliar materials; it is the peculiar value of the evidence just brought forward that it gives us some measure of the degree of accuracy with which the great undertaking was carried into effect.

Of the twelve estates which are described under Alstoe Wapentake on folio 293b, eight are duplicated in the Lincolnshire Domesday. The remaining four include the king's land in Greetham and Cottesmore, Robert Malet's manor of Teigh, and the lost vill of 'Alestanestorp.' The last-named estate presents especial difficulties to the topographer, for while the vill itself has

¹⁶ This connexion presents a serious difficulty, for although the land in Thistleton is definitely stated to be a 'manor,' we are also told that it was sokeland belonging to South Witham. It would be difficult to give another instance from the Danelaw of a manor which at the same time is described as sokeland of another manor. It may also be noted that Alfred of Lincoln possessed sokeland rated at 1 carucate, and Godfrey de Cambrai a manor of 1½ carucates in this vill, both of which estates lay in Lincolnshire. Godfrey's manor was held of him by 'Gleu,' the tenant of Alfred of Lincoln on the estate which we are considering.

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vanished from the modern map, its lord, Oger Fitz Ungemar, bears a name unknown elsewhere in Domesday, and not appearing to our knowledge in any other record. Fortunately, however, part of the vill passed subsequently to Domesday into ecclesiastical hands, and this fact enables us to trace its history with more certainty than would otherwise be possible. In the Hundred Rolls the Abbot of Bourne holds 1 carucate in 'Alestorp' of Baldwin Wake's fee, and the Prior of Nuneaton has also 1 carucate there of the gift of Simon de Aneseye.¹⁷ On turning to the Bourne documents in the *Monasticon*, we find Edward III confirming the gift which Hugh Wake, with the assent of his wife Emma, made to that house of his demesne pasture in 'Alstanstorp.'¹⁸ The connexion of the Wakes with the vill in question at once suggests the identification of the mysterious Oger Fitz Ungemar with the well-known Oger the Breton, the lord of Bourne, whose lands elsewhere, after the death or forfeiture of his son Roger, were granted to Baldwin Fitz Gilbert de Clare, from whom they subsequently came into the possession of the Wake family.¹⁹ This identification is of more than local importance, for it reduces the number of tenants in chief by one, and it supplies the name, otherwise unknown, of the father of Oger the Breton, who ranks among the most powerful of the western auxiliaries of the Conqueror, although the family which he founded soon came to an untimely end. Lastly, it may be noted that 'Alestanestorp,' under the name of Awsthorpe, reappears in the beginning of the 17th century in Speed's map of Rutland, published in 1610, from which we gather that the vill in question lay midway between Burley and Cottesmore, where accordingly it is represented in the Domesday map included in the present volume.

The whole of the neighbouring wapentake of Martinsley was possessed outright by the king in 1086,²⁰ its constituent vills being grouped as 'berewicks' round the three 'manors' of Oakham, Hambleton, and Ridlington. Manors of this type are rare in the Danelaw, but similar examples may be found among the Crown lands of north-west Derbyshire, and, nearer to Rutland, in the Archbishop of York's estate at Southwell, Nottinghamshire. Domesday informs us that Edith, the Confessor's queen, had held Martinsley Wapentake in 1066, and we may reasonably suppose that the lady remained in possession until her death in 1075. Upon that event it would seem that the king entered upon the estate; there is at least no record of any intermediate occupancy, but a writ of Edward the Confessor has been preserved in which that king is represented as granting 'Roteland' to his new foundation of Westminster Abbey, reserving only a life interest in the estate to his queen.²¹ It was in general the Conqueror's practice to confirm the grants which his predecessor had made, and the monks of Westminster had obtained from him a whole series of writs confirming them in their possession of lands in other parts of the country. We may conjecture that the exceptional value of the estate deterred the king from surrendering it outright to Westminster; but it is a curious fact that even the churches of

¹⁷ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 54.

¹⁸ *Mon.* vi, 371.

¹⁹ See Round, *Feud. Engl.*

²⁰ To the king's ownership there was the curious exception of a manor of 1 carucate held in 1066 by a certain Leofnoth, and in 1086 by a man bearing the singular name of Fulcher Malaopera. Probably, however, this holding was regarded as a sub-manor of Oakham, within the bounds of which it seems to have been included. Mr. Round says that the name 'Malaopera,' representing 'Malesœuvres,' became corrupted to Malsor.

²¹ *Mon.* i, 299.

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the district, with their appendant lands, should have been intercepted from the abbey. A Lotharingian clerk, by name Albert, who seems to have enjoyed the king's personal favour,²² appears in Domesday as in possession of the churches of Oakham and Hambleton, with the church of St. Peter of Stamford, which was dependent on the latter, his estate here being valued at the substantial sum of £10. However, the claims of Westminster had not been forgotten, for in 1268 Westminster possessed the advowson of Oakham, Hambleton, and Ridlington, and received dues from seven other villages in the neighbourhood.²³ The transfer of these rights to Westminster is attested by three documents printed in the *Monasticon*,²⁴ of which the first grants to the abbey the churches of Uppingham, Wardley, and Belton; the second, in more general terms, conveys the churches of Rutland with the lands pertaining 'as Albert of Lorraine held them' of the king, while in the third Hugh de Port is directed to seise St. Peter of Westminster of the tithe of Rutland. As Albert of Lorraine held the churches of Oakham and Hambleton in 1086, the second document must belong to the reign of William Rufus; and it is distinctly probable that the first charter, granting Uppingham, Wardley, and Belton, was intended to transfer to the abbey the three churches which Domesday assigns to the manor of Ridlington, of which Albert, so far as we know, never had possession, and which therefore would not be covered by the terms of the second grant mentioned above. If this were so we must conclude that these three villis were included among the seven unspecified berewicks of the manor of Ridlington. It is also noteworthy that after the names of the three Martinsley manors the word 'Cherchesoch' is added in Domesday. It is not easy to determine the sense in which the term 'church soke(land)' could be applied to these lands; but we may suspect that its appearance was not unconnected with the Westminster claim; the abbey may possibly have been reconciled to the postponement of its possession by a grant of dues to be paid by the estate. Such dues would undoubtedly be regarded as a form of soke in 1086, but we have no evidence on the point, and it must be left open.

Of the pre-Conquest holders of land in Rutland there is little to be said. Nearly half the modern county had been possessed by Queen Edith, for in addition to her Martinsley estate her manors of Ketton and Barrowden extended over a wide area immediately to the north of the Welland. Even at the present day the village of Edith Weston preserves in its name a faint memory of the queen's ownership. Second to her in extent of territory came the ill-fated Earl Waltheof, to whom belonged Ryhall, Belmesthorpe, Overton, Stretton, Whissendine, and Exton, and whose lands, augmented by subsequent grants, were held by his widow, the Countess Judith, in 1086. The south of the modern county certainly, the north very possibly, formed part of Waltheof's earldom of Northampton. Earl Morcar of Northumbria had held the single manor of Great Casterton, and the house of Godwine is represented by King Harold, whose land in Ashwell had been conferred by the Conqueror upon Earl Hugh of Chester. The two manors of Greetham and Cottesmore, which King William retained in his own hand, had formerly belonged to a certain 'Goda,' a name which unfortunately tells

²² On Albert, see Round, *Commune of Lond.* 36-37.

²³ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 66.

²⁴ Dugdale, *op. cit.* i, 301, 302.

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us little of its bearer, for it probably represents the common female name Godgifu (Godiva), and Domesday makes no note of the lady's rank which would enable us to identify her with the famous Countess of Mercia. The name, in fact, may equally well stand for Gytha, a name borne by the wife of Earl Ralf of Hereford, whose manor of Stockerston lay only a few miles from Cottesmore, over the Leicestershire border. Of lesser people, Godwine the predecessor of Robert Malet at Teigh had preceded this baron in all his Lincolnshire manors; Bardi, the former owner of Liddington and Essendine, was a wealthy Lincolnshire thegn, whose lands had all been bestowed upon Remigius, the first Norman bishop of the great Midland see; Fredgis, whose land at Empingham had passed to William Peverel, appears in the Nottinghamshire Domesday as holding land of the latter in 1086; and the Siward who had been succeeded at Thistleton by Alfred of Lincoln may be identified with the man of that name who appears as the former owner of five of Alfred's Lincolnshire estates. The former owner of the Peterborough manor of Tinwell is not given by Domesday, but Hugh Candidus tells us that Archbishop Cynesige of York, who died in 1060, bestowed the vill on the abbey out of his private estate. The only other fact which deserves notice in this connexion is the possession of Tolethorpe in 1066 by eight sokemen. The ownership of an entire vill by men of such humble rank is a rare event in this part of England, but the sokeman as manorial lord was not an infrequent figure in pre-Conquest East Anglia, and Tolethorpe, after all, was only a little place.

Some remark should certainly be made here as to the bearing of the facts contained in Domesday Book upon that obscure question of administrative geography—the origin of the shire of Rutland. In 1086 the process which was to create the modern county had undoubtedly begun; whatever the reason may be, the wapentakes of Alstoe and Martinsley were being held apart from all the neighbouring shires by some administrative force, although the hundred of 'Wiceslie' was still, for all we know to the contrary, regarded as an integral part of Northamptonshire. By 1130 the process had gone a stage further, for in that year William de Albini 'Brito' rendered account of all the money due to the Crown from both parts of the modern shire, although a long time was yet to pass before Rutland appeared as a fully constituted county. With regard to earlier times there are two main questions to be considered in connexion with this problem—the cause which first produced the differential treatment of the district to which Domesday bears record, and the name of the neighbouring county of which Rutland originally formed part.

In regard to this second matter our choice must lie between Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire, and Leicestershire. The claim of Nottinghamshire need not be considered, for we have already arrived at a possible explanation of the attribution of the Rutland geld to that county; and whether that explanation be true or not, there is evidence which, as we shall see, makes it certain that this arrangement was a matter of no long standing. The decision between the claims of the three remaining counties, in default of external evidence, must turn on the question—With which of these shires is Rutland most plainly connected by the details of its fiscal history as displayed by Domesday Book? And in regard to this matter the one possible clue is supplied

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by that reduction of the Rutland assessment for which the evidence has been given in the preceding pages. It seems certain that the assessment of Leicestershire had not been reduced at all by the date of Domesday,²⁵ and, in regard to Lincolnshire, the high rating of the individual vills, and the fact that the carucates are normally equal to the team-lands in the district of Kesteven, with which alone Rutland can have been connected, seem to preclude all possibility that a reduction had been granted in that quarter since, at any rate, the beginning of the Confessor's reign.²⁶ Northamptonshire alone remains; and we have seen good reason to believe that this county had undergone a reduction of geldability precisely similar to that which is implied in the Domesday description of the wapentakes of Alstoe and Martinsley. The fact that the north of Rutland is assessed in carucates, while the south like Northamptonshire is assessed in hides, is no great difficulty, since we know that the hides in the north-east of the latter county tend to be arranged in duodecimal groups similar to those on which the assessment of Alstoe and Martinsley Wapentakes is based.²⁷ And at this point the one piece of direct information which we possess falls into line. When Edward the Confessor made his grant of Rutland to Westminster Abbey he directed his writ to the county authorities of Northamptonshire—a clear proof that Martinsley Wapentake, to which probably the document exclusively relates, was for the time being at least under the jurisdiction of the latter. We can therefore hardly hesitate to believe that in Rutland, as it exists to-day, we have a fragment of 11th-century Northamptonshire, detached from its parent county through causes which were in operation between the close of the Confessor's reign and the date of Domesday Book.^{27a}

On a consideration of the survey of this district which is contained in Domesday Book, the one fact which suggests a clue to the nature of these causes is the position formerly occupied in this quarter by Queen Edith. She owned in demesne one of the two wapentakes which comprised the Rutland of 1086; and from the terms of the document in which her husband granted the district to Westminster Abbey, it seems clear that she possessed rights of some kind over the whole of it. From a passage in a late but trustworthy authority, the *Estorie des Engles* of Geoffrey Gaimar, we learn that Edith was not the first queen of England to be connected in an especial manner with Rutland, for in 1002 Emma, the Confessor's mother, had received this district, together with the cities of Winchester and Exeter, upon the occasion of her marriage with Ethelred II.²⁸ It is at least a working hypothesis that in the successive possession of Rutland, first by Emma and then by Edith, we have the real cause which originally separated this district from the local shire organization, and thus made possible the gradual development of the modern county. We may with some confidence infer, not only that the queen would immediately enter into the receipt of all profits of jurisdiction arising out of her Rutland lands,

²⁵ *V.C.H. Leics.* i, 285.

²⁶ The evidence in this matter will be found in the first volume of the *V.C.H. Lines.*

²⁷ *V.C.H. Northants.* i, 266, 268.

^{27a} It is worth noting that in 1285 a jury of the county stated definitely that 'antiquitus comitatus Rotel' fuit de corpore comitatus Northantonie'; Assize R. 725, m. 7 d.

²⁸ *L'estorie des Engles* (Rolls Ser.), i, 4139. The queen's possession of Exeter is to be inferred from the Angl.-Sax. Chron.

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but also that the fact of her ownership would imply the payment into her treasury of a combined rent from the whole of this great estate. In 1086, indeed, the wapentakes of Alstoe and Martinsley seem only held apart from the adjacent shires and in connexion with each other by the payment of a joint *firma* to the crown and by the attribution of their geld to the sheriffdom of Nottingham : of a court common to the two wapentakes we read nothing, but we may feel certain that the administration of the district in matters both of finance and jurisdiction would originally be placed in the hands of officers appointed by and responsible to the queen.²⁹ It would be impossible in the present article to attempt to trace what may possibly have been the history of Rutland in still earlier times ; but such inferences as are to be drawn in connexion with this matter from the local geography of the Welland valley by no means conflict with the theory before us, which, at least, supplies a possible explanation of the anomalous position occupied by the district when it first appears in detail before us in the pages of the Great Survey.³⁰

²⁹ In 1003 a French reeve of Queen Emma appears in command of Exeter. *Angl.-Sax. Chron. sub anno.*

³⁰ The name 'Rutland' may be compared with that of the adjoining wapentake of Framland, Leicestershire (Dom. Bk. 'Framland'), and with Aveland Wapentake, Lincolnshire. Possibly the original Rutland may have been a wapentake of Northamptonshire, subsequently divided into the wapentakes of Alstoe and Martinsley, the boundaries of the latter being designedly drawn so as to include the whole of the royal estate in this district.

NOTE

THE reader should bear in mind throughout that the date of the Domesday Survey is 1086; that King Edward, to whose time it refers, died 5 January 1066; that the 'hide' was the unit of assessment on which the (Dane)geld was paid, and that the 'virgate' was its quarter. Parallel with the 'hide' was the 'carucate' of the northern portion of Rutland, the 'bovate' representing an eighth of it. The essential portion of the plough (*caruca*) was its team of oxen, eight in number. The 'demesne' was the lord's portion or the manor, the peasantry holding the rest of it under him.

It is necessary to remember that when Domesday speaks of a place as held by a certain tenant it does not follow that the whole of it is meant. The vill may have comprised other manors, which form the subject of separate entries.

[ROTELAND]

[HERE ARE ENTERED THE HOLDERS OF LANDS]¹ IN ROTELAND

fol. 280b.

- | | |
|------------------------|---------------------------|
| I The King | v Gilbert de Gand |
| II The Countess Judith | vi Earl Hugh (of Chester) |
| III Robert Malet | vii Albert the clerk |
| IV Oger | |

fol. 293b.

In ALFNODESTOU [Alstoe] WAPENTAC there are two hundreds. In each (there are) 12 carucates (assessed) to the geld, and in each there can be 24 ploughs. This wapentake is half in Turgastune [Thurgarton, Nottinghamshire] Wapentake and half in Brochelstou [Broxtow, Nottinghamshire] Wapentake.

In MARTINESLEIE [Martinsley] WAPENTAC there is one hundred in which (there are) 12 carucates of land (assessed) to the geld, and there can be 48 ploughs, saving the king's three demesne manors, in which 14 teams can plough.

THESE TWO WAPENTAKES belong to the sheriffdom of Snotingeham [Nottingham] for (purposes of) the king's geld.

ROTELAND renders to the king 150*li.* assayed (*libras albas*).

ALFNODESTOU [ALSTOE] WAPENTAC

I².—M. In GRETHAM [Greetham] Goda had 3 carucates of land (assessed) to the geld. (There is) land for 8 ploughs. There the king has 2 ploughs in demesne, and (there are) 33 villeins and 4 bordars having 8 ploughs, and 1 mill and 7 acres of meadow. Wood(land), for pannage in some places (*pastilis per loca*), 16 furlongs in length and 7 furlongs in breadth. In King Edward's time it was worth 7*li.*; now (it is worth) 10*li.*

¹ In the original this list comes at the end of the schedule of tenants in chief which heads the Survey of Nottinghamshire.

² The figures I, II, III, IIII are inserted in red ink in the margin of the MS., and are clearly intended to distinguish between the possessions of successive tenants in chief. The numeration, however, was not carried out systematically, and it does not correspond to the order given in the prefatory list above.

M. In COTESMORE [Cottesmore] Goda had 3 carucates of land (assessed) to the geld. (There is) land for 12 ploughs. There the king has 3 ploughs in demesne, and (there are) 3 sochmen on (*de*) half a carucate of this land and 40 villeins and 6 bordars having 20 ploughs. There (are) 40 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 1 league in length and 7 furlongs in breadth. In King Edward's time it was worth 7*li.*; now (it is worth) 10*li.*

Of the land of this manor one Geoffrey has half a carucate, and has there 1 plough and 8 villeins. It is worth 20*s.*

II.—M. In OVERTUNE [Market Overton] and STRATONE³ [Stretton] Earl Waltheof (*Wallef*) had 3½ carucates of land (assessed) to the geld. (There is) land for 12 ploughs. There the Countess Judith has 3 ploughs, and 35 villeins

³ Ber[ewica] is interlined above Stratton.

THE HOLDERS OF LANDS

and 8 bordars having 9 ploughs and 40 acres of meadow. Wood(land), for pannage in places, 1 league in length and half a league in breadth. In King Edward's time it was worth 12*li.*; now (it is worth) 20*li.* Alured of Lincoln (*Lincole*) claims a fourth part of (*in*) Stratune (Stretton).

M. In TISTERTUNE [Thistleton] Erich had half a carucate of land (assessed) to the geld. (There is) land for 1 plough. There Hugh has of Judith 1 plough and 6 villeins with 1 plough. In King Edward's time it was worth 20*s.*; now (it is worth) 40*s.*⁴

III.—M. In THE SAME PLACE (*ibidem*) Siward had half a carucate of land (assessed) to the geld. (There is) land for 1 plough. There Alured of Lincoln (*Lincole*) has 1 plough, and 3 villeins and 2 bordars with half a plough. In King Edward's time it was worth 20*s.*; now (it is worth) 60*s.*

III.—M. In the same hundred, in TIE⁵ [Teigh] Godwin had 1½ carucates of land (assessed) to the geld. (There is) land for 5 ploughs. There Robert Malet has 2 ploughs, and 15 villeins with 4 ploughs. Meadow 4 furlongs in length and 3 furlongs in breadth. There (is) 1 mill (rendering) 2*s.* In King Edward's time it was worth 4*li.* (and it is worth) the same now.

M II.⁶ In WICHINGEDENE [Whissendine] Earl Waltheof (*Wallef*) had 4 carucates of land (assessed) to the geld. (There is) land for 12 ploughs. There Hugh de Hotot has of the Countess 5 ploughs, and 27 villeins and 6 bordars having 8 ploughs. In King Edward's time it was worth 8*li.*; now (it is worth) 13*li.*

M. In EXENTUNE [Exton] Earl Waltheof (*Wallef*) had 2 carucates of land (assessed) to the geld. (There is) land for 12 ploughs. There the Countess Judith has 3 ploughs and 37 villeins with 8 ploughs and 2 mills (rendering) 13*s.* Meadow 6 furlongs in length. Wood(land), for pannage in places, 5 furlongs in length and 5 in breadth. In King Edward's time it was worth 8*li.*; now (it is worth) 10*li.*

M. In WITEWELLE [Whitwell] Besy had 1 carucate of land (assessed) to the geld. (There is) land for 3 ploughs. There Herbert has of the Countess Judith 1 plough, and 6 villeins and 4 bordars having 2 ploughs. There (is) a church and a priest and 20 acres of meadow and 1 mill (rendering) 12*d.* Wood(land), for pannage in places, 6 furlongs and 6 perches in length and 3 furlongs and 13 perches in breadth. In King Edward's time it was worth 20*s.*; now it is worth 40*s.*

⁴ For the difficulty presented by this value see above, p. 130.

⁵ The words 'In Tie' are interlined.

⁶ The figure II, implying that there were two manors in Whissendine, is inserted in error in the MS.

M. In ALESTANESTORP [Awsthorp near Burley]⁷ Leuric had 1 carucate of land (assessed) to the geld. (There is) land for 5 ploughs. There Oger the son of Ungemar⁸ has of the King 2 ploughs, and 11 villeins and 4 bordars with 4 ploughs, and 16 acres of meadow. Wood(land) for pannage 3 furlongs in length and 2 in breadth. In King Edward's time it was worth 40*s.*, and (it is worth the same) now.

M. In BURGELAI [Burley] Ulf had 2 carucates of land (assessed) to the geld. (There is) land for 7 ploughs. There Geoffrey the man of Gilbert de Gand has 2 ploughs, and 30 villeins and 8 bordars having 4 ploughs, and 30 acres of meadow. Wood(land), for pannage in places, 1 league in length and 3 furlongs in breadth. In King Edward's time it was worth 4*li.*; now (it is worth) 100*s.*

M. In EXWELLE [Ashwell] Earl Harold had 2 carucates of land (assessed) to the geld. (There is) land for 6 ploughs. There Gozelin Earl Hugh's man has 2 ploughs, and 13 villeins and 3 bordars having 5 ploughs and 16 acres of meadow. In King Edward's time it was worth 100*s.*; now (it is worth) 6*li.*

MARTINESLEI [MARTINSLEY] WAPENTAC

M. In OCHEHAM [Oakham], with (its) 5 berewicks, church sokeland (*cherchesoch*), Queen Edith had 4 carucates of land (assessed) to the geld. (There is) land for 16 ploughs. There the King has 2 ploughs (belonging) to the hall (*ad aulam*), and nevertheless there can be 4 other ploughs. There are 138 villeins and 19 bordars having 37 ploughs and 80 acres of meadow. There (is) a priest and a church to which 4 bovates of this land belong. Wood(land) for pannage 1 league in length and half a league in breadth. In King Edward's time it was worth 40*li.*

M. In THE SAME PLACE (*ibidem*) Leuenot had 1 carucate of land (assessed) to the geld. Fulcher 'Mala opera' has there 5 oxen in a plough and 6 acres of meadow. In King Edward's time it was worth 20*s.*, and (it is worth the same) now.

The whole manor with (its) berewicks is 3 leagues in length and a league and 8 furlongs in breadth.

M. In HAMELDUNE [Hambleton], with (its) 7 berewicks, church soke(land), Queen Edith had 4 carucates of land (assessed) to the geld. (There is) land for 16 ploughs. There the King has 5 ploughs in demesne, and (there are) 140 villeins and 13 bordars having 40 ploughs. There (are) 3 priests and 3 churches to which (*ubi*) 1 bovine and 8 acres of land belong. There (is) 1 mill (rendering) 21*s.* and 4*d.* and 40 acres of

⁷ For this identification see above, p. 132.

⁸ i.e. Oger the Breton, p. 132.

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meadow. Underwood (*silva minuta*), bearing mast in places (*fertilis per loca*), 3 leagues in length and $1\frac{1}{2}$ leagues in breadth. In King Edward's time it was worth 52*li*.

The whole manor with (its) berewicks is 3 leagues and 8 furlongs in length and 2 leagues and 8 furlongs in breadth.

M. In REDLINCTUNE [Ridlington], with (its) 7 berewicks, church soke(land), Queen Edith had 4 carucates of land (assessed) to the geld. (There is) land for 16 ploughs. There the King has 4 ploughs in demesne, and (there are) 170 villeins and 26 bordars having 30 ploughs and 2 sokemen with 2 ploughs. There (are) 2 priests and 3 churches and 2 sites for mills, and 40 acres of meadow. Wood(land), for pannage in places, 2 leagues in length and 8 furlongs in breadth. In King Edward's time it was worth 40*li*.

The whole manor with (its) berewicks is 3 leagues and 7 furlongs in length and 2 leagues and 2 furlongs in breadth.

fol. 294.

In the above land Albert the clerk has 1 bovat of land and has there 1 mill (rendering) 16*d*. The same Albert also has of the King the church of Ocheham [Oakham] and of Hameldun [Hambleton] and of St. Peter of Stanford [Stamford] as much as belongs to the same churches in (*ad*) Hambleton with the neighbouring lands, that is, 7 bovates. In this his land there can be 8 ploughs, and nevertheless 16 teams plough there. He has there 4 ploughs in demesne, and 18 villeins and 6 bordars having 5 ploughs.

In King Edward's time it was worth 8*li*.; now (it is worth) 10*li*.

[LANDS AFTERWARDS IN RUTLAND ENTERED UNDER] NORTHANTONESCIRE

THE KING'S LAND

IN WICESLEA WAPENTAKE

The King holds CHETENE [Ketton].⁹ There are 7 hides. There is land for 13 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs) and 3 serfs, and (there are) 12 sokemen and 24 villeins and 5 bordars, with the priest, having 11 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering 6*s*. and 8*d*., and 40 acres of meadow. Of underwood (*silvae vilis*) there are 16 acres.

To this manor pertains TICHESOVRE [Tixover]. There are 2 hides. There is land for 8 ploughs. There 16 sokemen, with 3 bordars, have 6 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 5*s*., and 8 acres of meadow and 3 acres of spinney (*spinetum*). The whole in King Edward's time was worth 100*s*. (and is) now (worth) 10*li*.

The King holds BERCHEDONE [Barrowden]. There are 4 hides, less 1 virgate. There is land for 10 ploughs. There are 9 villeins and 10 sokemen with 3 bordars, having 6 ploughs and a half. There (are) 16 acres of meadow and 6 acres of spinney (*spinetum*). To this manor pertain these members:—In SEIETON [Seaton], $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides and 1 bovat of land. There is land for 6 ploughs, and (there are) 4 acres of meadow. In TORP [Thorpe], 1 hide and 1 virgate of land. There is land for 4 ploughs, and (there are) 3 acres of meadow. In MORCOTE [Morcott], 4 hides. There is land for 8 ploughs, and 6 acres of meadow. In BITLESBROCH [Bisbrooke] and GLADESTONE [Glaston], $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides. There is land for 4 ploughs, and 8 acres of

meadow. In LUFENHAM [North Luffenham], 4 hides. There is land for 10 ploughs, and 16 acres of meadow.

In these lands there are 15 sokemen and 33 villeins and 23 bordars, with the priest, having 19 ploughs.

In SEITONE [Seaton] there is a mill rendering (*de*) 36*d*. Wood(land) 1 furlong in length and 1 in breadth. Spinney (*spinetum*) 6 furlongs in length and 2 furlongs in breadth. The whole in King Edward's time was worth 3*li*.; now (it is worth) 7*li*.

The King holds LUFFENHAM [South Luffenham] and SCULETORP [Sculthorp].^{9a} There are 7 hides and 1 virgate of land. There is land for 14 ploughs. There are 12 sokemen and 16 bordars with the priest, having 12 ploughs. There are 2 mills rendering (*de*) 40*d*., and 10 acres of meadow. In King Edward's time it was worth 30*s*.; now (it is worth) 60*s*. The men labour at the King's work (*opera*), which the reeve shall command. Queen Edith held these lands. Hugh de Porth¹⁰ now holds (them) of the King at farm.

fol. 219*b*.

The King holds CASTRETONE [Great Caster-ton]. Earl Morcar held it. There are $3\frac{1}{2}$ hides. There is land for 9 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough); and 24 villeins and 2 sokemen and 2 bordars, with the priest, and 2 serfs have 7 ploughs. There is a mill rendering (*de*) 16*s*., and 16 acres of meadow spinney (*spinetum*) 3 fur-

^{9a} About $\frac{1}{4}$ mile south-west of North Luffenham.

¹⁰ See the *V.C.H. Hants*, i, 421-4, for Hugh de Port.

⁹ *V.C.H. Northants*, i, 304*a*.

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longs in length and 2 furlongs in breadth. It was worth 6*li* now (it is worth) 10*li*. Hugh son of Baldric¹¹ holds (it) of the King at farm.

The King has in demesne of Portland¹² 2 carucates and 2 thirds (*partes*) of a third carucate and 12 acres of meadow. 1 carucate of land belongs to the church of St. Peter, and half a carucate to the church of All Saints. Portland, with the meadow, in King Edward's time used to render 48*s.*, and 10*s.* for the rugs (*feltris*) of the King's sumpter horses. Besides this the King ought to have 9*li.* and 12*s.* for other issues of the town.

THE LAND OF THE BISHOP OF DURHAM

IN WICESLEA WAPENT[AKE]¹³

The Bishop of Durham holds 2 hides of the King in HORNE [Horn]. There is land for 4 ploughs. (There is) now in demesne 1 plough; and 12 villeins with the priest and 1 sokeman and 7 bordars and 1 serf have 4 ploughs. There (are) 3 mills rendering (*de*) 20*s.* Wood(land) 1 furlong and 12 perches in length and 17 perches in breadth. It was and is worth 4*li*. Langfer held (it) of King Edward with sac and soc.

THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN'S LAND

Of the same Bishop Walter holds 2 hides in LIDENTONE¹⁴ [Liddington].

There pertains (to it) Stocche [Stoke Dry], Smelstone [Snelston],¹⁵ Caldecote [Caldecott]. There is land for 16 ploughs in all. In demesne there are 6 ploughs, and 4 serfs; and 26 villeins and 24 bordars having 9 ploughs. There (are) 2 mills rendering (*de*) 8*s.*, and 28 acres of meadow. Wood 3 furlongs in length and 2 furlongs in breadth. The whole is worth 8*li*. Bardi held (it) with sac and soc.

Of the same Bishop Walter holds 1 hide in ESINDONE [Essendine]. There is land for 6 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 ploughs, with 1 serf; and (there are) 16 villeins and 5 bordars with 4 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 16*s.*, and 3 acres of meadow. Wood 6 furlongs in length, and 4 furlongs in breadth. It was worth 4*li.*; now (it is worth) 100*s.* Bardi held (it) with sac and soc.

¹¹ See *V.C.H. Yorks.* for this great tenant in chief in that county.

¹² Probably at Stamford; see *V.C.H. Northants*, i, 277-8.

¹³ *V.C.H. Northants*, i, 309.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 312.

¹⁵ Formerly a village about 1½ miles south-west of Stoke Dry, no traces of which at present remain.

THE LAND OF ST. PETER OF BURG

IN WICESLE HUNDRED¹⁶

The same church holds TEDINWELLE [Tinwell]. There are 5 hides and 1 virgate of land. There is land for 8 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs); and (there are) 24 villeins and 11 bordars with 7 ploughs. There are 2 mills rendering (*de*) 24*s.*, and 20 acres of meadow. It was worth 10*s.*; now (it is worth) 7*li*.

THE LAND OF ROBERT DE TODENI

IN WICESLEA WAPENT[AKE]¹⁷

The same (Robert) holds 1 hide and 1 bovate of land in SEGENTONE [Seaton]. There is land for 4 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 (ploughs), and 2 serfs; and 8 villeins and 2 bordars, with the priest, have 1½ ploughs. There (are) 3 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 1 furlong in length and another in breadth. Robert has only the third part of the wood(land) and the arable land likewise.

To this land pertains 1 virgate of land in BERCHEDONE [Barrowden]. There are 4 villeins with half a plough. It was worth 40*s.*; now (it is worth) 20*s.*

THE LAND OF WILLIAM PEVREL¹⁸

IN WICESLEA HUNDRED¹⁹

Sasfrid holds of William 2½ hides in EPINGEHAM [Empingham]. There is land for 4 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough) with 1 serf; and 8 villeins and 4 bordars, with 2 ploughs. There (is) a mill and a half rendering (*de*) 12*s.*, and 4 acres of meadow, and 6 acres of wood. It was and is worth 20*s.* Edward and Fredgis held it with sac and soc.

THE LAND OF WILLIAM SON OF ANSCULF²⁰

IN WICESLEA WAPENT[AKE]

William son of Ansculf²¹ holds half a hide in TOLTORP [Tolethorpe], and Robert (holds) of him. There is land for 4 ploughs. The King has the soc thereof. In demesne there is 1 (plough); and 12 villeins and 15 bordars have 3 ploughs. There (are) 4 mills rendering (*de*) 40*s.*, and 20 acres of meadow. 8 sokemen held (it). It was worth 40*s.*; now (it is worth) 100*s.*

¹⁶ *V.C.H. Northants*, i, 314.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 338.

¹⁸ *V.C.H. Northants*, i, 339.

¹⁹ De Pinkeni (i.e. Picquigny).

²⁰ *Ibid.* 333

²¹ 'Wap' in the margin.

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THE LAND OF GILBERT DE GAND²²

The same Gilbert holds EPINGEHAM [Empingham]. There are 4 hides. Of these, 3 (are) in demesne. There is land for 8 ploughs. In demesne there are 4 ploughs and 8 serfs, and (there are) 15 villeins with 4 ploughs. There (are) 5 mills rendering (*de*) 42*s.* and 8*d.* and 10 acres of meadow. Wood(land) 1 furlong in length, and 10 perches in breadth. It was worth 100*s.*, now (it is worth) 10*li.*

The same (Gilbert) holds in the same vill 7½ hides and 1 bovat of land of the King's soc(land) of Roteland [Rutland] and says the King is his patron (*advocatum*).²³ There is land for 15 ploughs. 14 sokemen, with 51 villeins, have these there. There (are) 5 mills rendering (*de*) 24*s.* and 10 acres of meadow, and 10 acres of wood. It was and is worth 8*li.*

THE LAND OF THE COUNTESS JUDITH²⁴

IN WICELEA WAPENT[AKE]

The Countess Judith holds of the king 1½ hides in RIEHALE [Ryhall]. There is, with (its) appendages, land for 8 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough), and 4 serfs; and 10 villeins and 4 sokemen have 4 ploughs. There (are) 2 mills rendering (*de*) 36*s.* Wood(land) 4 furlongs in length, and 2 furlongs in breadth.

To this manor pertains BELMESTORP [Belmesthorpe]. There (are) 1½ hides, and in demesne (there are) 2 ploughs; and 14 villeins and 6 bordars have 4 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 10*s.* and 8*d.* and 16 acres of meadow. The whole was and is worth 6*li.*

Robert holds of the Countess 2 hides and 1 virgate of land in BITLESBROCH [Bisbrooke].²⁵ There is land for 3½ ploughs. In demesne there

²² *V.C.H. Northants*, i, 346*b.*

²³ i.e. (in later language) he vouches the King to warranty.

²⁴ *V.C.H. Northants*, i, 350.

²⁵ *Ibid.* 352.

is 1 (plough) and 2 serfs; and 12 villeins, with 4 bordars, have 2½ ploughs. There (are) 20 acres of meadow. Underwood (*silver minuta*) 1½ ploughs in length, and as much in breadth. It was worth 20*s.*; now (it is worth) 30*s.* Edward held (it) with sac and soc.

Grimbald holds of the Countess 3 hides less 1 bovat in TICHECOTE [Tickencote]. There is land for 6 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough); and 8 sokemen, with 12 villeins and 1 bordar, have 5 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 24*s.*, and 12 acres of meadow. It was worth 30*s.*; now (it is worth) 50*s.* Edward held this also.

The same (Grimbald) holds of the Countess 1 hide in HORNE [Horn]. There is land for 2 ploughs. In demesne there is 1 (plough), and 2 serfs and 2 bondwomen; and 9 villeins, with 4 bordars, have 2 ploughs. There (is) a mill rendering (*de*) 4*s.* and 8*d.* It was worth 20*s.*; now (it is worth) 30*s.*

William holds of the Countess 4 hides in GLADESTONE [Glaston].²⁶ There is land for 8 ploughs. In demesne are 1½ ploughs and 2 serfs; and 5 villeins and 3 sokemen, with 2 bordars, have 5 ploughs. There (are) 10 acres of meadow. It was and is worth 40*s.* Edward held (it) with sac and soc.

To this manor pertain 6 sokemen in LUFFENHAM [Luffenham], the King's manor, and 1 in SEGESTONE [Seaton], and 1 in TORP [Thorpe-by-Water], whose stock (*pecunia*) is noted above.

THE LAND OF DAVID²⁷

David holds of the King 3 virgates of land in CASTRETONE [Little Casterton]. There is land for 1½ ploughs. In demesne, nevertheless, there is 1 plough; and 6 villeins, with the priest and 3 bordars, have 2 ploughs. There (are) 2 serfs, and a mill rendering (*de*) 12*s.*, and 5 acres of meadow. It is worth 40*s.* Osgot held it with sac and soc.

²⁶ *Ibid.* 353.

²⁷ *Ibid.* 355.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

THE ecclesiastical history of Rutland does not present any features of special interest ; it is indeed merely a collection of statistics, and has no completeness or individuality. This will not however cause any surprise to the student who bears in mind that we are here dealing with what was until quite recently only a single deanery in the arch-deaconry of Northampton.

It is not within the scope of this paper to discuss in what sense Rutland was a county at all before the Conquest ; it will be enough to say that the two wapentakes of Alfnodestou and Martinslei, which at the time of the Domesday Survey were united under the name of Rutland, had formed in earlier days a part of the kingdom of Mercia. Whether at the division of the great central diocese they passed under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Leicester or of Lindsey it is not easy to decide.¹ At any rate they shared the fortunes of the other midland counties at the time of the Danish invasion ; and such churches or monasteries as were built before that period no doubt perished in the general ruin. They had their share also in the restoration which followed. The Domesday Survey mentions the existence of a church and priest both at Oakham and at Whitwell ; in the group of hamlets of which Hambleton was the centre there were three priests and three churches ; in the Ridlington district two priests and three churches. In the Wiceslai Hundred, not yet separated from Northamptonshire, there was a priest resident at Ketton, at Horn, at Great and Little Casterton, and at one at least of the Luffenhams. We may gather from these notices, on the usually received theory, that the parochial system was fairly well established in Rutland before the Conquest.

Only a few gifts of land had as yet been granted to cathedrals and monasteries outside the county. The Bishop of Durham had a manor in Horn worth £4. The Abbot of Peterborough had a manor at Tinwell worth £7 in all ; no allusion is made in the Survey to the rights which Earls Siward and Waltheof were said to have given his predecessors in Ryhall and Belmesthorpe.² All these Church lands, it may be noted, were in the county of Northampton, and not in either of the two wapentakes which then went

¹ The connexion in later times between this district and Northamptonshire makes it probable that it had formerly lain within the territory of the Middle Angles, in which Oundle and Peterborough were situated. If this were the case the whole of the modern Rutland will have formed part of the Leicester diocese.

² Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.* iv, 265. This charter of Waltheof implies that the abbot had never really enjoyed the manors ; the earl and his father before him had held the lands for life, only promising that they should finally revert to Peterborough. At the time of the Survey they were held by Waltheof's widow the Countess Judith, who seems to have had no idea of carrying out her husband's intentions. The charter of Wulfhere (*ibid.* v, 2), which would make the two manors part of the original endowment of the abbey, has very little historical value.

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by the name of Rutland. The evidence in the Survey in support of the ancient claim of the monks of Westminster, that King Edward the Confessor had granted them 'Rutland with all its appurtenances' to hold in alms after the death of Queen Edith,³ has been already dealt with, and need not, therefore, be repeated here.

During the next century the value of Church property in Rutland was greatly increased. The churches of Liddington, Empingham, and Ketton furnished Lincoln Cathedral with three prebendal stalls,⁴ and Hambleton, after some difficulties with Westminster, was also appropriated to the Dean and Chapter.⁵ Oakham and Uppingham churches were secured by the monks of Westminster early in the 13th century,⁶ and several others by different monasteries at home and abroad.⁷ Lawsuits often followed close upon such appropriations: for instance, the church of Wing, at first granted to Thorney Abbey, was awarded afterwards to the Prior of St. Neots;⁸ the church of Little Casterton, claimed more than once by the Prior of Newstead by Stamford, remained finally with the lords of the manor of Toilethorpe.⁹ For nine of the churches thus appropriated, vicarages were ordained in the course of the 13th century:¹⁰ one or two also of the non-resident rectors were obliged to assign a definite portion of the tithes to the priests who served their cures for them.¹¹ No details of special interest are preserved in connexion with this period of the history of the county; though it is worth noting that Robert Grosteste held the prebend of Empingham while he was Archdeacon of Northampton, about 1221.¹²

It was some years later, when Grosteste was Bishop of Lincoln, that he had an encounter with the Sheriff of Rutland, issuing in a papal decree which Matthew Paris (no lover of Grosteste) describes as an infringement of the liberties of the Church. A clerk who had been suspended and excommunicated for incontinence took refuge in this county; and the sheriff, who refused to deliver him up to the bishop, was made to share the excommunication. The king took the part of his own official, and obtained from Pope Innocent IV a brief to the effect that the royal clerks should not be excommunicated for any secular offence by any bishop or prelate.¹³

The Taxation of Pope Nicholas IV in 1291 makes it possible to give the exact account of the number of churches in Rutland at this time. The

³ Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.* iv, 178, 216. See ante, pp. 132, 133.

⁴ Liddington belonged to the Bishop of Lincoln at the time of the Domesday Survey (q.v.). Empingham was the gift of Gilbert of Ghent; and Ketton, or rather Tixover, the gift of Queen Maud, early in the 12th century. Dugdale, *Mon.* vi (3), 1272-3.

⁵ The rights of Lincoln in Hambleton were more doubtful. The final agreement was apparently made in 1231: but a pension of £20 had to be paid to Westminster. Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Dalderby, fol. 105-6.

⁶ *Cal. of Chart. R.* i, 401.

⁷ Besides those mentioned above, the advowsons of the following churches were granted to religious houses:—Tinwell to Peterborough; Glaston and Wardley to Launde; Bisbrooke to Daventry; Greetham to St. Sepulchre's, Warwick; Tickencote to Owston; Exton and Ryhall to St. Andrew's, Northampton; Burley to Nuneaton; Seaton to Chaucombe; Whissendine to Lindores in Fife (passing in the 13th century to Sempringham); Edith Weston to St. George's, Bocherville; Wing to St. Neots; Stoke Dry and Whitwell to the Hospitallers; and Stretton to the Templars.

⁸ Wright, *Hist. of Rut.* 138, where the records are quoted.

⁹ Blore, *Hist. of Rut.* 2.

¹⁰ Oakham, Exton, Ryhall under Bishop Wells; Empingham and Liddington under Grosteste; Bisbrooke, Greetham, Hambleton, and Ketton under Gravesend; Burley before the time of Bishop Sutton. The vicarage of Whissendine was probably ordained on its appropriation to Sempringham (*Cal. of Papal Letters*, ii, 185); that of Wardley was not ordained till 1402 (Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Beaufort, fol. 119).

¹¹ E.g. at Ashwell, Cottesmore, and Clipsham.

¹² *Dict. Nat. Biog.* s.n.

¹³ Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), v, 109.

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total number of parishes was forty-five, including Edith Weston and Pilton, not mentioned in the *Taxatio*. The value of *spiritualia* in the whole deanery, not reckoning the churches omitted, or those appropriated to the cathedral, was £175 6s. 8d.; the temporal property assigned to different religious houses in Rutland was said to be worth £187 4s. 3½d. a year.¹⁴ Besides the churches, there were at least thirteen¹⁵ parochial chapels: but these are always difficult to reckon with exactness in any county, as they are only mentioned incidentally in the Episcopal Registers and other records.

An instance of the lawlessness which pervaded the period just before the Great Pestilence may be found in the case of the rector of Teigh in 1343. He had been guilty of 'homicide, theft, and other crimes,' but when the under-sheriff came to arrest him, he defended himself with a band of followers in the church, killing and wounding those who tried to make their way in. Sir Robert de Colville, a knight of the neighbourhood, came to the assistance of the attacking party, and finally haled the rector out into the public street, and cut off his head. In spite of the guiltiness of the murdered man, such an offence against the privileges of the Church could not be lightly passed over. The knight and his accomplices had to make procession, with bare heads and shoulders, round all the churches of the district, and to be beaten with rods at each church door.¹⁶

In 1349 the deaths of eight rectors, two vicars, and one chantry priest, are recorded in the Episcopal Registers: that is to say, nearly one-fourth of the clergy in the deanery. The return of the pestilence in 1361, which was felt so severely in the neighbouring county of Leicester, does not seem to have affected Rutland so much.

Of the popular disturbances, economic and ecclesiastical, which followed close upon the pestilence, we find few traces in this county. It was indeed at his house at Burley that Bishop Spencer of Norwich heard of the outbreak of the Peasants' Revolt in his diocese;¹⁷ but the story of his rapid march to the scene of action and his subsequent doings do not belong to the history of Rutland. No record is preserved of the rise and spread of Lollard teachings here: though when 'the wolf was abroad,' as Bishop Buckingham complained, in the county of Northampton, and every other man who passed along the streets of Leicester was a Lollard,¹⁸ it seems scarcely possible that Rutland could have altogether escaped the infection. And it was in the prebendal church of Liddington that the famous hermit of Leicester, William Swinderby, was tried and put to penance for his heresies.¹⁹

Several chantries and gilds were founded during the 14th and 15th centuries. Of the former six²⁰ were well known and continued for some length

¹⁴ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 66, 67, 77.

¹⁵ These were:—Langham, Egleton, Brooke, Gunthorpe, and Barleythorpe in Oakham; Woodhead in Great Casterton; Braunston in Hambleton; Belmesthorpe in Ryhall; Belton in Wardley; Essendine in Ryhall; Inthorpe in Tinwell; Tixover in Ketton; Awsthorpe in Burley. The manorial chapels of Exton and Toilethorpe, and the chapel in the castle of Oakham, were of use to others than the lords of those manors during the 14th and 15th centuries, and are frequently mentioned in the records.

¹⁶ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, iii, 142.

¹⁷ Wright, *Hist. of Rut.* 30.

¹⁸ H. Knighton, *Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 191; Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Buckingham, fol. 393.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* fol. 240.

²⁰ Besides the four to be mentioned later, which were suppressed in 1547, there was a chantry founded at Awsthorpe in 1314 (*Inq. a.q.d.* 7 Edw. II, n. 81); and the chantry founded in the private chapel of Bernard de Bruce at Exton a little earlier (Wright, *Hist. of Rut.* 53) is mentioned constantly in the Episcopal Registers through the 14th and 15th centuries.

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of time : of the latter, there existed certainly three at Oakham—the gilds of St. Mary, St. Michael, and the Holy Trinity ;²¹ one at Belmesthorpe under the invocation of St. John ;²² one at Little Casterton,²³ and one at Eggleton.²⁴ These are mentioned incidentally in wills and other records ; there were doubtless more.

Very little is known of the general course of Church life in this county during the 15th century. Doubtless here as elsewhere there were faithful priests who did their duty according to their lights, as well as others who shared the general laxity of the times. Richard Stoneham, vicar of Oakham in 1409, was evidently one who loved his church, for he left to it generous gifts of plate, books, and vellum, making bequests also to Liddington Church and to Merton Hall, Oxford.²⁵ One of his successors gave his parishioners cause for very serious complaint in 1488. They alleged that he did not provide assistant clergy for the service of the parochial chapels, as he was bound to do : that he sat in the choir without a surplice, did not have the church strawed at Easter, did not say mass more than twice a week, and went about more like a layman than a priest. Bishop Rotherham, to whom the complaint was made, ordered all these grievances to be redressed.²⁶

Before the new valuation of ecclesiastical property in 1534 some of the parochial chapels of Rutland had fallen into ruins : either through the depreciation of their revenues, or through the depopulation of the hamlets in which they stood. Among these were the chapels of Woodhead, Ingthorpe, Awsthorpe, Belmesthorpe, and Gunthorpe ;²⁷ none of which are mentioned in any record later than the 15th century. The church of Horn is described in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* as *olim ecclesia modo devastata* :²⁸ and it is probable that the church of Pickworth, which was in ruins a century later, was at this time fast falling into decay.

There were so few religious foundations in this county that it was probably very little affected by the disturbances attendant upon the dissolution of monasteries. But it had its full share of loss under the Chantry Act of 1547. The suppression of the college at Manton left one parish church without any provision at all for services in future. At Barrowden, Whitwell, Burley, and Clipsham the incumbent of the parish was deprived of an assistant who had cost him nothing. The total value of Church land confiscated at this time was £91 18s. 10½d. clear ; forty ounces of plate were delivered to the jewel-house : other ornaments and goods that went into the royal treasury amounted to £27 15s. 3d. The chantry priests dismissed or pensioned at this time were all well spoken of by the Commissioners : they were of ‘ good and honest conversation,’ and honoured by their neighbours ; only one of them, the warden of Manton College, had any other living besides his chantry. Sir Robert Suckling, cantarist of Whitwell, had been ‘ always exercised in the education of youth in learning,’ though, being purblind, he could not undertake to serve a cure.²⁹

²¹ Gibbons, *Early Lincoln Wills*, 116.

²² Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Repingdon, fol. 133 d.

²³ Blore, *Hist. of Rut.* 199. This gild was of unusually early date, if the deed quoted by Blore is genuine. The witnesses and other names which occur cannot be later than the end of the 13th century.

²⁴ This gild is mentioned in the Chantry Certificate : the only one which held lands in 1547.

²⁵ Gibbons, *Early Lincoln Wills*, 138.

²⁶ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Rotherham, fol. 54.

²⁷ The last mention of Ingthorpe in the Lincoln Registers is in 1366 : of Belmesthorpe in 1417. Blore quotes a deed mentioning the chapel of Woodhead in 1393 (*Hist. of Rut.* 191).

²⁸ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 343.

²⁹ Chant. Cert. 39.

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In 1549 the shire was reported to be quiet and peaceable, thanks to the efforts of the Marquis of Dorset.³⁰ So far as is known, there were no special troubles connected with religion in the following reign ; though one priest at least, John Abraham, rector of Great Casterton, appears to have been deprived for his opinions.³¹ Nicholas Bullingham, prebendary of Empingham (afterwards Bishop of Lincoln), either resigned or was deprived about the same time.³² On the other hand, Robert Mannors, prebendary of Ketton, was probably deprived under the Elizabethan settlement in 1560.³³

The official records of the deanery, so far as they are preserved, give us a most unpleasing picture of Church life in this county during the reign of Queen Elizabeth.³⁴ Only on the negative side does the work of the Reformation appear to have been done with zeal or thoroughness : that is to say, in the matter of destruction and removal of ancient ornaments. It is noted as an unusual feature in a visitation of 1570 that the rood-loft at Ayston was not pulled down, and a great candlestick still stood at the 'altar's end' : evidently not as a matter of principle, for the church is described as 'dugged by hogs,' and the alleys broken in the pavement.³⁵ So also at Ashwell the foot of the rood-loft still remained in its place, as well as certain images in the chancel, and the old 'taper stocks' : and here again probably by an oversight, as the rector had been non-resident for years. The only other ancient ornament remarked at this time was the great holy-water stock at Whitwell. It appears from the visitations of thirty years later that in a great many cases the altars had been taken away in obedience to the royal injunctions of 1559, without any attempt to follow the directions issued a little later for the levelling and paving of the space thus left vacant.³⁶ All through the reign complaints were made about the shameful state of churches and chancels alike, and rectors and wardens were reprimanded time after time without much result ; so that it is plain that the miserable condition of all the churches in the deanery in 1605 (shortly to be described) was only the natural consequence of a long course of neglect. Complaints were also made of the infrequency of catechizing, and of the slackness of the youth when summoned. Non-residence and plurality were very common during the same period ; perhaps with more excuse than in other parts of the kingdom, for the stipends of the clergy were undoubtedly very low. This fact may also partly account for the low level of clerical life at the time : few benefices in Rutland were worth the acceptance of men of learning or refinement. Simon Palmer, vicar of Bisbrooke, actually lodged in his own parish church with his wife from Christmas to Candlemas in the year 1578, and 'abused that place,' the wardens said, 'too shamefully to be writed.' Such a man could have had but little reverence for the Church or the priesthood. Then there was a great dearth of preachers, even at this time when sermons were valued as the chief means of grace : in several places, including Uppingham, the congregations complained that they had not even the quarterly sermon which was their due. There

³⁰ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1547-80, p. 21.

³¹ Robert Peacock was appointed on the deprivation of John Abraham ; *ex inf.* V. B. Crowther-Beynon, esq.

³² *Ibid.* 179.

³³ *Ibid.* 138.

³⁴ All the details which follow, unless another reference is given, are from notes taken from the archdeaconry records by the Rev. E. A. Irons of North Luffenham.

³⁵ The rector from 1549 to 1589 was a pluralist, and in 1565 had to purge himself of some moral delinquency.

³⁶ *Hist. of the Engl. Ch.* (ed. Stephens), v, 38, 61, 68.

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were graver troubles than this now and again; several incumbents and curates were accused and convicted of moral offences like simony, drunkenness, and incontinence between 1563 and 1599. The rector of Tickencote was deprived for adultery in 1563; but such cases were not always dealt with as they deserved. The officiating clergy of Lyndon, Cottesmore, Morcott, Normanton, Brooke, Preston, Ryhall, South Luffenham, Teigh, and North Luffenham were accused, and in most cases convicted, of one or more of the above offences between 1565 and 1589. The little village of Normanton from 1572 to 1620 suffered under the charge of a man wholly unworthy of his sacred office. The church was again and again reported ruinous; it possessed no Bible, no chalice, no fair linen cloth nor surplice; there were no weekday services, and Holy Communion was administered only twice a year, if at all. The rector was spoken of as a common gamester and drunkard, and in 1590 was suspended for a time on a charge of immorality. He was restored after purgation, but his curate did penance for adultery the following year, and the accusations against the rector were renewed. The vicar of Oakham had to face a similar charge in 1593, and he was certainly guilty of gross neglect of his cure. He held it from 1565 to 1596, and all that time the parish church and its chapels were most insufficiently served. At Eggleton a layman did all that was done from 1576 to 1586, and the vicar even allowed him to administer what he called the Communion once a year, until the archdeacon forbade it.

Apart from the neglect of rubrics and injunctions, there were cases of actual refusal of conformity all through the latter part of the reign. In 1587 the rectors of Teigh and Tinwell were not wearing the surplice: in 1589 the rectors of Pilton and Stoke Dry, the vicars of Ridlington and Ryhall, and the curates of Caldecott and Manton were included in the same category, and the vicar of Exton in 1598.³⁷ Some of these also tried to escape the reading of the royal injunctions, and substituted Bible readings of their own choice for the Epistle and Gospel. As a rule they made excuses, or conformed for a time when called to order. The vicars of Ridlington and Exton, and the rectors of Clipsham and Little Casterton, had run a long course of evasion and protest before they finally wore out the patience of the authorities, and were deprived by Bishop Dove in 1604-5. The historic case of Robert Cawdray is dealt with separately. Of the rest, the most notable was Thomas Gibson of Ridlington.

Some names of interest are connected with the history of this county during the reign of Elizabeth. Michael Renniger, Prebendary of Empingham in 1567, had been one of the exiles during the reign of Mary. He was an eager defender of the right of the clergy to marry if they would,³⁸ and later on, when Archdeacon of Winchester, was made one of the royal commissioners to search for Jesuits and seminary priests.³⁹ Robert Johnson, parson of North Luffenham, became a notable benefactor to the whole county when, as Archdeacon of Leicester, he founded and endowed, by means of collected funds and the rents of certain concealed Church lands begged from the

³⁷ The vicar of Wardley allowed Thomas Gibson of Ridlington to preach in his church, and was probably of the same school. It was from his pulpit that Gibson gave forth his opinion that baptism and the Holy Eucharist were of no avail unless administered by a preacher.

³⁸ Blore, *Hist. of Rut.* 138.

³⁹ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* vii, App. 647.

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queen, his famous free schools at Oakham and Uppingham.⁴⁰ It seems that in earlier days he had had Puritan leanings, for in 1580 he was rebuked by Lord Burghley for holding unauthorized fasts at Lincoln without licence from the bishop.⁴¹ A much more celebrated Puritan was his neighbour of South Luffenham, Robert Cawdray. The latter had held his benefice for sixteen years before he came into actual collision with the ecclesiastical courts for nonconformity. He had never used the surplice, never married with the ring, or baptized with the cross since his institution; but he was called to account for all these things when in December 1586 he called the Prayer Book a 'vile book,' and cried 'Fie upon it!' from the pulpit. On his trial before Bishop Aylmer and the other commissioners he pleaded that he conformed to the rubrics as much as many others whose doings were not so closely looked into, which was probably quite true; but his aggressive and uncompromising temper made it impossible for his judges to come to any settlement with him. He was deprived in 1587, and on his persistent refusal to accept the sentence or allow his successor to take possession was finally degraded from the priesthood in May 1590. These two sentences were carried out in the face of repeated appeals and protests from Cawdray; on the ground that the ecclesiastical law under which he was punished was anterior to the statute law to which he appealed. It was this decision that gave importance to the whole case.⁴²

The recusants of Rutland were few and insignificant. The only person whose name was returned to the Council by Bishop Scambler in 1577 was one John Chambers, clerk.⁴³ It is probable that Everard Digby, the fellow of St. John's Cambridge who was expelled in 1587, was connected with the Digbys of Stoke Dry: but he was certainly not the father of the conspirator of 1605. It is also quite improbable that his expulsion was due, as alleged by Strype, to his popish inclinations. If he dared to say in the Cambridge of 1586 that Calvinists were schismatics, and that voluntary poverty was a virtue, this was quite enough to fasten on him the accusation of popery: and if he was related to a family which was notably inclined to the Roman interest, the charge was all the more likely to gain credence. But the Master of St. John's declared that the true cause of his expulsion was his heavy indebtedness to the college steward.⁴⁴

No doubt there were many among the county gentry who heard mass in secret and had a good deal of sympathy with the 'old religion,' though they were not openly recusant. One Jesuit Father, Thomas Hunt, who lived a pious and uneventful life, and died from the effects of cold and exposure in one of the night searches common at this time, was a native of Lyndon, Rutland.⁴⁵ The county was in the same missionary district as Derbyshire and Leicestershire, and was probably visited by the same priests who ministered there. In 1582 active search was made, on information given by the rector of Edith Weston, for a certain Edmund Chambers, said to be harboured chiefly

⁴⁰ Wright, *Hist. of Rut.* 103, 132.

⁴¹ Strype, *Annals*, ii, 2.

⁴² For the whole story see Strype, *Life of Aylmer*, 84-97, and *Hist. of the Engl. Ch.* (ed. Stephens), v, 281-2.

⁴³ S.P. Dom. Eliz. cxviii, 29.

⁴⁴ Strype, *Annals*, iii, 108-13. It has been pointed out that he held his fellowship, and therefore could not have been married in 1578, the year of the birth of Sir Everard the younger. See *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

⁴⁵ Foley, *Hist. of the Engl. Province*, ii, 294-5.

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by a gentleman of Whitwell, John Flower, and a farmer of Edith Weston, George Warde. The search was apparently vain; but Flower and Warde had to appear before the Privy Council.⁴⁶

In 1590 John Digby of Seaton was imprisoned in the Tower, in all probability as a recusant and harbourer of priests; and he was only released upon bond of £1,000, undertaken by his brother, Sir Everard Digby of Stoke Dry.⁴⁷

It was not until 1598 that the young Sir Everard Digby, now in possession of his father's estates, became an open and avowed recusant.⁴⁸ His marriage with a lady who had no recusant relatives, and his own love for the pleasures of court and country, had kept his thoughts from dwelling much on the religious controversies of the day. But Lord Vaux's house at Harrowden, where Father Gerard and other Jesuits had their head quarters, lay on the high road between the property of Sir Everard at Stoke Dry, and that of Lady Digby in Buckinghamshire: and it was here that both wife and husband first fell into 'St. Peter's net.' It is a romantic story, with a most tragic ending. Father Gerard was an ardent missionary, with a wonderful power of winning souls: and one great source of his success lay in the fact that at that time the 'religion established by law' made so little appeal to the heart. Sir Everard and his wife were won separately, she in the country, and he finally in London; and then Gerard wisely left them to find out in their own way that they were in possession of the same perilous secret. The events which followed a few years later are only too well known. Sir Everard joined in the Powder Plot under the personal influence of Catesby, 'for whose love and friendship,' as he said upon his trial, 'he would have adventured his life and fortune,' even had there been no other cause; and apparently without the knowledge of Gerard, whom he exculpated in the most positive terms, saying, 'I never durst tell him of it, for fear he would draw me out of it.' He died steadily maintaining that he had indeed offended against the laws of the realm, but not against the laws of God; inasmuch as the object of the plot had been the ending of persecution and the good of souls.⁴⁹ The same strange obliquity of reasoning, the same persistency of self-justification, appear again a few years later in his gifted but eccentric son Sir Kenelm.

That the national church was also capable of kindling devotion and generosity, even at this most unattractive period of her history, is seen from such bequests as that of Anne Lady Harrington in 1616. She purchased

⁴⁶ *Acts of P.C.* (New Ser.), 1581-2, pp. 259, 362, 387. The name of Jane wife of John Flower appears on the Recusant Roll of 1591. (P.R.O. Recusant Roll, 34 Eliz. no. 1.)

⁴⁷ *Acts of P.C.* (New Ser.), 1590, p. 333. He may also be referred to *ibid.* xv, 362. He was described as an entertainer of priests, and examined in connexion with the Powder Plot in April 1606. *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1603-10, p. 313. The Recusant Roll referred to in the last note gives the name of James Digby of Liddington, probably a member of the same family.

⁴⁸ The statements of Father Gerard in his autobiography are somewhat contradictory. He says in his *Narrative of the Plot* that Sir Everard was 'always Catholicly affected, and heir unto the piety of his parents . . . for they were ever the most noted and known Catholics in that country;' and yet in his story of the conversion, from which the above account is abstracted, he says: 'Not one of this family was a Catholic, nor even inclined to the Catholic faith.' It is, however, probable that in the latter passage he is referring to the family of Lady Digby, for he implies a few paragraphs later that Sir Everard was quite favourably disposed to Romanism: the main hindrance for him was his love of the pleasures of youth. He could not at this time have been more than twenty years of age; for he was only twenty-six at his execution. For the whole story see Morris, *Condition of Catholics*, 88, 138, &c.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* 216-7; and Gardiner, *Hist. of Engl.* 1603-16, i; also Jardine, *True Hist. of the Gunpowder Plot*.

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an estate in Cottesmore, the revenues of which were to serve for the relief of the poor in Exton, Burley, Hambleton, Oakham, Cottesmore, and Market Overton ; and built a library for the parish church of Oakham, containing 200 volumes of the works of the Fathers, both Greek and Latin, to assist the neighbouring clergy in their studies.⁵⁰ Benefactions in this form struck what has so often been the key-note of reform in the English Church—the appeal to Catholic antiquity.

It was indeed high time that this appeal should be renewed within the county of Rutland. A visitation of the year 1605 gives a description of the parish churches which, without the evidence of the written records, would be quite beyond belief. The report is even worse than that of the churches of Buckinghamshire in 1637, described in an earlier volume of this series.⁵¹ It was made, moreover, by commissioners who were not specially interested in finding fault : they were three of the clergy within this same deanery, viz. the rectors of Ashwell and Uppingham and the vicar of Hambleton. It was also a very complete report ; only the prebendal churches of Ketton, Liddington, and Empingham were passed over ; the remaining thirty-eight⁵² parish churches, and the six chapels of Brooke, Eggleton, Langham, Braunston, Belton, and Essendine being fully described.⁵³

It is difficult to give a summary of it in few words. There are no features of special interest : none of the touches of grim humour, intentional or otherwise, which sometimes lighten up such dark pages of history. The worst point indeed in the report is the dreary monotony with which the same defects are noted in one church after another. Not one was returned *Omnia bene*. Perhaps the least defective were Cottesmore and Tickencote ;⁵⁴ but even these were far from satisfactory. Of the others, two or three specimens may be quoted at random.

At Glaston the chancel was unpaved at the east end, and the east window partly daubed up with mortar ; the seats in the church and chancel were unpaved and not boarded ; a chapel in the north aisle was unpaved, and some other windows boarded up ; the churchyard wall was broken down, and the church walls in need of whitewashing ; the north door was in decay ; it rained in at one place through the roof ; there was no carpet-cloth for the communion table, and no pewter stoup for the altar wine. At Bisbrooke the chancel was unpaved at the east end ; three windows were boarded up ; the seats in church and chancel were unpaved, and some broken ; two other places in the church were unpaved ; the Bible was torn and rent ; there was no pewter stoup, and no carpet-cloth for the altar ; at the east end of the chancel lay a quantity of loose slate. At Pilton there was an elder-tree growing on top of one of the buttresses.

These are small country villages : it will be well to compare with them the state of the churches of Oakham and Uppingham. Here is the report of

⁵⁰ Wright, *Hist. of Rut.* 52.

⁵¹ *V.C.H. Bucks.* 1, 324.

⁵² There were forty-four parishes at this time ; but Pickworth, Martinsthorpe, and Horn were sinecures, and their churches were no longer in use. The three prebendal churches were under a separate jurisdiction.

⁵³ All the details which follow are from notes kindly lent by the Rev. E. A. Irons of North Luffenham, who transcribed them from the Episcopal Registers.

⁵⁴ At Cottesmore the communion table was unfit, the linen cloth coarse, the seats unpaved, the churchyard invaded by swine ; and there was no pewter stoup. At Tickencote the seats were unpaved and part of the porch ; the church wanted whitewashing, and the minister's seat was out of repair ; there was no pewter stoup.

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Oakham:—‘The seats in the south aisle all broken in the bottom and neither paved nor boarded. The pavements in the east and north aisles broken. The chancel and the chapel in the north aisle neither plastered nor whited. Many seats in the church broken, and neither boarded nor paved. Two bell wheels broken, but being mended. The communion table unfit. The linen cloths very old. The north door in decay. There dwelleth two poor folks in the churchyard in a lean-to made to the church, very inconvenient and noisome to the churchyard.’ The chapels appendant to Oakham were in similar state. At Uppingham the chancel was unpaved towards the east; the seats in church and chancel were unpaved, and a part of the north aisle; the pulpit was unfit, the Bible torn, the west door out of repair, the windows at the west end boarded up, as well as some on the south side; the north porch was unpaved, and lay so low that water ran down into the church often: the south porch was no better; there was no pewter stoup.

To sum up some of the worst points. In more than half the churches of the deanery the chancel was said to be unpaved towards the east end, or where the high altar stood; in other words, the place whence the altar and its steps had been removed about forty years before had been left just as it was, and no attempt had been made to cover the earth or boarding thus laid bare. Not one of the churches of the deanery was decently paved throughout; not one but had some other defect in porches, font, or doors; scarcely any but had windows broken and the empty mullions filled with boards, mortar, or rough stone. In more than half the communion table was said to be unfit; in twelve places there was no carpet to cover it; in fifteen the carpet was torn, patched, or made of such unsuitable material as coarse black buckram. The frequent description of the linen cloth as old, coarse, patched, or torn, and the fact that as many as twenty-seven churches had no flagon even of pewter for the altar wine, suggests small reverence for the most sacred mysteries of religion. The almost universal absence of the Homilies and the works of Jewel and Erasmus might be less matter of regret, if it did not argue a disregard for the authority which prescribed the purchase of these volumes; and the state of the Bibles and Prayer Books, which are noted as torn and defective in many places, was entirely in harmony with the condition of the churches in general.

There was another visitation in 1619: the report of it shows that the effects of the earlier admonitions had been but slender. In ten churches some few repairs had been carried out, but in the rest there was practically nothing done. Flagons had been bought in some places; but (as at Hambleton, North Luffenham, Great Casterton, Tickencote, and Tinwell) they were but pewter pots, ‘after the fashion of an alehouse quart.’⁵⁵

It would not be fair to lay all this neglect, as some have done, to the charge of Puritan influences. There can be little doubt that the standard of Church life was deplorably low in this county, amongst both clergy and laity: and it is small wonder that alien principles, both Puritan and Roman, found easy acceptance.

It might be expected that Puritanism would be fairly strong in a county so closely connected with Northamptonshire. In 1640 the vicar of Ketton wrote to Archbishop Laud, complaining of certain parishioners

⁵⁵ The report of 1619 is from the same source as that of 1605.

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who would not come up to the rails for their communions ;⁵⁶ and about the same time Sir John Lambe drew attention to some ministers of Rutland who had been at a meeting at Kettering, where several of the clergy of Northamptonshire and Leicestershire had been organizing resistance to the oath imposed by the recent book of canons. The chief name in Rutland was one Mr. Whittaker of Stretton.⁵⁷

There had been trouble of this kind in certain parishes since the beginning of the century. Parishioners of Oakham, Edith Weston, Cottesmore, and Wardley wore their hats in church, refused to stand at the *Gloria Patri* and to bow at the Holy Name. In 1627 there were women at Clipsham and Stretton who snatched their children out of the priest's arms at baptism before they could be signed with the cross: the rectors of both parishes were unwilling conformists, and probably made little resistance. The vicar of Ryhall, who had been in trouble in 1589, was again accused in 1612 of not reading the services of the Church according to the book. The rector of Uppingham was accused more than once before 1631 of false doctrine and mutilation of the Prayer Book.⁵⁸ The rector of Teigh from 1604 to 1630 evaded the use of the surplice and the cross in baptism, omitted the Litany, and refused to bow the knee at the Holy Name, though he said he always bowed in spirit. There was an unauthorized Sunday fast and course of preaching at Little Casterton in 1628. The rector of Cottesmore gave a great deal of trouble to the authorities from 1616 to 1640, and so did his curates. He used the surplice as little as he could, and omitted large sections of the offices of Morning and Evening Prayer. His wife was a still stauncher nonconformist, sitting steadily through the Creed and *Gloria* at all times, and refusing to be churched.⁵⁹

There is another visitation report for the year 1640, but it is not quite so complete as the earlier ones. It gives, however, an account of twenty-seven churches or chapels which were still nearly all in great need of repair. At Tinwell it may be mentioned that the only defect was insufficient whitewash; and at Preston, not the church, but only the churchyard was in bad condition. The worst reports are those of Ashwell, Lyndon, Seaton, Stretton, and Oakham: the last-mentioned was as unsatisfactory as ever, having many seats out of repair, defects in windows, roof, doors, paving, and pulpit; there was not a complete Prayer Book in the church, both copies being defective; and a surplice had recently been sold as too old for use, and had not been replaced.

School was kept in the churches of Stretton and Langham, which would not be very conducive to cleanliness and order. There was no complaint made, however, about the position of the communion tables, except at Stretton, nor of the absence of rails; though in some places the railing was too wide, as at Exton, where 'a great dogge might kрееpe unto the table.' But the tables themselves were often 'insufficient,' whatever that may mean; and that which stood in Ayston Church was 'all over besmeared with birds' dounge very profanely.' It is not noted anywhere that the surplice was lacking; so that here again the fault is rather a general neglect than actual refusal of conformity.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ *Cal. of S.P. Dom.* 1640, p. 139.

⁵⁸ From notes taken by Rev. E. A. Irons from the archdeaconry records.

⁶⁰ This report is from the same source as the earlier ones.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* 638.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

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There were, however, other influences at work by this time in the county.⁶¹ There is evidence that Jeremy Taylor, during his brief sojourn at Uppingham, did his utmost to revive among his parishioners a real devotion to the liturgy and rites of the Church of England. He came into residence in March 1638;⁶² and one of his first works was to stir his people, under order from the bishop, to provide the due stipend for an organist 'for the promoting of the decency of God's worship.'⁶³ He had all the ornaments of the church renewed or replaced,⁶⁴ and then solemnly blessed by the bishop in Peterborough Cathedral, in May 1639. They were evidently of better and more costly material than was common at that time in parish churches: the altar cloth was of green silk damask, the cushions of velvet, the chalices and patens of silver gilt. But it is worthy of notice that there is nothing in his inventory that could offend the most sober of English churchmen.⁶⁵ If he had a crucifix on the altar of his private study, where he received those who came to him for spiritual direction,⁶⁶ there was nothing in his church that savoured of what the Puritans called 'innovation.' His practice as to the services of the church may be fairly inferred from the ideal he set before the clergy of his Irish diocese in later days: 'every minister is obliged publicly or privately to read the common prayers every day in the week, at morning and evening; and in great towns and populous places conveniently inhabited it must be read in churches, that the daily sacrifice of prayer and thanksgiving may never cease.'⁶⁷ Uppingham would certainly have been reckoned as a populous place in those days, so that we may believe that the morning and evening offices were regularly read in the church while Taylor remained at his post.

His neighbour, Lord Hatton, was his staunch friend and supporter at that time; and there is no doubt that there were some of the clergy round about who were quite as strong churchmen as himself. It has been already noted that the vicar of Ketton was one of those who tried to induce his parishioners

⁶¹ Some of the leaders of the Laudian revival were entertained at Burley House in this county while it was the residence of the Duke of Buckingham: Bishop Andrewes preached here twice before King James, in 1614 and 1616, on the anniversary of the conspiracy of the Gowries (Andrewes, *Works* [Anglo-Catholic Library], v). This conspiracy was so nearly a success that James kept an annual day of thanksgiving to commemorate his escape, on 5 Aug. It must have been during the earlier of these two visits that he left a horse-shoe as toll upon the door of Oakham Castle (Wright, *Hist. of Rut.* 104).

⁶² Bonney, *Life of Jeremy Taylor*, 12.

⁶³ A letter dated 29 March 1638 from the Bishop of Peterborough reminds the parishioners that they had already provided themselves with an organ, but had not set aside any funds to pay an organist. He considers that £12 a year would suffice for this purpose. The letter is among the parish records at Uppingham, and a copy of it was made by the courtesy of the rector for the purposes of this article.

⁶⁴ The inventory, which is also in the Uppingham parish records, is dated 10 May 1639, and headed: 'These things dedicated for the church of Uppingham by the right reverend father in God the Lord Bishop of Peterborough in the cathedral church.' This sounds as if everything on the list was new; but it is scarcely possible that so much could have been done in so short a time. Probably some of the ornaments were only renovated.

⁶⁵ The list is very similar to those which exist in the churchwardens' books of other parishes; but it may be worth while to give it at length, as it is the only one of this period which exists in Rutland, so far as is known to the present writer. It runs as follows: 'One chalice with a cover silver and gilt. Two Patens silver and gilt. Two pewter flaggons. One Diaper napkin for a corporall. One Bible. One Booke of Common Prayer. One Alter Cloth of greene silke Damaske. Two Alter Cloths of Diaper. One long Cushion of crimson velvit lin'd with Crimson serge, with four greate tassils of Crimson Silke. One short cushion of the same. One tippet of taffety sarcenit. One Surplice. Two Blacke hoods of searge lin'd with taffety sarcenit.' This inventory is printed in Bonney's *Life of Jeremy Taylor*, but is here given from a recently made copy.

⁶⁶ *Autobiography of Henry Newcome* (Chetham Soc.), ii, 312. Henry Newcome heard this from a fellow-student of his at St. John's College, whose mother was one of Dr. Taylor's penitents, and afterwards joined the Roman Church.

⁶⁷ From a charge to the clergy of the diocese of Down and Connor.

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to come up to the rails to receive the Holy Communion (such a stumbling-block to the Puritan laity) : and the indictment laid against John Allington of Wardley a little later as 'a strict observer of superstitious innovations,' such as bowing to the altar and at the Holy Name,⁶⁸ shows that he also belonged to the Laudian school.

Three at least of the Rutland clergy left their parishes and went to join the Royal forces at the outbreak of the Civil War in 1642 : these were Jeremy Taylor, John Allington, and John Webster of Ryhall.⁶⁹ They could scarcely hope for any consideration when the Parliamentary Committees began to sequester the benefices of 'delinquents.' Apart from these, Walker gives the names of ten others who suffered in different ways for their loyalty. Taken all together, nine actual sequestrations can be proved ; four others rest on the authority of Walker alone.⁷⁰

In 1647 a 'dangerous seditious preacher,' Samuel Oates, troubled the peace of this county, and more than one petition was sent up to Parliament from divers ministers of Rutland to obtain his removal. He was delivered to the High Sheriff on a charge of Arminianism, Anabaptism, blasphemy, and other crimes of like nature ; but his ultimate fate is unknown.⁷¹ The occupation of Burley House by the Parliamentary forces probably brought to the county troubles of a more serious nature : one church at least, that of South Luffenham, was defaced by the troops after the capture of the family mansion of the Noels.⁷² In a few places, as at Morcott, Barrowden, and Wardley, the new incumbents had some difficulty in getting in their tithes.⁷³ John Allington of Wardley recovered his old benefice on the resignation of his intruded successor,⁷⁴ and remained in possession until at the quarter sessions of 1655 he was accused of gathering people together for the performance of services in a form forbidden by Parliament, and also of 'cringing, bowing, and kneeling to the altar and sacrament, and saying he would be torn in pieces by wild beasts, before he would give over bowing at the name of Jesus.'⁷⁵

The Parliamentary Survey of Livings in 1650 gives a few items of interest for this county. Most of the benefices were held by resident ministers of one

⁶⁸ Add. MSS. 15670, fol. 80 d.

⁶⁹ Jeremy Taylor's name disappears from the parish registers in 1642 : his sequestration was not till May 1644. Heber, *Life of Jeremy Taylor* (prefixed to his works), xxiv, note. John Allington, at the time of his sequestration, 5 May 1646, was accused of having 'wholly deserted his cure two years together.' Add. MSS. 15670 fol. 80 d. John Webster, sequestered 13 June 1646, had 'deserted his cure for three years and adhered to and assisted the forces raised against Parliament.' Ibid. fol. 107.

⁷⁰ The sequestration of the incumbents of Glaston, Morcott, Barrowden, and Ashwell can be proved from Add. MSS. 15669-70 (Minute-books of the Committee of Plundered Ministers), or from *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* vii, App. 101, 107. That of the vicar of Oakham is witnessed by Calamy. A sequestration from Great Casterton is noted in Add. MSS. 15670, fol. 98 d. Three are accounted for in the last note. Besides these Walker gives the name of the rector of Teigh, on the strength of his epitaph quoted by Wright, and the rectors of Market Overton and Stretton. The rector of Teigh may be considered doubtful. Flower Green is the name given by Walker to the rector of Market Overton ; he was presented to that benefice by Parliament in 1648, and remained in possession till 1679, when he was succeeded by John Greene. (For these particulars we are indebted to Mr. Crowther-Beynon.) Shaw, *Hist. of the Engl. Church under the Commonwealth*, ii, 363 ; and Lamb. Lib. Parl. Surv. vii, fol. 333. The case of the rector of Lyndon, presented in 1648, but never instituted till 1660, cannot be fairly included among sequestrations.

⁷¹ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* v, App. 397 ; vi, App. 215.

⁷² Wright, *Hist. of Rut.* 30, 78.

⁷³ Add. MSS. 15670, fol. 98 d. ; *ibid.* 15671, fol. 34, 130 d.

⁷⁴ Lamb. Lib. Parl. Surv. vii, fol. 334.

⁷⁵ Walker, *Sufferings of the Clergy*, 184. The exact date, with names of witnesses, &c., is given, so that Walker is evidently following a genuine record ; but he is in error in thinking that Allington's sequestration did not take effect in 1646. Add. MSS. 15670, fol. 80 d. not only shows the sentence of sequestration, but is followed by other entries which described the appointment of a successor to Allington, and the assignment of a fifth to his wife (which had not been paid a year later, after several orders from the Committee). The Parliamentary Survey just quoted gives the connecting link between the earlier and later sequestrations.

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type or another : only Ryhall, Clipsham, and the chapel of Belton were quite uncared for. Horn and Martinsthorpe were sinecures, without church or congregation ; Pickworth had neither minister nor church ; the chapel of Essendine, which had once been served from Ryhall, had no curate but 'such as they hire.' The commissioners who drew up the report imply that the poorer clergy had suffered a good deal of inconvenience from the necessity of proving their titles to the satisfaction of Parliament ; they had been compelled to travel up to London to obtain licences for gathering in their tithes and rent, 'to the wasting of their small portions and the neglect of their cures' : this was 'humbly presented as a grievance to be redressed.'⁷⁶

Such disconnected facts as these are all we have to show the course of events in this county during the period of the Civil War. Some efforts were made here as elsewhere to provide better stipends for the clergy in the poorer parishes. In 1658 the inhabitants of Oakham complained that theirs was the largest congregation in the county, 'a great door of hope,' and yet their spiritual needs were not at all adequately provided for. In answer to their petition £90 was set apart for the maintenance of their vicar, from the sequestered estates of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster.⁷⁷

Augmentations were also granted to the chaplains of Eggleton, Brooke, and Caldecott, and the vicar of Ketton.⁷⁸

In 1660 three or four of the ejected clergy petitioned for restoration,⁷⁹ but Jeremy Taylor was not among them : he does not seem to have returned to Uppingham after 1642. Another celebrated Royalist, Peter Gunning, became rector of Cottesmore, and held it for nine years till he was made Bishop of Chichester :⁸⁰ but as he held other benefices at the same time, he probably knew little of this county. Calamy gives the names of four ministers who were unable to accept the discipline of the Church in 1662, and resigned their livings in consequence :⁸¹ but of these two were only curates of parochial chapels, and another, Thomas Perkins of Burley, was displaced before 11 December 1660, and never had to stand the test.⁸² Gabriel Major, rector of Preston, was therefore the only minister who really lost his benefice under the 'Bartholomew Act.'

Under the Declaration of Indulgence of 1672 eleven licences were granted in this county for religious meetings not connected with the Established Church : three of them were Congregational, and the rest Presbyterian.⁸³ The Quakers did not make themselves conspicuous here either by their actions or their sufferings.⁸⁴

A visitation of 1681⁸⁵ shows that the church fabrics had fared on the whole no better during the Interregnum than in the preceding period. Orders to whitewash, clear away rubbish, repair defects in seats, walls and windows,

⁷⁶ Lamb. Lib. Parl. Surv. vii.

⁷⁷ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1658-9, p. 46.

⁷⁸ Lamb. Lib. Parl. Augment. vol. 994, fol. 122.

⁷⁹ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* vii, App. 101, 107.

⁸⁰ Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* iv, 142.

⁸¹ Calamy, *Nonconformists' Mem.* iii, 133-8. Benjamin King of Oakham merely resigned to the lawful incumbent.

⁸² His name is found in the Parliamentary Survey of 1650, but it is probable that his title was very doubtful. The Rev. E. A. Irons notes that his successor was instituted 11 December 1660 ; and also that the church was in Burley Park. The influence of the Duke of Buckingham was not likely to be used to obtain the institution or confirmation of any Parliamentary nominee.

⁸³ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1672-3 Pref. p. lv.

⁸⁴ Besse's *Sufferings* have been searched in vain.

⁸⁵ This visitation is also described in notes taken by the Rev. E. A. Irons from the Episcopal Registers.

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were given in every church of the deanery, and in varying terms, showing that each had its special needs, and that the instructions were not a mere formality. This report is of interest also as describing the minimum of requirement during the Restoration period. The whitewashed walls were to be decorated with the Creed and Commandments, the royal arms and a table of the prohibited degrees of marriage. The altar was to be provided with a carpet of fine cloth (green or purple being the colour desired) of a quality which should not cost less than 14s. a yard ; there was also to be a cloth of fine linen for use at the administration of the sacrament, and a linen napkin to cover the elements. The font was to have a cover worked by a pulley ; the pulpit must have a seemly cushion ; and every church was to possess not only a Bible and Prayer Book, but the works of Jewel, the Paraphrases of Erasmus, and the Homilies.

The scanty records of the 18th century are singularly devoid of interest. In 1738 the rectory of Pickworth was finally united to that of Great Caster-ton, on the ground that both together were scarcely more than sufficient to support a priest, and that the church of Pickworth had been many ages demolished.⁸⁶ On the other hand, at the end of the century the church of Tickencote was rebuilt or rather restored by Dame Elizabeth Wingfield ;⁸⁷ and doubtless gifts of plate were as numerous here as in other parts of England.

If no churches have been built in recent years,⁸⁸ that is chiefly because there has been no pressing need for them : Rutland does not lie within any of the great centres of activity in the Midlands. But a great deal has been done in the way of restoration and repair, and there is not a single church in the county which has not in this way felt the effects of what is popularly known as the Oxford Movement.⁸⁹ In regard to Church services, though it would not be reasonable to apply the same standard of requirement as in more stirring centres of life, the official record of last year is a fair one for a small archdeaconry which only expects the attendance of about 10,000 people in all its churches put together. In more than half its parishes there is a celebration of the Holy Eucharist at least once a fortnight, and in fifteen places the offices of mattins and evensong are daily recited.⁹⁰ This is certainly a real advance on the custom of small country parishes fifty years ago.

⁸⁶ Blore, *Hist. of Rut.* 190. In 1641 the rector complained that his church was in ruins all but the steeple and part of the chancel, and that the people were unwilling to do their part in the rebuilding, though he was quite ready to do the rector's part. *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* iv, App. 110. Blore says the union of 1738 was effected without any reference to the then rector, and complains of the injustice of the proceeding ; but we cannot help asking where the rector was, if such a change was carried out without his knowledge.

⁸⁷ Blore, *Hist. of Rut.* 73.

⁸⁸ The church of Pickworth was rebuilt in 1823. North, *Church Bells of Rut.*

⁸⁹ All three rural deans of this archdeaconry report that their churches are in good order, and that every one has undergone some restoration or new furnishing during the last fifty years.

⁹⁰ From the Statistical Returns of Parochial Work, issued yearly since 1888 by the S.P.C.K. The same returns show the church accommodation for the whole county to be only a little beyond 10,000 sittings.

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APPENDIX

ECCLESIASTICAL DIVISIONS

The county of Rutland from the 13th century until 1876 was a single rural deanery within the archdeaconry of Northampton. The Dean of Rutland, called also 'decanus patrie,' is found in 1263 claiming criminous clerks on behalf of the Bishop of Lincoln;¹ and he appears again, under the title of 'Dean of the Christianity of Oakham,' in 1285.²

In 1291 it included forty-four parishes.³ This number remained unchanged in 1534;⁴ seven years later the whole archdeaconry passed to the diocese of Peterborough.⁵

In 1851 the first *Clergy List* gives forty-one parishes; Ketton, Liddington, and Empingham were still prebendal churches, and are therefore left out; and Pickworth had been united with Great Casterton. Horn⁶ and Martinsthorpe, though they had long been sinecures, were still reckoned as separate parishes.

In 1867 the deanery was divided into four portions, the first containing eleven parishes, the second ten, the third ten, and the fourth twelve. Empingham, Ketton, and Liddington were now included in the lists, having in the meantime ceased to be peculiars. The next important change was on 29 June 1875, when the county was united with part of Northamptonshire to form the archdeaconry of Oakham,⁷ and divided into three deaneries. The first deanery now included fourteen parishes, the second thirteen, and the third fifteen. This arrangement still continues; the only important recent changes being the union of Martinsthorpe with Manton in 1886, and the erection of Braunston into a separate parish in the same year.

¹ Assize R. 721, m. 9 d.

² Ibid. 722, m. 11.

³ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.).

⁴ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.).

⁵ *Dioc. Hist. of Linc.* (S.P.C.K.), 243.

⁶ Horn ceased to be a separate parish in 1870, upon the death of Leland Noel, instituted in 1832: *ex inf.* V. B. Crowther-Beynon. For all details which follow, see *Clergy Lists*.

⁷ *Lond. Gaz.* Of the 138 parishes in Oakham archdeaconry 96 are in Northamptonshire.

ECCLESIASTICAL MAP of

RUTLAND

showing the RELIGIOUS HOUSES



Reference.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES.

AUSTIN CANONS.

1. Brooke Priory.

HOSPITALS.

2. Toilethorpe.
3. Great Casterton, St. Margaret.
4. Oakham, St. John the Evangelist and St. Anne.

COLLEGE.

5. Manton, Blessed Mary.

ALIEN CELL.

6. Edith Weston Priory.

THE RELIGIOUS HOUSES OF RUTLAND

The religious houses of Rutland were few and of small importance. There was indeed no independent monastery built in this county after the Conquest : the small priory of Brooke, for Austin canons, being only a cell to the priory of Kenilworth. The Benedictine monks of St. Georges de Boscherville had a cell at Edith Weston from the 12th century till the end of the 14th. Only three hospitals, at Tolethorpe, Great Casterton, and Oakham, can be traced, though there are doubtless others of which no record remains. A college at Manton, founded by Sir William Wade in 1356, completes the number of religious foundations, the short-lived college at Tolethorpe being treated as a refoundation of the hospital.

The manors of Manton and Tixover were given by King Henry I to the abbey of Cluny about 1130 ; but they were always held directly by the abbot, and leased by him to seculars until the time of their confiscation by Henry V in 1414.¹ No priory was ever built in connexion with either of them.

HOUSE OF AUSTIN CANONS

I. THE PRIORY OF BROOKE

The lands which formed the first endowment of the priory of St. Mary at Brooke were granted to the prior and canons of Kenilworth early in the 12th century, probably during the reign of Stephen and before 1153, by Hugh de Ferrars, then lord of the manor of Oakham.^{1a} His grant was confirmed by his brother William and his nephew Walkelin : and the latter, who was

¹ The history of these manors may be clearly traced through Sir George Duckett's *Charters and Records of Cluni*. With the manors of Letcombe Regis, Berks., and Offord Cluney, Hunts., they were reckoned as *de mensa abbatis Cluniacensis*, after the priories of the order in England. Richard II issued letters patent to the abbot's tenant in 1397 to hold them in the same way that they had hitherto been held ; but in 1401 they were seized by Henry IV, with other property of aliens, and never restored. Negotiations and letters passed for several years between the abbot and the king, in the hope that a sale might be effected : but no terms could be arranged agreeable to both parties, and the manors were finally confiscated in 1414. The Cluny records are supported by *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 49, which states that the manors were the gift of Henry I to Cluny, and were held in 1276 by Humbert de Montferaud from the abbot.

afterwards lord of Oakham, has in consequence sometimes been called the founder.²

It was a small priory from the first—*Cellula de Broke* it is often called in the Episcopal Registers—and only intended to support three canons. The priors were instituted by the Bishops of Lincoln, who had the right to visit the house. Its history during the 13th and 14th centuries is not very edifying. Priors were sent quite regularly from Kenilworth, but the poverty of the house made them wishful to resign on very small excuse ; and the continual change of management did not tend to improve matters. Bishop Wells held a

^{1a} Harl. MS. 3650 (Chartul. of Kenilworth) fol. 17 d. 75. The gift of Hugh de Ferrars is also referred to in Pat. 17 Edw. IV, pt. ii, m. 17. The date of the original grant must certainly be earlier than 1167, when, according to the Pipe Roll of that year, Walkelin de Ferrars had already succeeded his uncle as lord of Oakham. But it is probably earlier than 1153, for the name of ' . . . de Novoburgo ' is joined to that of Walkelin in the confirmation charter. The reference can scarcely be to anyone else than Roger de Newburgh, who died 1153. He had been lord of Oakham under Hen. I. (See Wright, *Hist. of Rut.* 95, and *Dict. Nat. Biog.*).

² Dugdale, *Mon.* vi (i), 233.

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visitation in the last year of his episcopate; but the results of his inquiries are not recorded.³ Bishop Sutton in 1298 wrote an urgent letter to the prior of Kenilworth, begging him to take some measures to secure better order. The prior of the cell was constantly absent, the house was so dilapidated and decayed that it was a scandal to the neighbourhood, and the revenues were so mismanaged that if something was not done soon the canons and their servants would have to beg their bread. The Prior of Kenilworth in answer assured the bishop that the picture was overdrawn, and asked him to wait at least till the next Michaelmas before taking any steps. The bishop was annoyed and would not promise; but he stayed his hand for a while all the same.⁴

The next year there was a fresh difficulty. Richard de Bremesgrave, the prior, had thought it sufficient to tender his resignation to his immediate superior at Kenilworth; but the bishop maintained that he alone could give the cure of souls to any man in his diocese, and that he alone could receive such resignation. Richard, safe home at Kenilworth, took no notice; and the bishop had to save his dignity by declaring him formally deposed for contumacy.⁵ A new prior was then sent, but in a year he too retired to Kenilworth, protesting that he was neither able nor willing—*nec valens nec volens*—to cope with the difficulties of the situation.⁶

Stephen of Ketton, who was prior a few years later, had troubles of quite another kind. He got into difficulties with his own superior, and appealed to the Archbishop of Canterbury. He was recalled, with the two canons who were his companions, to the mother house, and placed under restraint; but the others escaped after a while, and carried a woeful tale to the pope. They said that they with Stephen had taken refuge in the monastery of Torksey, by permission of the bishop; and that they had been dragged away from before the high altar and imprisoned with great harshness. The pope committed the case to the Bishop of Ely; and ordered that if the facts were as stated all three canons of Brooke should be placed in some other monastery of the order. The results of the inquiry have not yet come to light, and it is quite possible that the story may have been much exaggerated.⁷

From this time onwards we know practically nothing of the history of the house: but the list of priors is carefully preserved in the Episcopal Registers. The last prior, Roger Harwell, involved his superiors in a good deal of difficulty. He had tried to secure for himself a handsome retiring pension, more than the abbot felt able to give him. Consequently, when the royal commissioners arrived in 1535 to visit the house, he

represented it as an independent monastery,⁸ and surrendered it to them of his own accord, securing a pension of £10.^{8a} Unfortunately the abbot had a year before promised a lease of it to a friend of Cromwell, and had entered upon a bond of 1,000 marks as security that the agreement should take effect. He wrote earnestly to Cromwell to help him, either by getting his rights renewed at Brooke, or by procuring him a release from the bond.⁹ The answer is not recorded; but the abbot certainly did not get the priory back, for it was granted in the following September to Anthony Cope.¹⁰

The original endowment^{10a} seems to have included no more than the demesne land and assarts where the priory stood, with about 228 acres of wood. The *Taxatio* of 1291 showed the temporals of the prior in Rutland and Leicestershire to be worth £44 10s. 4½d.,¹¹ which certainly ought to have maintained three canons: the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* stated the revenue as £40 clear.¹² In 1535 the commissioners said that the income of the house was £46 18s. 9½d.; there were eleven servants, and eight persons holding corrodies. The only canon in the monastery was the prior: the buildings were 'for the most ruinous.' Movable goods were valued at £51 10s. 2d.; there were no serious debts.¹³

PRIORS OF BROOKE

Ralf,¹⁴ occurs 1180

Richard of Lichfield,¹⁵ presented 1230, died 1243

John of Wotton,¹⁶ presented 1243

Robert of Ledbury,¹⁷ presented 1251, resigned 1285

⁸ 'A head house for anything we hear to the contrary,' the commissioners said in their report. Dugdale, *Mon.* vi (1), 233. *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, x, 1191.

^{8a} Aug. Off. Misc. Bk. 232, fol. 17.

⁹ The abbot's letter, from Cott. MS. Cleop. E. IV, fol. 214, is printed in Wright, *Hist. of Rut.* 26. He speaks of 'the unjust and untrue behaviour of such my canon as I sent thither to have the governance and rule thereof; and for that he had not such profitable and commodious pension assigned and made sure unto him during his life as he and his council would and could devise and ask, hath intituled the king's highness . . . unto whole title and interest thereof.'

¹⁰ Ibid. 27.

^{10a} Two folios, relating to gifts in Belton and Martinthorpe, remain of a chartulary of this priory; Exch. Eccl. Docts. bdle. 2, no. 9.

¹¹ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.) 66, 67.

¹² *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 343.

¹³ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi (1), 233, from the original report of the commissioners for this county. The prior was said to be of good living by report: and until recently there had been two other canons with him:

¹⁴ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi (1), 233.

¹⁵ Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Wells.

¹⁶ Ibid. Rolls of Grosteste.

¹⁷ Ibid. Rolls of Gravesend.

³ Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Wells.

⁴ Ibid. Inst. Sutton, fol. 64.

⁵ Ibid. fol. 67.

⁶ Ibid. Inst. Dalderby, fol. 102.

⁷ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, ii, 77.

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Nicholas of Breedon,¹⁸ presented 1285, resigned 1294
 Richard de Bremesgrave,¹⁹ presented 1294, resigned 1299
 Richard of Ketton,²⁰ presented 1299, resigned 1300
 John de Flore,²¹ presented 1300, resigned 1302
 Stephen of Ketton,²² presented 1302
 Richard of Ketton,²³ presented 1305
 Robert of Pershore,²⁴ presented 1310
 Henry Waleys,²⁵ presented 1346
 Richard of Oxenden,²⁶ presented 1362, resigned 1366
 Ralf of Towcester,²⁷ presented 1366, resigned 1375
 Thomas de Farcote,²⁸ presented 1375
 Robert of Leicester,²⁹ presented 1379, resigned 1385
 Thomas Kidderminster,³⁰ presented 1385, resigned 1388

James of Coleshill,³¹ presented 1388
 Thomas Campden,³² presented 1400
 Richard Charlton,³³ presented 1400, died 1403
 John Wyche,³⁴ presented 1403, resigned 1407
 John Strech,³⁵ presented 1407, resigned 1425
 William Shrewsbury,³⁶ presented 1425
 Thomas Blakewell,³⁷ resigned 1433
 Thomas Layton,³⁸ presented 1433, died 1453
 Thomas Brayles,³⁹ presented 1453, resigned 1459
 Richard Marston,⁴⁰ presented 1459, died 1487
 William Unwyn,⁴¹ presented 1487, resigned 1519
 John Penketh,⁴² presented 1519, resigned 1525
 Richard Rogers,⁴³ presented 1525, resigned 1531
 Robert Orwell,⁴⁴ presented 1531, died 1534
 Roger Harwell,⁴⁵ last prior, presented 1534

HOSPITALS

2. THE HOSPITAL OF TOLETHORPE

A hospital was founded at Tolethorpe in 1301 by John de Tolethorpe for the maintenance of seven poor men, with a chaplain as warden.¹ It seems, however, that the original purpose of the foundation was not long observed, as in 1359 Sir William de Burton rebuilt the ancient chapel at Tolethorpe and obtained papal authority to found therein a college of a master and six chaplains, for whom the bishops of Lincoln, London, and Rochester were to draw up ordinances.^{1a} At the same time indulgences were granted to those visiting the chapel on the feasts of the Blessed Virgin or St. Anne, further indulgences being granted the following year.^{1b} By the foundation the master and chaplains were to support the chapel out of the offerings made there, but in 1362 the founder sought the royal licence to appropriate to its support the advowson of the parish church of Little Casterton.² Either the college was not after all endowed, or the endowment proved insufficient, for it seems speedily to have come to an end, surviving only

as a chantry, for which the parish priest of Little Casterton was apparently obliged to provide a chaplain to serve the chapel three times a week: in 1410 he was exonerated from this duty by Thomas Burton,³ and it is probable that the chapel was not regularly maintained at all after this date. It is mentioned as appendant to the manor of Tolethorpe as late as 1496, when there was still a messuage called the College House, and a close called the Chapel Close:⁴ but the chapel itself was probably in ruins by that time.

Richard is entered as master in 1379, with John as his assistant chaplain,^{4a} but no other names of incumbents of either the hospital or college are known.

³¹ Ibid. fol. 146.

³² Ibid. Inst. Beaufort, fol. 100 d.

³³ Ibid. fol. 102 d.

³⁴ Ibid. fol. 121.

³⁵ Ibid. Inst. Repingdon, fol. 228.

³⁶ Ibid. Inst. Fleming, fol. 72.

³⁷ Ibid. Inst. Gray, fol. 27 d.

³⁸ Ibid. ³⁹ Ibid. Inst. Chadworth, fol. 51 d.

⁴⁰ Ibid. fol. 62.

⁴¹ Ibid. Inst. Russell, fol. 60 d.

⁴² Ibid. Inst. Atwater, fol. 22 d.

⁴³ Ibid. Inst. Longland, fol. 96.

⁴⁴ Ibid. fol. 113.

⁴⁵ Ibid. fol. 115 d.

¹ Blore, *Hist. of Rut.* 92; from a deed which was in the possession of the Vicar of Little Casterton in 1811.

^{1a} *Cal. Papal Pet.* 340.

^{1b} Ibid. 353, 360.

² Inq. a.g.d. file 341, no. 8.

³ Blore, *Hist. of Rut.* 216. Several deeds mentioning the advowson of the chapel are printed in full by Blore.

⁴ Ibid. 218.

^{4a} Cler. Subs. bdle. 35, no. 7; *ex inf.* Mr. V. B. Crowther-Beynon.

¹⁸ Linc. Epis. Reg. Rolls of Sutton.

¹⁹ Ibid. Inst. Sutton, fol. 56 d.

²⁰ Ibid. fol. 67. Geoffrey of Whitwell was first presented, but the bishop instituted Richard of Ketton finally.

²¹ Ibid. Inst. Dalderby, fol. 102.

²² Ibid. fol. 104.

²³ Ibid. fol. 108 d.

²⁴ Ibid. fol. 119 d.

²⁵ Ibid. Inst. Bek, fol. 76 d.

²⁶ Ibid. Inst. Gynwell, fol. 142.

²⁷ Ibid. Inst. Buckingham, i, fol. 164.

²⁸ Ibid. fol. 202.

²⁹ Ibid. fol. 214.

³⁰ Ibid. ii, fol. 133.

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3. HOSPITAL OF ST. MARGARET, GREAT CASTERTON

There was a hospital for lepers at Great Casterton in 1311, when Bishop Dalderby granted an indulgence to those who should assist its inmates.⁵ Licence to beg was granted for two years to the proctors of the infirm brethren of this house in 1328.^{6a} Nothing further is known of its history.

4. HOSPITAL OF ST. JOHN EVANGELIST AND ST. ANNE AT OAKHAM

The hospital of St. John Evangelist and St. Anne was founded in 1398 by William Dalby, merchant of the staple of Calais. It was intended to support twelve poor men, under the charge of two chaplains, one to be warden and perpetual, the other being removable. The advowson of the hospital was to be in the hands of the prior and convent of St. Anne's, Coventry.⁶ William Dalby granted an estate worth £40 a year for the foundation, and a little later paid 577 marks to the prior and convent of St. Anne's to increase the endowment;⁷ but in 1534 the yearly value of the hospital was only £12 12s. 11d.⁸ The reason for the diminution of its income cannot easily be traced, as so little is known of the early history of the hospital. In 1419 Roger Flore, son-in-law of the founder, granted a messuage, a toft, and 70 acres of land and meadow for the sustentation of the chaplain and poor men, who were still twelve in number;⁹ and two years later the statutes were revised and corrected, and provision was made that if the patrons did not appoint a warden or fill vacancies in the house, the presentation should devolve upon the vicar

of Oakham.¹⁰ An indenture was made between the warden and patron and the prior of St. Anne's with regard to rent from the manor of Edith Weston, in 1436.¹¹ After this we have no further record of the fortunes of the house until 1534, when, as we have already noticed, its revenues were much diminished.

The hospital is not mentioned in the Chantry Certificate of 1548, but it was certainly in existence. The name of a warden who lived in 1570 was long preserved;¹² and permission was granted by the queen in 1592 for some increase to be made to its income.¹³ The same Robert Johnson, Archdeacon of Leicester, who founded the New Hospital at Oakham, re-founded and endowed the old hospital of William Dalby: and in 1669 it still maintained six poor people, with a warden who was also rector of Ridlington.¹⁴ In Bishop Tanner's day it was in existence, but 'much decayed, impoverished, and departed from its original purpose.' The old bede-houses have now entirely disappeared; but the chapel of the hospital is still in use, being served by the clergy of the parish church.¹⁵

WARDENS OF OAKHAM¹⁶

Simon Thorp, occurs 1404,¹⁷ 1405¹⁸
William Baxter, occurs 1423,¹⁹ 1436²⁰
Robert Watkinson, occurs 1546,²¹ 1554²²
Robert Thorpe, occurs 1570²³
Richard Birkett, occurs 1581,²⁴ 1597²⁵
Robert Farington, occurs 1607²⁶
James Watts, occurs 1665²⁷
John Love, appointed 1685²⁸
John Warburton, appointed 1702
Samuel Adcock, appointed 1736
— Ball, appointed 1752

Oakham and the neighbourhood. (From information kindly supplied by the present vicar of Oakham.)

¹⁶ For these names we are indebted to Mr. V. B. Crowther-Beynon.

¹⁷ Pat. 6 Hen. IV, pt. 1, m. 19.

¹⁸ Will of William Dalby; Lincoln, 'Repyndon.'

6. The will also mentions Thomas Heremyte and John Godewyn, two of the twelve poor people.

¹⁹ Early Chanc. Proc. vii, 108.

²⁰ Indenture preserved at Oakham.

²¹ Rec. of Archdn. Northampton.

²² Lease preserved at Oakham.

²³ Epis. Visitation, Peterborough.

²⁴ Proc. Ct. of Req., Eliz. bdle. 32, no. 7.

²⁵ Pat. 39 Eliz. ²⁶ Lease preserved at Oakham.

²⁷ Lambeth MS. 951, fol. 21.

²⁸ The last four names are from the Hospital Minute Book.

⁵ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. Dalderby, fol. 201 d.

^{6a} Cal. Pat. 1327-30, p. 257.

⁶ Wright, *Hist. of Rut.* 103.

⁷ Pat. 6 Hen. IV, pt. i, m. 19.

⁸ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 343.

⁹ Inq. a.q.d. 5 Hen. V, no. 18.

¹⁰ Wright, *Hist. of Rut.* 102; from a deed which was then in possession of the vicar of Oakham. The original has now disappeared, but there is no reason to doubt that Wright described it correctly.

¹¹ MS. at Oakham.

¹² Wright, *Hist. of Rut.* 102, from an inscription in one of the chapel windows.

¹³ Cal. S.P. Dom. 1595-7, p. 398; Pat. 39 Eliz.

¹⁴ Lambeth Lib. Tenison MS. 639, fol. 428 d.

¹⁵ The charity survives in the form of an annual sum of £14 given to each of twenty poor people in

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

COLLEGE

5. THE COLLEGE OF BLESSED MARY AT MANTON

The college of Manton was founded in connexion with the altar of Blessed Mary within the parish church, by Sir William Wade and others, in the year 1356.¹ The founder had represented the shire in Parliament from 1342 to 1352, and was afterwards buried at Manton.² His college was designed for three chaplains, of whom one was to be warden, and their main duty was to sustain the divine office in the church. Every day they were to sing three masses: the first a requiem for the founder and all Christian souls; the second, at the celebrant's discretion, was to be a mass of the Holy Trinity, the Holy Spirit, the Holy Cross, Blessed Mary, or St. Thomas of Canterbury; the third was to be of the season.³ The advowson of the parish church was afterwards, in 1383, granted to the warden and chaplains by John Wade the rector, who was the founder's brother.⁴

The records of the college are very meagre, but it seems to have been fairly well maintained.

William Villiers, who was made warden in 1491,⁵ and his successor, Robert Newton, were remembered as faithful to their office, and for their good deeds in repairing and beautifying the church.⁶ In their time and afterwards there was but one chaplain besides the warden.

In 1534 the revenues of the college were stated to amount to £13 8s. 8d. clear, apart from the parish church.⁷ In 1548 the warden was said to be of honest conversation and repute, aged seventy-eight years, and no longer able to serve a cure: he was also vicar of 'Aynsford'^{7a} Oxfordshire. His colleague, William Smith, served the church of Manton: their stipends were respectively £13 10s. 6d. and £9 8s. The Chantry Commissioners pleaded that a vicar was very necessary, as the rectory was appropriated to the chantry, and there were 100 houseling people in the parish: but their recommendations do not seem to have had much effect.⁸ The college was dissolved, and its revenues were granted to Gregory Lord Cromwell:⁹ the ornaments of the church, valued at £27 3s. 4d., went into the royal treasury.¹⁰

ALIEN CELL

6. THE PRIORY OF EDITH WESTON

The abbey of St. Georges de Boscherville for Benedictine monks was founded by Ralf de Tanquerville, chamberlain to the Conqueror, about the year 1050:¹ and the manor and church of Edith Weston were added to its endowments by the founder's son William as early as 1114.² The grant was confirmed by Henry I and Henry II, with other lands and privileges in the forest of Rutland;³ but the date of the actual building of the priory cannot be exactly fixed. A prior of Edith Weston is first mentioned in the Hundred Roll of 1276,⁴ when complaint was made of the aggressive behaviour of the king's escheator at some time during the late reign.

¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Gynwell, fol. 163.

² Wright, *Hist. of Rut.* 85.

³ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Gynwell, fol. 163. On great feasts such as Christmas and Easter all the masses might be of the season.

⁴ Pat. 6 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 9.

⁵ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Rotherham, fol. 75.

⁶ Wright, *Hist. of Rut.* 86. A brass plate to their memory was erected in the church.

⁷ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 343. John Gorle was warden at this time and also in 1548.

^{7a} Probably an error for Eynsham.

⁸ P.R.O. Chant. Cert. 39, no. 2.

It is probable that there were never more than two or three monks at Edith Weston, whose chief business was to collect the rents and remember the souls of the founder and other benefactors. In the 14th century the lands of the priory were frequently in the king's hand, on account of the wars with France.⁵ Just before 1357 there was but one monk in charge, and his conduct went far to justify the charges often made against alien cells. It was complained that he had laid aside the habit of religion and the tonsure, had neglected to say mass and the divine office, and had consumed the substance of the house in luxurious living. He had kept women in the priory, and maintained his illegitimate children from its revenues; he had cut down the trees and destroyed cottages, and driven out villeins from their homes with blows and other ill-usage.⁶

⁹ Wright, *Hist. of Rut.* 86.

¹⁰ P.R.O. Chant. Cert. 39, no. 2.

¹ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi (2), 1066.

² Round, *Cal. of Doc. France*, 66.

³ Ibid. 66, 69; Dugdale, *Mon.* vi (2), 1066.

⁴ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.) ii, 50. In a case of disseisin dated 1220 the abbot of St. Georges appeared on behalf of his lands in Rutland; no prior is mentioned. Maitland, *Bracton's Note Bk.* i, 72.

⁵ See the Patent Rolls of Edw. II and Edw. III.

⁶ Misc. Chan. Inq. file 172.

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There was still a prior in residence in 1361, when he presented a clerk to the parish church.⁷ But before 1394 the abbot of St. Georges obtained permission to sell his rights in the manor to the Carthusians of St. Anne's, Coventry : and when the alien priors gathered before the king in 1403 to ask leave to retain their lands, no prior of Edith Weston appeared among them.⁸ From this time forward the church and manor belonged to St. Anne's.

⁷ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Buckingham, i, fol. 158 d.

⁸ Pat. 1 Edw. IV, pt. vi, m. 29-27 (Inspeximus of 14 Ric. II). See *Acts of the P.C.* (Old Ser.), i, 192-4.

The priors of this cell were not instituted by the Bishops of Lincoln, and very few of their names can be recovered. Robert de Cunebaud was the name of the prior who was so unworthy of his office : another Robert is mentioned in the Episcopal Register in connexion with the year 1361,⁹ and John occurs as prior in 1379.^{9a}

The value of the priory lands was said to be £26 19s. 11d. in 1325 :¹⁰ in 1387 it was given as £38 7s. 5d.¹¹

⁹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Buckingham, i, fol. 158 d.

^{9a} Cler. Subs. bdle. 35, no. 7.

¹⁰ Add. MSS. 6164, fol. 125.

¹¹ Ibid. fol. 499.

POLITICAL HISTORY¹

PART I—To 1625

RUTLAND, the smallest county of England, has played no conspicuous part in the political history of the country. Indeed, the chief point of interest in its early history is the question how it became a county at all. There is an element of paradox in its position. In a sense it has a greater individuality than the other midland counties, for alone among them it has a distinct name of its own, all the others having been named from the towns which became the county capitals.^{1a} The name may be compared with those of Aveland Hundred in Lincolnshire and Framland Hundred in Leicestershire, and the larger districts of Holland and Cleveland; but no one of these districts became a county, and among the names of the existing counties the only parallels to Rutland are found in the three most northerly counties of England. The original 'Roteland' was even smaller than the modern county, comprising only the two wapentakes of Alstoe and Martinsley (the latter then including the district which later became the hundred of Oakham Soke),² while the modern East Hundred and Wrangdike Hundred formed the hundred of 'Wiceslei' in Northamptonshire. This small district might have been expected to retain its name in popular and perhaps in legal use as a division of one of the surrounding counties of Lincoln, Leicester, and Northampton, but not to become a separate county. What special cause brought about its separate status is a question which has not yet been completely solved.

In early times the district had no individuality. The Roman occupation has already been dealt with.³ In the earlier period of the Anglo-Saxon settlement it appears to have formed part of the territory of the Middle Angles. Their chief settlement was about Leicester, but they appear to have extended to the south-east as far as Oundle in Northamptonshire.⁴ In the

¹ This article was originally entrusted to Mr. C. J. B. Gaskoin, M.A., who found himself through the pressure of other engagements unable to do more than collect a considerable amount of material. This has been placed at the disposal of the present writers, who desire to acknowledge the share taken by Mr. Gaskoin in the work.

^{1a} The only other exception among the Mercian shires is Shropshire, whose name is cognate with rather than derived from that of Shrewsbury; Freeman, *Norm. Cong.* i, 49 n. No plausible suggestion has been made as to the meaning of 'Rote-', 'Rut-' land. The early guesses were merely fantastic, and the suggestion made in *Leics. and Rut. N. and Q.* ii, 73-6, that 'Rote' represents 'Ratae,' rests on the baseless supposition that the latter was a tribal name. The form 'Rutlandshire' is quite unhistorical. It frequently occurs, indeed, from the 16th century onwards, and has sometimes appeared in official use, but no inhabitant of the county would dream of using it.

² See the article on 'Domesday Survey,' p. 121.

³ See the article on 'Romano-British Rutland.'

⁴ *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), i, 97; Bede, *Ecc. Hist.* iv, 21; v, 19.

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course of the 7th century they were absorbed in the growing power of Mercia, and for the next 200 years they shared its vicissitudes. It may perhaps be inferred from the fewness of clan names, such as Uppingham and Empingham, that the population of the district was scanty,⁵ a suggestion supported by the prevalence of forest land. There is nothing to show when the Danes first appeared in the district,⁶ but the establishment of their rule in the 'Five Boroughs,' which was confirmed by the Treaty of Wedmore in 878, marked an epoch in its history. For one of the boroughs was Stamford, and the burghal district of which that town was the centre must have included part at least of the modern county. How far the actual settlement of the Danes extended it is impossible to say with certainty.⁷ The evidence of Domesday on this subject has been fully discussed in another article.

We look in vain for any mention of Rutland as a political unit in pre-Conquest times. According to Gaimar,⁸ Rockingham and Rutland, with Winchester, were given by Ethelred to Emma, his Norman queen, on his marriage in 1002. This was the beginning of that connexion of Rutland with the queens and the favourites of the kings of England which forms the main interest of its story. And it is at least a 'working hypothesis,' as has been suggested above in the article on Domesday, that to this connexion is due the existence of Rutland as a county. Most probably, on the reorganization of the Mercian shires after their reconquest from the Danes the whole of the district formed part of Northamptonshire, and it was the gift of Rutland to successive queens as a dower-land that gave it by degrees a separate existence. There is nothing to show whether Emma retained her dower-lands on her second marriage with Cnut, but most probably she did, as her relations with him were happier than those of her first marriage, and she is known to have accumulated great wealth, which was seized by her son Edward on his accession to the throne.⁹ Politically, Rutland under Cnut and Edward no doubt formed part of Northamptonshire, and shared the government of its successive earls.¹⁰ This is certainly true of the southern part, which in 1086 formed an integral part of Northamptonshire, and probably of the northern part, the 'Roteland' of that time, as Earl Waltheof was next to Queen Edith the most important pre-Conquest landholder.¹¹ Edward followed the example

⁵ *Leics. and Rut. N. and Q.* ii, 73-6.

⁶ Blore, *Hist. Rut.* 28, takes from Ingulf (*Gale, Scriptores*, i, 21) the story of a battle of Stamford in 870, in which the men of Rutland were engaged; for this imaginary battle see Round, *Feud. Engl.* 419. Butcher, *Surv. of Stamford*, 22, followed by Wright, *Hist. Rut.* 62, refers this to 1016, when the 'Baron of Essendine,' with the men of Stamford, beat back the Danes, while Blore identifies the Assandun of 1016 with Essendine. But all this is mere fancy.

⁷ Green, *Conq. of Engl.* (ed. 3), i, 136, says: 'The proportion they took for themselves is for the most part marked by the presence in it of their Danish names. "Byes" extend to the very borders of Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Rutland, and Northamptonshire.' But in fact there is not a single 'by' among the modern parish names of Rutland. The endings are as follows: -ton, 20; -ham, 8; -thorpe, 4; -well, 3; -cott, 3; -dine (-den), 3; -ley, 2; -brook, -field, -don, -more, and -worth, 1 each; besides Barrow, Brooke, Teigh, Tixover, and Wing.

⁸ *L'Estorie des Engles* (Rolls Ser.), 4140. He adds 'ke Elstruet aueit eu deuant.' 'Elstruet' is identified with Ethelred's mother Ælfthryth (the Elfrida of the Latin chroniclers); but in his account of Ælfthryth herself (*ibid.* 3601-4094) the poet makes no mention of her holding these possessions. It is, however, interesting to note that Ælfthryth died between 999 and 1002 (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*), and that it was in 1002 that her son gave Emma these lands.

⁹ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

¹⁰ For the history of the great earldoms of this period see Freeman, *Norm. Conq.* ii, App. G.

¹¹ See p. 133.

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of his father by granting Rutland to his queen, Edith. She owned in demesne the wapentake of Martinsley, and also the large manors of Ketton and Barrowden;¹² the village of Edith Weston still preserves in its name a memory of her ownership. The pious Confessor afterwards granted Rutland to Westminster Abbey,¹³ reserving a life-interest to the queen, but William the Conqueror refused to confirm this grant, and, probably on the death of Edith in 1075, took it into his own hands, granting to the abbey the churches alone.^{13a} For several centuries the barony of Oakham with the county or shrievalty of Rutland remained to the Crown as a valuable possession with which to endow members of the royal house or to secure or reward the services of its supporters.

While there is no evidence that William's conquest of the midlands involved any harm to Rutland, the district suffered considerably in the preceding year, 1065, when Edwin, on his march from Northumbria to claim the earldom of Northampton, passed through it with much devastation. The Chronicle says that Northamptonshire and the neighbouring shires 'were the worse for many winters,'¹⁴ and this is confirmed by the Northamptonshire Geld Roll, belonging to some time between 1066 and 1075, which records a 'waste' in the 'Wiceslei' Hundred amounting to 37 per cent. of the total value.¹⁵ The disposition of Rutland at the time of the Conquest and of the Domesday Survey is discussed elsewhere. The greater part of Rutland was, as has already been said, in the king's hands. Certain of his manors were farmed by Hugh de Porth, a great Hampshire landholder, and it was to him that the writs were addressed by which Rufus some years later granted to Westminster the churches and tithe of Rutland.¹⁶ But it does not follow from this that Hugh can be spoken of as sheriff of Rutland as a county. The two wapentakes of Rutland were in fact at the time of Domesday attached to Nottinghamshire for fiscal purposes, an arrangement probably dating from after the Conquest.¹⁷

The political history of Rutland in the reigns of William and his sons is almost a blank.¹⁸ In the rising of 1088 Hugh de Grentemaisnil ravaged Leicestershire and Northamptonshire,¹⁹ and Rutland can hardly have escaped. But there was no great landowner to involve it actually in the rising. In the reign of Henry I Oakham was held by Roger of Newburgh,²⁰ a cousin of the second Earl of Leicester. The Pipe Roll of 1130 throws some light on the changes which had taken place in Rutland since the time of Domesday. By that time the name had come to include all the district that

¹² See p. 133.

¹³ Dugdale, *Mon.* i, 299. The writ is addressed to the sheriff and thegns of Northamptonshire.

^{13a} Oakham is divided at the present day into two parts known as 'Lord's Hold' and 'Dean's Hold'; this division no doubt originated in the division of ownership between the king and the abbey.

¹⁴ *Angl.-Sax. Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 163.

¹⁵ See p. 125.

¹⁶ Cott. Chart. (B.M.), vi, 3; xvi, 2; printed in Dugdale, *Mon.* i, 301, 302.

¹⁷ See p. 126.

¹⁸ In a charter of Henry I granting Thorpe to Norwich Priory in 1101, there appears among the witnesses 'Robertus comes Rutland.' But the charter is of very doubtful genuineness; it is taken by Dugdale (*Mon.* iv, 16) from Reyner (*Discept. Hist. Benedict.* ii, 146), who gives no source for it. The expression 'comes Rutland' is odd, and the order of the witnesses suggests that 'Rutland' is an error for some French name; possibly Robert Count of Meulan (comes Mellent').

¹⁹ This appears to be the meaning of a difficult passage; *Angl.-Sax. Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 357.

²⁰ Henry I made him a grant of Sutton, Warwickshire, in exchange for Oakham and Langham; Dugdale, *Warws.* (1738), 909.

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formed the later county. Under the account of the Nottinghamshire Danegeld the sum of £3 12s., representing the assessment of the 36 carucates at which the old 'Roteland' was reckoned, was 'pardoned' as due from Rutland itself, and under Northamptonshire £8 was similarly treated, which apparently represents an assessment of the hundred of 'Wiceslei' at one-half of the 160 hides at which it was formerly reckoned; and the total of £11 12s. appears under the separate account of Rutland as due from William de Albini 'Brito'; £4 0s. 7d. being paid into the treasury, and £7 11s. 5d. written off as 'pardoned.' There is nothing to show how or when the hundred of 'Wiceslei' came to be attached to the original Rutland, but it is clear that another step had been taken in the formation of the county. William also rendered account of £37 13s. 9d. as the farm of Rutland.²¹ This is almost exactly one-fourth of the farm of £150 which was paid in the time of Domesday, and it is suggested above²² that the reduction was caused by an act of favour of the Crown similar to that which had already, as it seems, reduced the amount from £200 to £150. It may be, however, that this reduction was due to the granting of Oakham to Roger of Newburgh, so that the bulk of the dues, at any rate from the hundred of Martinsley, no longer went to the king.²³ And if this sum is the farm for the whole district now included in Rutland the reduction is still more striking. Among the tenants mentioned in the account are Robert de Montfort, who gave a palfrey and a hound for the rights which his father had possessed in Preston, Hugh de Morevill, and Henry de Ferrers.^{23a}

With the reign of Stephen darkness falls again on the history of Rutland, and there is no direct evidence to show how far the inhabitants suffered from the violence of the barons, whose ferocity is recorded in a well-known passage of the Chronicle.²⁴ Rutland lay on the edge of the 'nucleus of a kingdom, small but compact,' which according to Mr. Howlett²⁵ gave almost unbroken allegiance to Stephen, and the actual conflict of Stephen and Maud did not enter the district. The first mention of the Castle of Oakham occurs in a treaty²⁶ made about 1151 between Ranulf, Earl of Chester, and Robert, Earl of Leicester, by which they agreed that neither should fortify any new castle within a district including the greater part of Leicestershire and part of Rutland, the line passing from Belvoir to Oakham and thence to Rockingham. There is no evidence to show who held Oakham at this time. Roger of Newburgh, who held it at some time in the reign of Henry I, had succeeded his father as Earl of Warwick in 1123,²⁷ and took the side of Maud, as did the Earl of Chester, while Robert, Earl of Leicester, adhered to Stephen. It is possible that Hugh de Ferrers, a brother of William de Ferrers, third Earl of Derby, already held

²¹ *Pipe R.* 31 *Hen. I* (Rec. Com.), 12, 86, 134-5.

²² See p. 128.

²³ The value of Oakham and its appurtenances 120 years later was about £100, and if this could be taken as the value in 1130 (the jurors of 1275 declared that this was the value in the time of William I), the difference might then be accounted for. But the relation of manorial value to farm is a difficult point; see the discussion on p. 128 of the pre-Domesday 'value' of Rutland.

^{23a} This is the first recorded connexion of the family with the county, but there is nothing to indicate what land Henry held.

²⁴ *Angl.-Sax. Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 230.

²⁵ *Chron. Stephen, &c.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, p. xlix.

²⁶ Cott. MSS. (B.M.), Nero, iii, fol. 178. This interesting document is at present exhibited in one of the show-cases at the Museum.

²⁷ *Dict. Nat. Biog.* Henry de Newburgh.

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Oakham.²⁸ He was succeeded before 1166 by his nephew Walkelin,²⁹ who has usually been regarded as the first of the family to hold this land.

In the Pipe Roll of 1156 the account of Rutland still shows an imperfect detachment from the returns of other counties.³⁰ As before, the Danegeld assessed on Rutland is entered under Nottinghamshire and Northamptonshire as due from the king's *dominium* of Rutland, and in the separate account of Rutland, which is placed after that of Northamptonshire and before that of the town of Northampton, the sum of £11 12s. is thus accounted for:—paid £6 2s. 10d., pardoned £3 15s. 6d., waste £1 13s. 8d., which perhaps gives a measure of the depreciation caused by the troubles of Stephen's reign. There is a further entry of £2 2s. as due from Rutland under the *donum* of Nottinghamshire, but no mention of this appears under Rutland. The account is rendered by Richard de Humez, Constable of Normandy,³¹ and he also accounts for a farm of £10; this sum, which shows a further diminution since the time of Henry I, remained the regular farm of Rutland. In 1158 the farm was duly paid by Robert son of Goebold, who also accounted for the 'assize' of Rutland, amounting to £26 13s. 4d., of which £11 13s. 7d. was written off as pardoned. There also appears under the account of the Nottinghamshire *donum* the sum of £3 18s. as due from Rutland, of which no account is given under Rutland itself.³² Perhaps the somewhat anomalous position of Rutland during the reign of Henry II comes out most clearly in the Pipe Roll of 1166. This was the year of the Assize of Clarendon, which marked an increased efficiency of criminal jurisdiction, and consequently there is fuller information regarding the administration of the counties than in the previous accounts. Rutland to all appearance has a separate existence, and yet its account is inserted in the midst of that of Northamptonshire.³³ In 1167 it is described as a 'bailiwick' (*ballia*),³⁴ which may be taken as an accurate description of its status up to the time of John. It is noticeable that the old hundred of 'Wiceslei,' which, as already mentioned, now formed part of Rutland, had by this time been separated into the Wrangdike Hundred and East Hundred, and in 1166 each of these hundreds suffered a *murdrum* fine of 40s. It is odd, however, to find in 1168 Rutland Wapentake mentioned.³⁵

The old connexion with Nottinghamshire reappears in 1169, when under the account of that county there is the entry, 'in Rutland 66s. from

²⁸ See p. 159 for his grant of Brooke to the Priory of Kenilworth. Hugh does not appear in the current pedigrees of the Ferrers, but his relationship is clearly established by a charter in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire at Hardwick Hall, of which a transcript has been kindly furnished by Mr. H. J. Ellis, of the British Museum.

²⁹ *Pipe R.* 13 *Hen. II* (Pipe R. Soc.), 124.

³⁰ *Ibid.* 2 *Hen. II* (Rec. Com.), 39-42.

³¹ Richard is apparently described as sheriff, the second item in the account beginning 'Idem Vic.'; but this isolated occurrence of the term cannot be taken as important evidence in determining the status of Rutland. Two years later Robert son of Goebold is described in a precisely similar entry simply as 'Idem Rob.' In the Roll for 1176, however (*Pipe R. Soc.* p. 128), the 'vicecomes de Rotel' is definitely mentioned in connexion with Walkelin de Ferrers' holding in Gloucestershire.

³² *Pipe R.* 4 *Hen. II* (Rec. Com.), 145, 153.

³³ *Ibid.* 12 *Hen. II* (Pipe R. Soc.), 65. This was also the year of the great inquest into the number of knights actually enfeoffed by the tenants in chief in accordance with their feudal obligations. The only return entered under Rutland is that of Walkelin de Ferrers, holding Oakham as 1½ fees; this is 'in a later hand,' and was probably inserted from *Pipe R.* 13 *Hen. II*. Under Norfolk one of the tenants of Hubert 'de Ria' is Ralph de Beaufoe, who held two fees in 'Assele' in Rutland; *Red Bk. of Exch.* (Rolls Ser.), 336, 401.

³⁴ *Pipe R.* 13 *Hen. II* (Pipe R. Soc.), 124.

³⁵ This might be expected to mean the old Rutland, consisting of Alstoe and Martinsley; but it appears in fact to mean East Hundred, as Empingham is included in it; *Pipe R.* 14 *Hen. II* (Pipe R. Soc.), 56.

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36 carucates of land which belong to the county of Nottinghamshire, of which Simon Basset has to render account'; no mention of this sum appears in the account of Rutland, which in this case follows that of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, instead of that of Northamptonshire as usual.³⁶ In 1176 the pleas were held by the itinerant justices Hugh de Gundeville, William Fitz Ralph, and William Basset, and on this occasion East Hundred was fined for no fewer than four murders.³⁷ It is noticeable, however, that neither in this year nor in 1179 does Rutland appear in the list of counties allotted to the itinerant justices as given by the writer of the *Gesta Henrici II*, though in both cases it formed part of a group including the surrounding counties of Lincoln, Leicester, and Northampton, and was duly visited by the justices.³⁸

This discussion of the status of Rutland in the reign of Henry II must take the place of anything that can be called history at this period. There is no clear evidence that Henry II ever visited the district,³⁹ nor does it appear to have been much involved in the revolt of 1173-4; Richard de Morevill was, however, deprived of the land at Whissendine which he held of the King of Scotland as Earl of Huntingdon, apparently for taking that king's part against Henry.^{39a} The history of the Forest of Rutland, which at this time and later was of considerable importance, is dealt with elsewhere.

Richard I on his return to England in the spring of 1194 went to meet the King of Scotland at Clipstone; the two kings travelled south together, and on 6 April they stayed at the house of Peter, the forester of Rutland,⁴⁰ while John was at Oakham in March 1206 and in May and August 1207.⁴¹

It is in the reign of John that Rutland at length definitely appears as a county. In 1204 he followed the example of early kings by granting Rutland, Rockingham, and other places to Isabella in dower, and in this grant Rutland is described as *comitatus*.⁴² The Pipe Roll of 1190 states that the farm of Rutland was paid to Eleanor, the widow of Henry II;⁴³ and Richard appears to have made a similar grant to Berengaria, since in 1209 Innocent III wrote to John demanding the restoration of her dower, including Rutland, on pain of the interdict of all the places concerned.⁴⁴ John must have found it difficult to comply with this demand, as he had already granted all this dower to Isabella. This grant was followed next year by a hereditary grant of the county of Rutland at the 'old farm' of £10 to Ralph de Normanville, who had been sheriff since 1202.⁴⁵ It would

³⁶ *Pipe R.* 15 *Hen. II* (*Pipe R. Soc.*), 65, 67.

³⁷ *Ibid.* 22 *Hen. II*, 54.

³⁸ *Gesta Hen. II* (*Rolls Ser.*), i, 107, 228. Nor does Rutland appear in the list of the counties of England with their religious houses, castles, &c., given in the *Mappa Mundi* of Gervase of Canterbury (*Op. Hist.* [*Rolls Ser.*], ii, 414 et seq.), which was probably written about 1200.

³⁹ Eyton, *Itin. Hen. II*, 207, includes it in the list of those counties 'the King's presence in which is only evidenced by his *Misericordia pro Foresta* recorded on the Pipe-Rolls.'

^{39a} *Abbrev. Plac.* (*Rec. Com.*), 79, 80.

⁴⁰ Roger of Hoveden, *Chron.* (*Rolls Ser.*), iii, 243.

⁴¹ Hardy, *Itin. John*, in *Descr. Pat. Rolls* (*Rec. Com.*).

⁴² *Rot. Chart.* (*Rec. Com.*), 128. For some reason the charter was re-enrolled in 1215; *ibid.* 213. The account of the jurors of 1286 (*Assize R.* 725, m. 7 d.) that the four hundreds of Rutland formerly belonged to Northamptonshire, and that after their separation Isabella held them, seems sufficiently accurate.

⁴³ *Pipe R.* 2 Ric. I.

⁴⁴ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, i, 33; Rymer, *Foedera*, i, 102. England as a whole lay under interdict at this time; and the pope threatened that the interdict should not be removed from these places unless satisfaction was made.

⁴⁵ *Rot. Chart.* 149. He first accounted at Michaelmas 1203; *Pipe R.* 5 John.

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thus appear that Isabella's rights in the county consisted merely, like Eleanor's, of the annual receipt of £10, though no mention is made of this in either grant; in each case it was the 'county' that was granted. Ralph held Rutland until 1209, when according to the presentment of a jury in 1275 he was deprived for hanging a harmless lunatic.⁴⁶ We should not have expected an act of cruelty to appeal to John as a reason for taking such a step; but such was the tradition two generations later. His place was taken by Robert de Braibroc, sheriff of Northamptonshire, who accounted as *custos* of Rutland.⁴⁷

The loss of Normandy compelled English landholders who also held in Normandy to choose between surrendering their English estates and giving up the lands they held in Normandy, and this had its effect in Rutland. Walkelin de Ferrers, who is said to have gone on crusade with Richard I and to have been present at the siege of Acre,⁴⁸ was still in possession of Oakham in 1196-7.⁴⁹ He is said to have been succeeded by his son Hugh, but the last Ferrers who held Oakham was Henry,⁵⁰ who gave it up on the loss of Normandy, and it was granted in 1207 to Roger Mortimer, who had married his sister Isabella.⁵¹ William de Humez was another landholder in Rutland who disappeared from the county for the same reason.⁵² Of those who remained unaffected by this change, Richard d'Umfraville held Hambleton, Robert Mauduit held Barrowden *per camerariam*, Robert Gresley, William Foleville, and the heir of Richard White held of the honours of Lancaster, Leicester, and Nottingham, respectively; Ernest continued to hold two carucates by his service as a *balistarius*, in which capacity he may have been with John at the siege of Rochester in 1213. It was in 1212 that the first military levy was made on the county of Rutland, as distinguished from the service due by tenure, 100 men with axes being required to go to Chester, presumably for service in Ireland.⁵³

When the troubles of John's reign came to a head, the men of Rutland were almost unanimously on the side of the barons. The list given by Geoffrey de Ferland in 1216 of those in arms against the king includes the following knights:—Thomas de Hotot, Henry Murdac, Walter and Thurstan de Montfort, Robert and William Mauduit, Richard d'Umfraville, Geoffrey d'Ermenters ('Darinters'), Robert Gresley ('Gretley'), John de Fraismet ('de Fretneya'), Lambert Bussi, Alan 'de Ganineya,' Simon of Lyndon, Robert de Ros, William 'de Giney,' Hamo the Falconer, William Foleville, Earl David (of Huntingdon), Robert Basset, Constantine Mortimer.⁵⁴ None of these, however, took a very striking part in the struggle.

⁴⁶ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 49.

⁴⁷ Pipe R. 12 John.

⁴⁸ Ralph de Diceto, *Op. Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 79. Possibly, however, this is an error for William, Earl Ferrers, who died at the siege, but who is not mentioned by Ralph as present.

⁴⁹ *Red Bk. of Exch.* (Rolls Ser.), 103.

⁵⁰ Pipe R. 5 John.

⁵¹ *Rot. de Oblatis et Finibus* (Rec. Com.), 416. Mortimer held Oakham as one knight's fee, the other half-fee being held by Hamo the Falconer; *Red Bk. of Exch.* 535 (1210-12). See also *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 49, which states that William the Conqueror (*sic*) gave Oakham to Hugh [de Ferrers], and that Hugh's successors held it until Normandy was lost, when they rose against John.

⁵² Ralph de Normanville held two knights' fees of Earl Warenne, which he had formerly held of William de Humez, and there were other smaller holdings; *Red Bk.* loc. cit.

⁵³ *Rot. Lit. Claus.* (Rec. Com.), i, 131.

⁵⁴ Rymer, *Foedera*, i, 144. For the identifications, see *Red Bk. of Exch.* 103, and *Pipe R.* 22 Hen. II (Pipe R. Soc.), 55. The list gives also the following *servientes*:—Michael de Hanvill, Robert son of Bernard, Hugh 'the butler,' Richard of Foxton, Bartholomew of Pilton, Henry, Richard and 'Motte' de Bevill (? = Boyville).

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William de Lisle was Sheriff of Rutland in the early part of the reign of Henry III, but in 1218 he was commanded to hand over the county to Fulk de Breauté,⁵⁵ who had been one of John's most ruthless mercenaries, and whose reckless behaviour in Bedfordshire led to his downfall and exile in 1224.⁵⁶ His administration in Rutland did not, however, last long, for in 1221 Richard de Redvers was appointed in his place, as *custos* for Queen Isabella. After John's death Isabella had returned to France and married Hugh de Lusignan, Count of la Marche. Hugh quarrelled with Henry, and there was some difficulty about Isabella's dower, but in 1222 Henry confirmed to her the rights she had possessed in Rutland.⁵⁷ Isabella's tenure, however, was not very long, for in 1227 Henry's brother Richard, Earl of Cornwall, having quarrelled with the king over a manor in Cornwall, and receiving powerful support, was pacified by the grant of all the lands that Isabella had held in dower, including the county of Rutland.⁵⁸ In 1252 his connexion with the county was strengthened by the grant of the manor and castle of Oakham, valued at £106 15s. 5d.⁵⁹

Of the administration of justice in the county at this time by royal and private jurisdiction we may take some examples from the Assize Roll of 1262-3. Peter de Nodar was accused of theft, and pleaded that he was a clerk; the Dean of Rutland appeared and claimed jurisdiction, by virtue of a licence from the Bishop of Lincoln, and Peter was handed over to the ecclesiastical court. This was very well, but a more serious conflict arose in another case. A certain Robert 'burgled' (*burgavit*) the bishop's larder at Liddington and stole a ham; he was taken with his booty and promptly hanged on the judgement of the bishop's court. The jury of the hundred testified that the vill of Liddington had concealed this matter, and accordingly it lay in the king's 'mercy.' In East Hundred, Maud Scherewind stole seven fleeces and took refuge in Tinwell Church, but on coming out was arrested and brought before the Abbot of Peterborough's court at Tinwell, which ordered her to be hanged 'without (the presence of) the sheriff or coroner.' In this case the central court was to be consulted as to whether the abbot's court had exceeded its rights. In contrast to these cases was the treatment of an incorrigible thief, Robert Ouhere, who was taken with a ham and other stolen goods; he was brought before Ralph de Grenham, the sheriff, in the county court at Oakham, but the only punishment inflicted was the piercing of his ear. A second offence was punished by a new sheriff by Robert's ear being cut off. The irregularity in this case appears to have been the lenity of the punishment, the conduct of both sheriffs and the 'whole court' being marked down for judgement by the supreme court. Whatever may have been the explanation of Robert's double

⁵⁵ *Cal. Pat.* 1216-25, p. 163.

⁵⁶ *V.C.H. Beds.* 'Political History.'

⁵⁷ *Cal. Pat.* 1216-25, pp. 302, 330.

⁵⁸ *Rot. Lit. Claus.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 197-8. What rights Richard received by this grant are not certain. In 1275 his successor Edmund held three hundreds. But Edmund apparently received in 1288 a more definite grant of the shrievalty of the county. Selden (*Drayton's Polyolbion* [1622], 224) says that Richard sent to the Sheriff of Rutland letters of protection regarding a nunnery (St. Philip's?) near Stamford, which he calls 'a perfect and uncommunicable power royal,' and Wright suggests that from this time there were virtual though not titular earls of Rutland (*Hist. Rut.* 5); but this hardly appears to be justified by the evidence.

⁵⁹ Close, 36 Hen. III, m. 16. The manor had fallen into the king's hands on the death of Isabella Mortimer.

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escape, he presumed too far, and on a third offence was hanged; perhaps this satisfactory conclusion purged the offence of the too lenient court.⁶⁰

The various rights granted to Richard of Cornwall brought the county into connexion with a man who played a conspicuous part in the constitutional struggles of the reign, but who was withheld from a whole-hearted opposition to Henry's misrule largely by his natural reluctance to diminish the power of a crown which he or his descendants might inherit. On the outbreak of the Barons' War in 1264 that part of the county which was under his influence might have been expected to adhere more or less willingly to the king. But there appears to have been a good deal of local disturbance. Richard had to inclose Oakham with a fence, receiving permission to take thorns and underwood from Stokewood for the purpose⁶¹; but notwithstanding this defence the castle was captured by 'the king's enemies,'⁶² and the hall was damaged by fire.⁶³ No other adherent of the king is known to have belonged to the county; but of the insurgent barons Walter de Colevil and Hugh le Despenser held Ryhall, while among those of lower rank were Bernard de Brus of Exton, Richard of Casterton, and Peter Neville, who came to a bad end, being hanged at Bridgnorth in 1270 for robbery. A more prominent baronial leader was Peter de Montfort, who was killed at Evesham with his relative the great Simon; his ancestors had held Preston in Rutland for several generations, but he belonged rather to Warwickshire.⁶⁴

Richard of Cornwall, King of the Romans, died in the same year as his brother Henry, 1272, and was succeeded in the earldom by his son Edmund, who also inherited Oakham, and in 1275 held the three Rutland hundreds of Martinsley, Alstoe, and East Hundred, the fourth hundred, Wrangdike, being in the hands of the Earl of Warwick.⁶⁵ In 1288, however, Edmund received a definite hereditary right in the shrievalty of the county, and his deputies were regularly appointed until his death without issue in 1300, when his rights passed to his widow Margaret.⁶⁶

In 1295 began the parliamentary history of Rutland, which has a simplicity unequalled by that of any other county. For nearly six hundred years the county returned two members, and there never was a borough within its bounds. The members in the 'Model Parliament' of 1295 were Robert of Flixthorp and Simon of Bokminster, and Robert continued to

⁶⁰ Assize R. 721, m. 9-12.

⁶¹ Turner, *Select Pleas of Forest* (Selden Soc.), 47.

⁶² 'Placita de terris datis et occupatis,' *Rot. Selecti* (Rec. Com.), 183-4. William Dod was on the side of the king in the castle of 'Hokam,' and on its capture took refuge at King's Cliffe, whereupon William Lovet took away his horse and took Dod himself to Blatherwick, where he was kept in a cellar for nearly six weeks, being set at liberty on payment of 40s. Lovet's story was that Dod was taken while raiding from Oakham. As might be expected the verdict was given for the royalist Dod, and Lovet was ordered to restore the horse or its value, estimated at the low figure of 3s. 4d. The persons concerned were very small men; Lovet had a toft and no other property.

⁶³ Complaint was made in 1275 that money raised in the hundred of Martinsley for rebuilding the hall, 'which was burned in the time of the war,' had been wrongly retained by the collectors; *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 51.

⁶⁴ Blaauw, *Barons' War* (ed. 1871), App. G.

⁶⁵ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 51.

⁶⁶ The status of the county at this time is marked by the fact that in 1300 no writ for the election of sheriff was sent, as there was a sheriff of fee; *Cal. Close*, 1296-1302, p. 44. Margaret's rights were defined as follows in 1301:—The castle and manor of Oakham, extended at £112 18s. 11d.; the county of Rutland with the hundreds of Martinsley, Alstoe, and East Hundred, the pleas and perquisites of which were worth £8 10s.; the hamlet of Egleton, £34 7s.; Langham, £107 9s. 5½d.; with £14 16s. 4d. from the view of frankpledge and sheriff's aid in some eighteen villis of the county; *ibid.* 426.

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represent it till 1306.⁶⁷ In 1311 the sheriff reported that there were no knights resident within the county, and accordingly the members were chosen from among 'the more discreet and able men of the shire.'⁶⁸ Ralph Beaufoe and Nicholas Burton were the men chosen, and members of both of these families continued to sit in Parliament with great frequency until well on in the 15th century. Another representative family in the 14th century was that of Wittlebury, and members of these families also served frequently as sheriffs.

In 1309 Edward II granted Oakham with the shrievalty of Rutland to his favourite, Piers Gaveston, in reversion after the death of Margaret, Countess of Cornwall.⁶⁹ Gaveston came to a violent end in 1312, and his widow, another Margaret, received the profits intended for him, which were confirmed to her on her remarriage with Hugh de Audley, afterwards Earl of Gloucester.⁷⁰ The troubles of the reign were reflected in the changing fortunes of this property. Audley supported the Earl of Lancaster against the king in 1321-2, another landholder in Rutland who took the same side being Bartholomew de Badlesmere, and in consequence Ivo de Aldeburgh was in 1321 appointed sheriff of Rutland and constable of Oakham Castle,⁷¹ while in the following year these offices were granted to the king's brother Edmund, Earl of Kent, with other rich endowments.⁷² On the deposition of Edward they were restored to Audley and his wife,⁷³ who held them for twenty years, being represented by deputy-sheriffs. Kent, however, continued to hold Ryhall, which was reserved to his widow on his execution and forfeiture in 1330. Thomas Wake of Liddell was suspected of complicity with Kent, and his estates, including land in Rutland, were escheated, but afterwards restored, while an echo of the overthrow of the party of Roger Mortimer and the queen is found in an order for the resumption of Roger's lands in Rutland into the king's hands.⁷⁴

Throughout the 14th century there was a constant demand for men for the various campaigns in Scotland and France. Thus in 1322 three successive levies were required for the Scottish war, first 100 men, then one man from every township, then a further number of 200 men, while in October a general levy of all men between sixteen and sixty was ordered. Next summer 100 men were again levied for Scotland,⁷⁵ and in 1335 twenty marks were required as payment in lieu of the services of ten hobelars and forty archers.⁷⁶ A commission of array was ordered in 1330 to resist 'the king's rebels,'⁷⁷ and in 1338 for defence against the French.⁷⁸ Three years later 160 archers were levied in Northamptonshire and Rutland for the French war, and the men of Rutland succeeded in getting their quota reduced from forty to twenty, on the plea that Northamptonshire contained twenty-six hundreds, the smallest of which was larger than all Rutland!⁷⁹ Possibly as regards population this statement was less remote from the truth than it appears, as there was still a

⁶⁷ *Ret. of Memb. of Parl.*

⁶⁸ 'De discretioribus et ad laborandum potentioribus'; *Parl. Writs* (Rec. Com.), ii (2), 51.

⁶⁹ *Cal. Close*, 1307-13, p. 225.

⁷⁰ *Cal. Pat.* 1313-17, p. 664; *Cal. Close*, 1318-23, p. 3.

⁷¹ *Cal. Close*, 1318-23, pp. 303, 517, 519.

⁷² *Cal. Close*, 1327-30, p. 76.

⁷³ *Cal. Pat.* 1321-4, pp. 97, 124, 132, 213; *Cal. Close*, 1318-23, p. 645.

⁷⁴ *Cal. Pat.* 1334-8, p. 132.

⁷⁵ *Cal. Close*, 1338-40, p. 135.

⁷⁶ *Cal. Pat.* 1321-4, p. 144.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* 1330-3, pp. 66, 77, 201, 205.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* 1327-30, p. 571.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* 1341-3, p. 190.

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good deal of forest land in Rutland. There is a list of ten archers chosen in Rutland in this year, so that possibly even the twenty were not forthcoming; a later document, however, gives the names of thirty,⁸⁰ and in 1386 forty were summoned to London to resist an expected French invasion.⁸¹

Along with this military service went constant and heavy taxation. The feudal aid on the marriage of the eldest daughter of Edward I in 1305 produced £51 6s. 8d.,⁸² while the newer form of taxation in the form of a 'tenth and fifteenth' under the assessment of 1334 produced £206,⁸³ and the aid for the French war in 1371 brought in £255 4s.⁸⁴ Another method of taxation which fell heavily on Rutland was the grant of wool. The contribution of Rutland to the enormous grant of 30,000 sacks in 1337 is uncertain; Lincolnshire and Rutland together contributed 4,500 sacks.⁸⁵ Rutland's share of the levy of 1341 was 100 sacks, and the same amount was demanded in 1347.⁸⁶ Purveyance was another burden; in 1346 forty tons of flour and 200 quarters of oats were demanded from Rutland, but half of the flour was remitted on a plea that the county was too heavily burdened with other charges. Later in the same year Rutland was one of the counties which had to be remonstrated with for slackness in sending in the proceeds of a tenth and fifteenth recently voted by Parliament, the king being as usual in urgent need of money.⁸⁷ In 1344 the Exchequer was called on to investigate a claim made by the inhabitants of Oakham, Langham, and Egleton, that these places were not cities or boroughs, and did not belong to the ancient demesne, and that accordingly they were not liable to the higher rate of taxation, which had several times been exacted by the 'malice' of the sheriff. Apparently the claim was allowed, though no further reference to the case has been found.⁸⁸

From an early period the castle of Oakham was used as the county prison, and in 1269 the men of the county claimed that it should be the place of detention for all Rutland prisoners, whether on forest or other pleas.⁸⁹ Rutland seems to have suffered a good deal from breaches of the public peace in the 14th century. Thus in 1321 the keeper of Rutland Forest complained of being assaulted and robbed by a crowd of men near Liddington.⁹⁰ In 1336 John de Wittlebury, who with Simon of Lyndon had in the preceding year been made keeper of the peace for the county, was assailed by night in his manor of Whissendine by some 'notorious offenders' in consequence of his proceeding against them; these offenders also threatening and even using force against the keepers of the peace when in session at Oakham and Whissendine. Next year William la Zouche, Dean of York, the king's clerk and treasurer, complained that his goods had been carried away and his servants

⁸⁰ Chan. Misc. bdle. 2, no. 34 (2), (4).

⁸¹ *Cal. Pat.* 1385-9, p. 217.

⁸² *Feud. Aids*, iv, 204-6. The aid was at the rate of £2 on 25½ knights' fees, distributed as follows:—Alstoe, 6½; East Hundred, 6½; Wrangdike, 3½; Martinsley, 9½ + ½. The subsidy of 1428 shows some differences:—Alstoe, 6½; East Hundred, 5½; Wrangdike, 3; Oakham with Martinsley, 9½.

⁸³ Subs. R. 185, no. 5. The tax of a fifteenth on the county produced £178 13s., and the tenth on the townships of Oakham, Langham, Egleton, Lyndon and Stretton £37 5s.; but the first three had their rate reduced to a tenth by a royal writ, the deduction amounting to £9 18s.; cf. the petition mentioned above.

⁸⁴ Wright, *Hist. Rut.* 4.

⁸⁵ *Cal. Close*, 1337-9, p. 148.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* 1346-9, pp. 208, 231.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* 44, 128.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* 1343-6, p. 289. The petition of the three places is preserved (P.R.O. Anct. Pet. 6276).

⁸⁹ Turner, *Select Pleas of Forest* (Selden Soc.), 52-3.

⁹⁰ *Cal. Pat.* 1317-21, p. 608; *ibid.* 1321-4, p. 54.

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assaulted at Whissendine.⁹¹ In 1341 the men of Rutland, Northamptonshire, and Leicestershire joined in complaints of armed men who formed confederacies against those whom they thought to be rich, in order to extort ransoms, imprisoning or even killing those who refused to obey.⁹² The case of Geoffrey Cokerel, who was hanged on the acquittal of some men whom he had accused of stealing cows, was perhaps discouraging to informers against malefactors. His fate was, however, a remarkable one; after his body had been taken down from the gallows and removed to the cemetery of Oakham Church for burial he miraculously revived, and was finally pardoned by the king.⁹³ With so much disorder the keeper of the prison at Oakham was kept busy. But it does not appear to have been a very satisfactory place of detention, for escapes frequently took place.⁹⁴ Hence it is not surprising that in 1380 the sheriff, Sir John Basing, was directed to survey and report on the defects of the walls, doors, and windows of the prison;⁹⁵ and two years later William Sharp, 'tyler,' was superintending the repair of Rockingham and Oakham Castles with tiles and slates, receiving as wages 4*d.* a day.⁹⁶ Notwithstanding, criminals continued to escape with great frequency.⁹⁷

The most serious outbreak of disorder in the 14th century was the Peasants' Rising of 1381, with regard to which Réville says, 'The little county of Rutland, surrounded on all sides by districts more or less upset by the revolt, could not have escaped the general shock.'⁹⁸ This is no doubt true, but the only recorded connexion of the county with the rising is the fact that Henry Despenser, the 'fighting bishop' of Norwich, was at his manor of Burley on the Hill when he learned of outbreak in his diocese. He at once set out with eight lancers and a small body of archers, and collecting forces on the way moved into Norfolk, where he defeated the insurgents at North Walsham.⁹⁹ Of disturbance in Rutland itself there is no record.

The repairs rendered necessary at Oakham Castle by its use as a prison have been mentioned above. But the castle was a house¹⁰⁰ as well as a prison, and about this time it was considerably improved by the building of a 'noon resting-place,' the repair of the kitchen, and the making of a chimney for the king's chamber.¹⁰¹ Had Oakham been retained in the king's hands it might have become a more frequent residence, and there may have been some intention of this in improving the castle. Rutland, however, continued to receive royal visits only on rare occasions, and it owed them to the fact that two main roads to the north traversed the county—Ermine Street in the east, running from Stamford through Casterton, Tickencote, and Stretton, and so on to Grantham and Lincoln, and a road in the west from Rockingham, passing near Liddington, and then through Uppingham and Oakham to Melton Mowbray and Nottingham. Edward I was at Liddington in September, 1275; at the end of February he was again there, and on 4 March was at Overton. In August 1279 he passed through Liddington

⁹¹ *Cal. Pat.* 1334-8, pp. 209, 353, 511.

⁹² *Ibid.* 1348-50, p. 270.

⁹³ *Ibid.* 1381-5, p. 177.

⁹⁴ *Soulevement des Ouvriers*, Introd. p. ci.

⁹⁵ T. Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 6. Mr. Walter Rye (*Hist. Norf.* 53 n.) conjectures that Despenser had gone to Rutland from Norwich in order to gather his retainers and take the rebels in the rear. See also *V.C.H. Norf.* ii, 244, 484.

¹⁰⁰ For a description of the castle in 1340 see p. 218.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* 1340-3, p. 322.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* 1377-81, p. 397.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.* 568.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* 1385-9, p. 292, &c.

¹⁰¹ *Mins. Accts. bdle.* 964, no. 7.

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and Oakham on his way to Nottingham. In September 1290 he was at Greetham, in February 1296 at Ketton, and in March 1301 at Oakham. On his return from Scotland in January 1299 he passed through Stretton, and he took the same road on his last journey north in July 1306.¹⁰² Edward II was at Market Overton on 23 August 1315, at Stretton 2-3 August 1316, and at Oakham 28-9 April 1323;¹⁰³ and Edward III at Oakham in May 1337 and November 1345;¹⁰⁴ while Richard II was there in August 1378, and for about a week at the end of October 1380.¹⁰⁵

On the death of Hugh de Audley in 1347 Edward III granted Oakham with the shrievalty of Rutland to William de Bohun, Earl of Northampton, and next year his deputy was admitted as sheriff.¹⁰⁶ On the failure of Bohun's line the grant reverted to the Crown, and Richard II bestowed it in 1385 on his favourite Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford and afterwards Duke of Ireland, for whom William Flore acted as deputy sheriff.¹⁰⁷ Another royal connexion established earlier in the reign was the grant of an annual charge of £100 on the manor of Oakham to the king's rapacious half-brother Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent,¹⁰⁸ while Richard Stury, one of the 'king's knights,' had a grant of equal amount from the same source in lieu of the custody of Bamborough Castle.¹⁰⁹ Robert de Vere, like Piers Gaveston, did not long enjoy his high and dangerous honours, and after his flight to the Low Countries Richard gave Oakham and Rutland to his cousin Edward, with the title of Earl of Rutland, now used for the first time.¹¹⁰ This was intended to provide him with a living until he should succeed his father as Duke of York. The reversion was granted to the king's uncle Thomas, Duke of Gloucester,¹¹¹ who had married one of the Bohun heiresses, and whose claim had been passed over in the grant to De Vere. Thus Rutland continued to be connected with the general political history of England rather through the property held in it by the magnates of the realm than through the great actions of any men belonging to the county or through the importance of local events. A distinguished man who acquired a connexion with the county about this time was Sir Robert de Plesyngton, originally of Lancashire, who was Chief Baron of the Exchequer early in Richard's reign, and was removed in 1380, probably as an adherent of Gloucester. In the Parliament of 1387 he was the spokesman of the Lords Appellant, and he died in 1393. Richard took posthumous revenge in 1397, on the fall of Gloucester, and confiscated the property which Plesyngton had left; this was, however, restored on the accession of Henry IV, and the Plesyngtons for several generations took an active part in local government.¹¹²

¹⁰² Gough, *Itin. Edw. I.*

¹⁰³ Hartshorne, *Itin. Edw. II.*

¹⁰⁴ *Cal. Pat.* 1334-8, p. 451; *Cal. Close*, 1343-6, p. 666.

¹⁰⁵ *Cal. Pat.* 1377-81, pp. 272, 551-7.

¹⁰⁶ *Cal. Close*, 1346-9, pp. 342, 438. The total annual value is given as £293 17s. 6½d., and it was to be held as formerly 'by the service of one knight.'

¹⁰⁷ *Cal. Pat.* 1385-9, pp. 7, 14, 69. De Vere already held Market Overton; *ibid.* 1401-5, p. 69.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.* 1377-81, p. 450. Holland found that he could not get more than £50 from Oakham, and he therefore received supplementary grants elsewhere; *ibid.* 1381-5, p. 14.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.* 1381-5, p. 415.

¹¹⁰ *Cal. Pat.* 1388-92, p. 354. The total annual value was £299, of which £97 went to Joan, Countess of Hereford, £100 to Richard Stury, and £7 to others, leaving a net return to Edward of £95. There is no mention of the grant to the Earl of Kent.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.* 255.

¹¹² *Dict. Nat. Biog.*; *P.R.O. List of Sheriffs*; *Ret. of Memb. of Parl.*

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Gloucester's claim died with him in 1397, and Edward, Earl of Rutland, and afterwards Duke of Albemarle and York, continued after some vicissitudes to hold Oakham, though it was finally decided that the grant had lapsed on his father's death in 1402.¹¹³ In 1414 it was granted to William Bouchier and his wife Anne, Duchess of Gloucester, from whom it passed to the Staffords, Dukes of Buckingham. But there was no further grant of the shrievalty of Rutland in fee,¹¹⁴ and the holding of Oakham ceased to have the importance in county affairs which had been associated with it for over a century.

The early years of Henry IV were troubled by serious disturbances, and in Rutland as in other counties commissioners of peace were appointed in 1402 to suppress discontent and rebellion, and to explain the king's intention of ruling by constitutional methods. Those appointed in Rutland included Hugh Browe, Thomas Oudeby, Hugh Greenham, and one of the Flores, while later in the same year the 'fencible' men of the county were called out for service at Shrewsbury under Oudeby and John Wittlebury.¹¹⁵ Rutland was represented at Agincourt by Robert Browe of Teigh and Sir Thomas Burton of Tolethorpe, serving under the Duke of York,¹¹⁶ who was killed in the battle.

In 1434, instead of the usual commission of peace to some half-dozen of the chief men of the county, the knights of the shire were instructed to administer an oath 'not to maintain peace-breakers' to a large number of the more important inhabitants, and the Rutland list gives, besides Thomas Greenham and William Beaufoe, the knights of the shire, three knights—Sir John Basings of Empingham, Sir John Colepeper of Exton, and Sir Henry Plesyngton of Burley; seven esquires—Robert Browe of Woodhead, John Browe of Teigh, Robert Daneys of Tickencote, John Plesyngton of Wissen-dine (Sir Henry's brother, and the last of the family), Thomas Flore of Oakham, Francis Clerke of Stoke Dry, and John Chyselden of Braunston; four merchants, of whom John Sapcote of Ketton belonged to a family afterwards of greater importance in the county; and thirteen gentlemen.¹¹⁷ About the middle of the century several new names appear among the sheriffs and members of Parliament—Mackworths, Digbys, Haringtons, and Brownes—all of whom long took a leading part in local affairs,¹¹⁸ while the Brownes of Oakham gave two Lord Mayors to London—Sir John Browne in 1481 and his son Sir William in the 16th century.¹¹⁹

The Wars of the Roses found the interests of Rutland divided between the Lancastrian influence of the Staffords and the Yorkist influence of the Nevilles.¹²⁰ Edmund the second son of Richard Duke of York bore the title of Earl of Rutland, but does not appear to have had any regular conferment of the title; and he was only a lad of sixteen when he was killed with his father at the battle of Wakefield, 1460.¹²¹ After her victory there Margaret moved south with a disorderly force which wrought havoc on its way, and

¹¹³ *Dict. Nat. Biog.* Edward 'Plantagenet.'

¹¹⁴ From 1397 the *P.R.O. List of Sheriffs* shows ordinary annual appointments.

¹¹⁵ *Cal. Pat.* 1401-5, pp. 128, 138.

¹¹⁶ *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* xliv, App. 564, 566.

¹¹⁷ *Cal. Pat.* 1429-36, p. 370.

¹¹⁸ See *P.R.O. List of Sheriffs* and *Ret. of Memb. of Parl.*

¹¹⁹ Wright, *Hist. Rut.* 104.

¹²⁰ The lands of the Despensers as well as those of the Beauchamps had passed to Richard Earl of Warwick.

¹²¹ *G.E.C. Complete Peerage.*

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Rutland must have suffered as the raiders passed from Grantham to Stamford.¹²² The Earl of Warwick's lands at Greetham and Essendine lay temptingly near the line of march, his other group of manors, Uppingham, Preston, and Barrowden, lying farther off. But none of the inhabitants of the county appear to have taken a conspicuous part in the struggle, nor is any fighting recorded as occurring in Rutland till 1470, when a quarrel between Richard Lord Welles and Sir Thomas Burgh of Gainsborough caused Edward IV to summon Welles and his brother-in-law, Sir Thomas Dymoke, to London, and to march north to quell the unrest in Lincolnshire. Sir Robert Welles raised the Lincolnshire men on his father's behalf, and was supported by Warwick and Clarence, who had come over from Calais with treasonable plans carefully concealed. They had completely deceived Edward, who issued a commission to them to raise forces on his behalf. The Lincolnshire men were moving to join them at Leicester, but turned back towards Stamford in the hope of surprising the Royalists, who arrived there on 12 March. Edward at once put Lord Welles and Dymoke to death, and his forces marched out to meet the insurgents at Empingham 'in a felde called Hornefelde.'¹²³ One discharge of his artillery was enough to scatter them, and many were slain in the pursuit. The fugitives flung aside their 'coats' to escape more swiftly, and this fact gave to the battle the name of Losecoat Field. During the action the rebels raised cries of 'A Clarence!' 'A Warwick!' and some of them wore Clarence's livery. This proved to Edward the treachery of his brother and Warwick, and further proof was found in the casket of Sir Robert Welles, in the shape of 'many marvelous billez, containing matter of the grete seduccion.'¹²⁴ No doubt Warwick's Rutland tenants were among the rebels, and the engagement was followed by the confiscation of his lands there and elsewhere.¹²⁵ But before the year was out Edward was a fugitive, and Henry VI was restored by the king-maker to a shadowy rule of a few months. On Edward's reinstatement in 1471 Thomas Flore of Oakham and Robert Edmond of Empingham were among the large number of men arrested, apparently as Lancastrians; no further record of Edmond appears, but Flore was eight months later one of the commissioners of array for the county,¹²⁶ so that he must have made his peace with the king. Another interesting connexion of Rutland with the troubles of the time is found in a list of merchants of the staple at Calais, who were pardoned in August 1470 for offences committed, possibly involuntarily, during Warwick's tenure of the office of constable. Of the thirty-five mentioned no fewer than five were Rutland men, while a more comprehensive list of the following year, including soldiers of the garrison as well as merchants, mentions William Boyville of Rutland.¹²⁷

¹²² *V.C.H. Lincs.* ii, 268.

¹²³ Act of Attainder of Welles, Dymoke, and others, *Rot. Parl.* vi, 144. According to Flore (*Hist. Rut.* 142), the place was still in his time known as the Bloody Oaks, and the name Losecoat Field was given to a place between Stamford and Little Casterton.

¹²⁴ The official *Chronicle of the Rebellion in Lincs.* (Camd. Soc. Misc. vol. i), with the usual mediaeval exaggeration, puts the number of the rebels at 30,000, and Hall, *Chron.* (ed. 1809), 277, says that 10,000 were killed, the battle being 'sore fought on bothe partes'; but the *Croyland Continuation* (Gale, *Scriptores*, i, 553) says that Edward 'simul eos vidit atque vicit.' See also *V.C.H. Lincs.* ii, 268-9. Mr. Oman, *Warwick the Kingmaker*, 196-8, doubts the complicity of Warwick and Clarence.

¹²⁵ *Cal. Pat.* 1467-77, p. 218.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.* 286, 350.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.* 212, 290. Four of the merchants belonged to Oakham and one to Langham.

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In May 1484 Richard III rewarded Henry Grey, Lord of Codnor, with a grant of Oakham, forfeited by the unfortunate Buckingham, and in September of the same year he visited the place.¹²⁸ Richard's fall involved the attainder of William la Zouch, Lord Harringworth, whose lands at Clipsham afterwards passed to the Haringtons.¹²⁹ Christopher Browne of Tolethorpe, however, took the winning side, and his son Francis, it is said, was honoured by Henry VIII with the privilege of remaining covered in the king's presence, with exemption from service on juries or as sheriff.¹³⁰ The Warwick inheritance in the county having passed to the Duke of Clarence and been forfeited by his attainder, was restored to the widowed Countess of Warwick only that she might reconvey it to the king.¹³¹ Henry VII kept these manors in his own hands, and in 1521 the execution of the last of the Staffords brought Oakham, too, into the hands of Henry VIII.¹³² This illustrates in its small way the process by which, under the Tudors, not only the political power, but the territorial interest of the great houses passed or reverted to the Crown. Of the new men who rose by energetic service one of the most conspicuous was Thomas Manners. His father, a distinguished soldier, had succeeded to the ancient barony of Ros in his mother's right, and Thomas was in 1525 raised to the peerage as Earl of Rutland.¹³³ He had, however, little connexion with the county. Oakham was among the numerous estates granted to Thomas Cromwell, and notwithstanding his execution in 1540, it remained in the possession of his family till the end of the century.¹³⁴ Another man who profited by the plunder of the monasteries was Richard Cecil, who was sheriff of Rutland in 1539.¹³⁵ His son, the great Lord Burghley, inherited his estates in Rutland and Northamptonshire, and Burghley House near Stamford, just outside the county, became from that time one of the chief political influences in the neighbourhood. A family of great local importance which now first settled in Rutland was that of the Noels. Sir Andrew Noel, a Leicestershire man, was in 1533 appointed feodary of all the king's land in Rutland; ¹³⁶ he served three times as sheriff of the county and in 1553 as member of Parliament, and, dying in 1562, was succeeded by his son, Sir Andrew Noel of Brooke, who throughout Elizabeth's reign was one of the leading public men of the county.¹³⁷ The Digbys had earlier come into close connexion with Rutland by holding the stewardship of certain royal manors, as well as the estate of Stoke Dry.¹³⁸

Throughout the 16th century little can be gathered of the history of Rutland save the records of its contributions to the national defence in men

¹²⁸ *Cal. Pat.* 1476-85, pp. 433, 474.

¹³⁰ Fuller, *Worthies* (ed. 1811), ii, 251.

¹³² *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iii (1), 510. This account of the lands of the Duke of Buckingham describes Oakham as 'the lands of the inheritance of Lord Ferrers,' which seems a curious traditional survival of a tenure that came to an end more than 300 years before this date. The castle is described as ruinous, except the hall, which is 'most convenient to be upholden and kept with covering, because of the courts [that] be kept in the same,' and the well-known horse-shoe custom is mentioned; there were many horse-shoes on the door of the hall, 'some marvelous great and some little,' with arms and cognizances, and at the upper end of the hall was a horse-shoe with the royal arms 'nigh in breadth a yard,' which had been set up by command of Edward IV.

¹³³ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv (3), 6083.

¹³⁵ *P.R.O. List of Sheriffs*.

¹³⁶ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vi, 578 (38).

¹³⁷ *Dict. Nat. Biog.* He came into prominence in 1601 through being elected to the House of Commons while he held the post of sheriff, and vacated the seat in favour of his son.

¹³⁸ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, ii (2), 3256.

¹²⁹ Wright, *Hist. Rut.* 38.

¹³¹ *Cat. Anct. D. A.* 11056.

¹³⁴ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

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and money. The subsidy of 1515 produced £150,¹³⁹ and that of 1524 £203; Henry VIII also raised money by loan, and in 1523 Rutland contributed £304, while in 1524 a second loan, raised from persons of smaller means, produced £283.¹⁴⁰ In 1524 the musters of Rutland gave a total of 254 archers, 478 billmen, and 103 sets of 'harness.'¹⁴¹ From another record¹⁴² of the same reign it can be gathered that while the men were ready there was not very much in the way of equipment. In several of the parishes there was no resident gentleman, and few of the men had arms of their own. Thus in Cottesmore the chief landholders were Jerome Markham and John Harington of Exton, whose lands were worth £8 and £4 respectively, but neither resided there. Thomas Duraunt had land to the value of 40s., and 'harnesse for a man & a Bill,' while William Adams, another 40s. holder, had 'a Jestorn, a Sallet, w^t an appryn of mayle.' Twenty-five landless men follow in the list with varying amounts of personal property, two of them having a sallet and a bill, and one only a sallet; finally come two 'old men and pore,' without property of any kind, and half a dozen 'yong men and pore.' Seven of the men are marked as archers and sixteen as billmen. Of the resident landowners the best equipped was John Harington of Exton, who had armour for ten men. Edward Sapcote of Burley had armour for himself and three men and three horses; also two bills, two bows, and two sheaves of arrows. Francis Browne of Casterton provided armour for six men. Everard Digby, besides holding land in Stoke Dry, was steward for the king in Greetham, Essendine, Seaton, Morcott, Barrowden, Wing, Preston, and Uppingham.

The political and religious dissatisfaction which broke out in the Lincolnshire rising of 1536 no doubt extended to Rutland, but the only recorded connexion of the rising with the county is the fact that Lord Hussey, who was executed for apparent complicity, held Pickworth.¹⁴³ In 1549 there was some considerable disturbance. On 19 August the Privy Council thanked the Marquis of Dorset for the quietness of Leicestershire and Rutland,¹⁴⁴ but less than a month later the Earl of Huntingdon wrote that he had already had some men condemned for an intended rebellion in Rutland, and was going to deal with others in Leicestershire next week,¹⁴⁵ while the young king includes 'Rutlandshier' among the eleven counties to which the disturbance spread.¹⁴⁶

On the establishment of the new office of lord lieutenant, Rutland was at first associated with Leicester, and later with Derby under the Earl of Huntingdon.¹⁴⁷ In 1559 the second Earl of Rutland became Lord Lieutenant of Rutland,¹⁴⁸ a position which he already held in Nottinghamshire; but on his death in 1563 the Earl of Huntingdon again became lord lieutenant, and for the next seventy or eighty years Rutland was associated with Leicestershire, usually under the Earls of Huntingdon; the connexion of the Earls of Rutland with the county from which they took their title was not very marked. One more step remained to be taken to render the county

¹³⁹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* ii (1), 1371.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.* 972.

¹⁴³ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1547-80, p. 36.

¹⁴⁵ Lodge, *Illustrations*, i, 134.

¹⁴⁶ See the article on 'Social and Economic History,' 223.

¹⁴⁷ *Acts of P.C.* (new ser.), iv, 49 (16 May 1552).

¹⁴⁸ *Dict. Nat. Biog.* Henry Manners, 2nd Earl of Rutland.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.* iv (1), 214, 969.

¹⁴² *Misc. Bks. (Exch. T.R.)*, 54.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.* 21.

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completely independent of those surrounding it, and in the reign of Charles I the inhabitants petitioned the king to grant them a separate lord lieutenant.¹⁴⁹

In the reign of Elizabeth the county remained undisturbed, save for the persecution of Catholic recusants and the search for priests and Jesuits.¹⁵⁰ A certificate of the musters of the county in 1569 gives the total number of 'able men' as 300, of whom 100 were armed, as follows:—Horsemen 8, corslets 23, arquebuses 23, bows 23, bills 23.¹⁵¹ The usual number of men demanded from Rutland on the occasion of a levy of troops was 50, e.g. in 1591 for Normandy, in 1598 for Ireland, and in 1625 for service beyond the seas;¹⁵² but occasionally 100 had to be sent, as in 1599, for service in Ireland.¹⁵³ In 1599 it was expected that 500 men could be raised in the county for 'the defence of her Majesty's person,'¹⁵⁴ and a return of 1607–8 gives the number of 'able men' as 1800, of whom 300 were armed; there were 65 pioneers, 3 demi-lances, and 25 'high horses.'¹⁵⁵ A later return of 1629 gives 24 horse, including 4 lances and 20 light horse, and 183 armed foot, 59 being furnished with corslet and pike and 124 with muskets.¹⁵⁶ An odd incident in connexion with the levy of troops occurred in 1593, when the sheriffs and justices of the peace were deceived by an impostor calling himself 'Captain Bayton,' who raised money by means of a counterfeit commission to levy men and horses for the queen. The Privy Council gravely reproved them, marvelling that they, 'being men of discrecion, woulde suffer so great an abuse,' and ordering an inquiry to be made so that the impostor might be apprehended and receive 'soche punyshment as this lewde abuse dothe deserve.'¹⁵⁷

No special levy was made on the county for troops at the crisis of the Spanish Armada. Next year, however, when Elizabeth raised a loan of £75,000 from the leading men of each county, Rutland did its part. The sum originally assessed on the county was £500, but this was reduced to £375, and the list of contributors is as follows: Sir James Harington £100, Sir Andrew Noel and Kenelm Digby £50 each, and Francis Palmes, Roger Smith, John Hunt, Henry Herenden, Anthony Browne, Robert Brudenell, and George Sheffield £25 each.¹⁵⁸ Some years earlier Anthony Colley, of Glaston, who was asked to lend £50, pleaded his inability in a petition¹⁵⁹ transmitted to the Privy Council by the Earl of Huntingdon, which is an interesting revelation of the amount of public service done by a country gentleman of the 16th century. Colley had over and above the land which he kept 'for the maintenance of his house' a net income of £28. He had personally served twice in France, twice in Scotland, and three times in Ireland, besides furnishing men and horses; his expense in providing an armed light horseman for service in suppressing the recent rebellion in the north being £22. He had

¹⁴⁹ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1648–9, p. 391. The petition is undated, but is assigned to the reign of Charles I.

¹⁵⁰ See the article on 'Ecclesiastical History.'

¹⁵¹ *S.P. Dom. Eliz.* lviii, 15.

¹⁵² *Acts of P.C.* xxi, 221; xxix, 96; *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1625–6, p. 24.

¹⁵³ *Acts of P.C.* xxix, 491.

¹⁵⁴ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xv, App. v, 106.

¹⁵⁵ *MSS. of Lord Montagu of Beaulieu* (*Hist. MSS. Com.*), 81.

¹⁵⁶ *S.P. Dom. Chas. I.* cxlv, 98. It is not easy to reconcile the varying numbers given in these returns.

The 1800 given above must surely be erroneous.

¹⁵⁷ *Acts of P.C.* xxiv, 149. The meeting of the Privy Council which dealt with this was held on the appropriate date of 1 April.

¹⁵⁸ *The Names of those Persons who subscribed . . . at the Time of the Spanish Armada* (1886), 52.

¹⁵⁹ *S.P. Dom. Eliz.* lxxiii, 13.

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lent Queen Mary £20, which had not yet been repaid. In civil affairs he had sat for the county in almost every Parliament of the last thirty years, and had been five times sheriff. Lastly he had had twenty-five children, 'which hath bene to hym verry chargeable.' His petition had the desired effect in relieving him of the proposed loan.

Sir John Harington of Exton and Burley lived in great state in the reign of Elizabeth. In 1602 he kept a 'royal Christmas,' his guests being 'the Erles of Rutland and Bedford, Sir John Gray and Sir Harry Carie, with their ladies, the Erle of Pembroke, Sir Robert Sidney, and many more gallants.'¹⁶⁰ Three months later the great queen died, and her Scottish successor came south to take the throne. Leaving Belvoir Castle, where he had been splendidly entertained by the Earl of Rutland, on Saturday 23 April, he dined with Sir John at Burley, and as he rode towards Stamford in the afternoon the way across Empingham Heath was beguiled with the hunting of hares conveyed in baskets, 'Sir John's best houndes with good mouthes following the game.' Another diversion was the appearance of a hundred giants, who turned out to be 'poore honest sutors, all going upon high stilts, preferring a petition against the Lady Hatton,' which the king told them to present at London. James spent Easter Sunday at Burghley, and next day resolved to return to Rutland for more sport; he was, however, checked by his horse falling, which bruised his arm severely, and having spent Monday night at Burley, he took coach next day on his return to Burghley.¹⁶¹

In May 1603 Sir Robert Cecil became Baron Cecil of Essendine, the first step in his rapid rise in the peerage, while two years later he was made Earl of Salisbury, and his elder brother Thomas, Lord Burghley, was created Earl of Exeter.¹⁶² In July 1603 Sir John Harington was made Baron Harington of Exton, and in October he was entrusted with the guardianship of the Princess Elizabeth. He took her to Combe Abbey near Coventry, his wife's inheritance, and they were living there when the Gunpowder Plot was formed in 1605. One part of the design of the conspirators was to abduct the princess and declare her queen. Harington, however, escaped with her to Coventry on 7 November, two hours before the conspirators arrived. Leaving the princess in the charge of the loyal citizens of Coventry, he joined Sir Fulke Greville and took part in the final scene at Holbeach, where Catesby and his companions stood at bay. One member of this desperate band was another Rutland man, Sir Everard Digby of Stoke Dry, who had been knighted by James on his visit to Belvoir two and a half years before. Unlike some of the other conspirators Digby had no persecution to complain of, but he had fallen strongly under the influence of John Gerard. On the morning of 8 November he left his companions, but was soon arrested, and on 30 January 1606 he suffered the death of a traitor; he left two sons, one of whom fought for King Charles forty years later, and the other was the famous Sir Kenelm Digby.¹⁶³

¹⁶⁰ Chamberlain, *Lett.* (Camd. Soc.), 171.

¹⁶¹ *True Narrative of the Entertainment of his Royall Maestie* (1603) E. 3 et seq. The *Narrative* does not state where Sir John Harington entertained the king, but the course of events must have been as stated above, for it was at 'Burley Harington' that Samuel Daniel presented his *Panegyrike Congratulatorie*.

¹⁶² G.E.C. *Complete Peerage*.

¹⁶³ *Dict. Nat. Biog.* John Lord Harington and Sir Everard Digby; see also *V.C.H. Warw.* ii, 446-7.

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The guardianship of the princess proved a trying responsibility for Lord Harington. The allowance, at first £1,500 and afterwards £2,500, which was made him for the purpose was quite insufficient for the extravagant girl, and her guardian was deeply involved in debt. In May 1613 the king granted him a patent for the coining of brass farthings, which were known as 'Haringtons,' but he did not live to restore his financial position by this means. He accompanied the princess to Heidelberg for her marriage, and on the way home six months later he died at Worms. His son survived him only six months, and the title became extinct.¹⁶⁴ Sir Edward Noel was 'lying in wait' to buy Burley, on which he had already lent money, and 'so plant himself altogether in Rutland.' In order to do this he had already sold his Leicestershire estate of Dalby to the all-powerful Buckingham for £29,000.¹⁶⁵ But Buckingham secured Burley also, and greatly improved the house,¹⁶⁶ where he was frequently visited by King James. Bishop Andrewes preached before the king there on more than one occasion, and Ben Jonson's masque, the *Gypsies*, is said to have been acted there for the first time, the parts being taken by ladies and gentlemen of the court.¹⁶⁷ Charles I and his queen were also entertained at Burley, and on one occasion the famous dwarf, Jeffrey Hudson, was served up at table in a cold pie, to the great amusement of the queen, who took him into her service.^{167a}

Lord Harington's youngest brother James was one of the baronets made in 1611, and his branch of the family remained connected with the county. Another baronet was Sir Edward Noel, who was in 1617 created Baron Noel of Ridlington. This peerage proved more lasting than that of the Haringtons, though it was soon merged in the higher title of Viscount Campden, to which Noel succeeded on the death of his father-in-law in 1629.¹⁶⁸

PART II—FROM 1625

Buckingham's death, though it must have diminished the frequency of royal visits to the county, did not cause their entire cessation. Charles I on two occasions passed through the county on his way north. In March 1633 the justices of the peace reported to the council that 'they have viewed the ways and bridges through which His Majesty is to pass' on his way to Scotland, 'and have seen such reparation made as will witness their joy to receive His Majesty and their obedience to their Lordships,'¹ while on the king's return in July, twenty horses were ordered to be provided by the hundred of Martinsley;² and, as will be seen later, Charles visited Rutland again under less pleasant circumstances in 1642. The 'joy' produced by these visits of the king and his predecessor must have been somewhat diminished by the numerous assessments, by orders to the chief constable, which were made upon the county between 1622 and 1636

¹⁶⁴ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

¹⁶⁵ Chamberlain, *Lett. in Nichols, Progresses of Jas. I.* iii, 260.

¹⁶⁶ Wright, *Hist. Rut.* 30.

¹⁶⁷ The king usually visited Burley in August, and was there in 1614, 1616, 1619 (probably), 1621, and 1624, paying another visit in Mar. 1617; Nichols, *Progresses*, iii, 20, 185, &c.

^{167a} Wright, *Hist. Rut.* 105.

¹⁶⁸ G.E.C. *Complete Peerage*.

¹ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1631-3, p. 586.

² *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* v, App. 402 (Barker MSS.).

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for hay, oats, straw, poultry, butter, and other provisions for the royal household. These assessments appear to have been sometimes compounded for; and that the person upon whom the order was made occasionally obtained the provisions outside the county is evident from an agreement between 'John Barker of Hambledon, Gentleman, and Richard Jacobb of Westminster, Butcher,' for the supply 'of 200 sheep for the county of Rutland into the King's House, 100 at or before 4 February and 100 at or before 20 May 1635,' the prices being 6s. for each of the first and 7s. for each of the second hundred sheep.³ They seem to express a rate in kind and were probably levied in accordance with the royal prerogative of purveyance,⁴ which, though curtailed by Magna Charta and still further restricted by the Long Parliament in 1641, was not finally abrogated till it was resigned by Charles II.⁵

The forced loan of 1626 was raised with little difficulty, the county, though there were some defaulters, being reported as 'very willing, some offering two subsidies, some one and a half, and some one subsidy';⁶ and this was also the case with respect to the first levy of ship-money on Rutland in 1635. The total amount of the sums payable by the various parishes, as assessed by the sheriff, Sir Francis Bodenham, in October of that year, was £1,000, which was to provide a ship of 100 tons;⁷ half of the money was collected by the end of November, and a receipt for the whole was sent to Bodenham by Sir William Russell on 2 February 1636. The clergy in each parish were rated at a tenth of the whole parochial assessment—a valuation which the sheriff considered as probably lower than that made with respect to the laity.⁸ A fresh assessment of £800 was made in 1636.⁹

An order was made at the proceedings of the council in December 1635 that 'the judges should take into consideration the dividing of all the counties where one sheriff serves for two counties, for Rutland is a small service and yet has a sheriff alone';¹⁰ and indeed in the matter of ship-money Sir Edward Harington, the new sheriff, had quite enough to do in dealing with this small county. There was not much resistance, though there were 'some few towns wherein some particular persons obstinately refuse to pay (as they pretend out of a matter of conscience), and so not only hinder the towns

³ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* v, App. 402 (Barker MSS.). Some of these papers (with others which do not appear in the *Report*) were communicated in 1744 to *Archæologia*, xi, 204–7, by Thomas Barker of Lyndon, who suggested that such requisitions were made either in pursuance of an old custom or through one of those shifts to which the Stuart kings had recourse when they would not call a Parliament. A document of 27 Jan. 1629 speaks of this provision of 200 sheep as made in accordance with a composition long since made with the officers of the king's household 'by reason of which agreement noe takinge is made of the goods of anye his Maties subjectes wthin the said countie' (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* loc. cit.). This apparently means a composition for the general right of purveyance. But an argument for the existence of a special custom relating to Rutland may perhaps be found in the early connexion of the county with the royal house. It may be noted also that the peculiar position of Rutland in relation to the neighbouring counties continued even in the 17th century. Thus in 1640 John Green was appointed escheator of Rutland and Northants (*Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1640, p. 638), and in 1661 Maurice Tresham (*Cal. Treas. Bks.* 1660–7, p. 311), while for the purpose of farming the excise the county was united with Northants in 1662 and three years later with Leicestershire (*ibid.* 402, 640).

⁴ The prerogative of buying up provisions and other necessities by the intervention of the king's purveyors for the use of his royal household at an appraised valuation, in preference to all others, and even without the consent of the owner, and also of forcibly impressing the carriages and horses of the subject to do the king's business on the public road; Blackstone, *Comm.* i, 287.

⁵ Taswell-Langmead, *Engl. Const. Hist.* (3rd ed.), 83, 136, 590.

⁶ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1625–6, p. 419; *ibid.* 1627–8, p. 364.

⁷ *Ibid.* 1635, p. 458; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* v, App. 402.

⁸ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1635, p. 498; *ibid.* 1635–6, pp. 208–9.

⁹ Rymer, *Fœdera*, xx, 64. This sum was equivalent to the provision of a ship of 80 tons.

¹⁰ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1635, p. 558.

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wherein they live but encourage others to do the like,' and these persons were distrained upon, and were further punished by having their assessments raised.¹¹ Harington's main trouble was to get the assessment of the particular parishes and persons justly made.¹² But not only did he get in the required £800 by the end of March 1637; he had a surplus in hand which was used to 'ease the poorer sort' who had been assessed. Another difficulty was that of getting the money safely 'returned' to London, and Viscount Campden gave useful assistance in this way. Harington complained that 'the trouble he has been put to has been such that were it not His Majesty's command no profit or reward could draw him to adventure upon the like business again.' His task however was now finished, and he received in May his receipt for the payment in full.¹³ In the following year the county was assessed for another £350,¹⁴ which was paid in July 1639. Another levy was made in 1639, and Rutland was among the counties in which, although 'the inhabitants had all in a manner paid their assessments,' the collectors still had the money in their hands in June 1640, and remonstrance was made by the Privy Council.¹⁵

In the Declaration of the King with respect to mustering and training troops for service against Scotland issued to the lords lieutenant of counties on 8 December 1638, those in Rutland were placed under the control of Sir Jacob Astley, whose command also comprised Staffordshire, Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire, the West Riding of Yorkshire, Hull, Carlisle, and Northumberland.¹⁶ For the campaign of 1640 the county was called upon to furnish 60 pikes, 40 musqueteers, and 30 horse, together with 20 horses and 7 carters for the carriage of artillery. In May the Earl of Huntingdon and Ferdinando, Lord Hastings, who had been 'jointly and severally' appointed to the lieutenancy of the counties of Leicester and Rutland in 1638,¹⁷ informed the Earl of Northumberland, Lord-General, that, with the exception of two or three for Leicestershire, 'all the men are impressed . . . their coats ready and the conduct money levied and all other particulars prepared according to His Majesty's command.'¹⁸

Two years later the High Sheriff, Thomas Waite,¹⁹ 'accompanied by many hundreds of Gentlemen and Freeholders of the county of Rutland,' presented a petition to the king during his journey to York, which affords a

¹¹ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1636-7, p. 499.

¹² In June Harington and Viscount Campden arranged meetings of the commissioners of taxes and the chief tax-payers of the county with a view to more equal assessment, and in January 1637 a complaint from Uppingham was dealt with; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* v, App. 402.

¹³ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1636-7, p. 531; *ibid.* 1637, p. 70.

¹⁴ Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, and Rutland were jointly assessed at £4,900, of which Rutland's share was £350. In this case particular instructions were given by the Privy Council that 'noe persons bee assessed to the same unlesse they bee knowne to have estates in money or goods, or other means to live, over and above what they get by their daily labour'; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* loc. cit.

¹⁵ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1640, p. 368, and cf. *ibid.* 1640-1, p. 81. The amount levied is not mentioned, but a list of the year 1639, printed by Stevens, *Hist. Acct. of Taxes*, 288, allots to Rutland a ship of 64 tons, which at the regular rate of £10 per ton would mean a contribution of £640; see also Dowell, *Hist. of Taxation* (1888), i, 215-220, 244.

¹⁶ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1638-9, pp. 155, 176, 307. The rest of the counties were required in February to send a supplementary levy; *ibid.* 514. The two lists are printed by Stevens, *op. cit.* 279-81.

¹⁷ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1638-9, p. 188.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 1640, p. 205. Cf. *ibid.* 455, for a letter from the Earl of Huntingdon to the Council reporting the dispatch of 20 horses and 7 carters from Rutland to be at Newcastle on 15 July.

¹⁹ *P.R.O. List of Sheriffs.*

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striking evidence of the national dissatisfaction with his methods of government. After acknowledging 'the many former and late effulgences' of his 'Royal grace and goodness,' which should have 'erected a throne of . . . honour . . . in the hearts of his loyal people higher than any of his royal predecessors,' the petitioners 'cannot now but expresse the greatnesse of their griefs fearing all those hopes to be dashed and the joy of the whole land darkened' by his withdrawal, 'in these times of imminent danger,' from his great council of Parliament 'to the raising of inexpressible feares' in the hearts of all his loyal subjects. They therefore 'in all humilitie . . . doe implore your sacred Majesty, that out of the depth of your Princely wisdome and goodnesse the beames of your grace and favour may againe break forth upon your Kingdome, in returning and vouchsafing your Majestie's presence to the Parliament, whereby the feares of your people may be dispelled and a foundation layd of everlasting comfort to this land in the safety of your sacred person and abundant increase of honour and greatnesse upon your Royal Government.' There is no record of the answer which the king is stated to have been 'pleased graciously to promise to this request.'²⁰ The petition, however, elicited an expression of approval from the House of Commons which the Speaker was desired to convey, when returning, in conjunction with the Lord Keeper, the 'great thanks' of both Houses of Parliament for two subsequent petitions presented to each of them on 29 March 1642, by 'the High Sheriff, Knights, Esquires, Gentlemen, Ministers and others of good Ranke within the county of Rutland,'²¹ which are interesting as indicating the different attitude of the petitioners towards the two Houses. While expressing 'all possible joy and thankfulness' to the Lords for their concurrence with the Commons in passing the Bill to take away the votes of the prelates, settling the militia, and 'many other acts of great concernment,' they point out, 'with great grieffe accompanied by feares' that authority is not yet given for putting the kingdom 'in a posture of defence'; that Popish lords still retain their votes, the mass is still frequented, and Papists only 'superficially disarmed'; and that 'superstitious innovating ministers' are not punished nor censured. They therefore humbly pray a speedy removal of these grievances, and that 'your Lordships will be pleased still to joine with the House of Commons in all their pious and just proceedings.' Their more lengthy and strongly-worded petition to the same effect to the Commons is, on the other hand, prefaced by the declaration: 'That as we can never sufficiently bless Almighty God for His mercies and protection towards you, nor express our thankfulness unto you for the great works that have been done for the good both of Church and Commonwealth which will for ever rest upon Record through all posterities to your everlasting glory, so our humble desires are that you will be pleased in the feare of God with good courage to goe on to the full accomplishment of your godly and honourable intentions.'²²

The members for Rutland in the Short and Long Parliaments were Baptist Noel, son of Viscount Campden, and Sir Guy Palmes.²³ The latter was in April 1642 recommended by the House of Commons as a deputy lieutenant for the county,²⁴ but, like Noel, he took the side of the king on

²⁰ B.M. Pressmark, 669. f. 6 (1).

²² B.M. Press-mark, 669. f. 6 (1).

²⁴ *Commons' Journ.* ii, 508.

²¹ *Ibid.*; cf. *Lords' Journ.* iv, 680a.

²³ *Ret. of Memb. of Parl.*

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the outbreak of war. In February 1642 the Earl of Exeter was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Rutland on the recommendation of Parliament.²⁵

During the five months preceding the outbreak of the Civil War the king and Parliament were each endeavouring to obtain the control of the military forces of the country. On 17 June the Earl of Exeter was ordered by Parliament to 'put the militia into execution in the county of Rutland on 1 July, and likewise . . . the Instructions concerning the raising of money, plate and horse,'²⁶ and on 1 July instructions were sent for preserving the peace of the county.²⁷ Sir Edward Harington now took the lead among the Parliamentarians of the county, and he wrote in July that he and his colleagues had taken the necessary steps for securing the magazine at Oakham, and had duly received instructions to call out the militia, but as the king had issued commissions of array to 'men of great power in the county,' they feared that 'the business might receive great prejudice';²⁸ and it was reported at the end of the year that 'the Malignants were busy raising horse and foot.'²⁹

While the king was at Nottingham in August and September he received 'very good recruits of foot' from Lincolnshire,³⁰ and no doubt from Rutland as well. Jeremy Taylor, then rector of Uppingham, is believed to have taken this opportunity of joining the king;³¹ an example which was followed, either then or within the following year, by many other Royalists in the county. The most influential and active of these was Viscount Campden. On the outbreak of the war he received a commission to raise 500 horse, and afterwards another for three regiments of horse and three of foot, but died before he could fully accomplish his task.³² His son Baptist succeeded him as a loyal supporter of the king, and was in the course of the year 1643 successively appointed captain of a troop of horse and of a company of foot, colonel of a regiment of horse, and a brigadier both of horse and foot.³³ George Villiers, second Duke of Buckingham, then only seventeen years of age, and his younger brother William both joined the king at Oxford, and saw some hard fighting under Rupert, the former, who was present at the siege of Lichfield, also taking part in the plot which led to the second Civil War, despite the fact that Parliament had graciously restored to him, on the ground of his youth, the estates sequestrated during the first, while the latter, who held a commission in the King's 6th Regiment, died at Oxford in September 1643 from wounds received during the siege of Bristol.³⁴ Amongst other Rutland Royalists who took an active part in the Civil War were Edward son and heir of Sir Robert Heath of Cottesmore, and his brother John, the latter of

²⁵ *Commons' Journ.* ii, 426.

²⁷ *Ibid.* 172a.

²⁸ *Ibid.* 79 (17 Dec.).

²⁹ *Rutland Mag. and Co. Hist. Rec.* ii, 58.

³⁰ Campden's active part in the raising of ship-money in the county has already been mentioned. In 1631 he lent the king £2,500, which had not been repaid in 1635 (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*), and he was one of the five lords who in October 1640 were sent from York to negotiate a loan of £200,000 from the city of London, offering their own security and that of the other lords; they succeeded in raising only £50,000, as the Londoners distrusted any security but that of a Parliament; *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1640-1, pp. 40, 97, &c.; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xii, App. iv, 525.

³¹ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* viii, App. ii, 59; Doyle, *Official Baronage*, i, 308; *Dict. Nat. Biog.* Edward Noel, Baptist Noel.

³² *Dict. Nat. Biog.* lviii, 337; *Army List of Roundheads and Cavaliers* (ed. E. A. Peacock, 2nd ed.), 13.

²⁶ *Lords' Journ.* v, 140b, 142a.

²⁸ *Portland MSS.* (*Hist. MSS. Com.*), i, 43.

³⁰ Clarendon, *Hist. Rebellion*, vi, 21.

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whom also served in the second Civil War ;³⁵ Richard Bullingham of Ketton, who joined the Royalist garrison at Belvoir in 1643 ;³⁶ Sir Wingfield Bodenham, who was brought as a prisoner to Cromwell at Burghley, Northamptonshire, in 1644 ;³⁷ and—for his courage entitles him to notice, in spite of his diminutive size—Jeffrey Hudson, the queen's dwarf page, who is said to have served during the war as a captain of horse, and who accompanied his royal mistress on her return to France.³⁸

In December 1642 Parliament obtained fuller control over Rutland by constituting it part of the Midland Association ; the other counties comprised in it were those of Leicester, Derby, Nottingham, Northampton, Buckingham, Bedford, and Huntingdon, and Lord Grey of Groby was appointed commander-in-chief in January 1643. The members of the committee for Rutland were Thomas Salisbury, Sir Edward Harington, Robert Horseman and his son of the same name, Evers Armyn, John Osborne, Christopher Browne (of Tolethorpe), and Samuel Barker.³⁹ In February 1643 another committee was appointed to raise ' money, plate and horse ' in the counties of Nottingham, Leicester, and Rutland.⁴⁰ After the battle of Edgehill, on 23 October 1642, the nearest rallying-points for the king's partisans were Oxford and Newark, while the Parliamentary forces were concentrated at Leicester and Grantham. Though Belvoir Castle, the Earl of Rutland's seat, was captured by the royal troops in January 1643,⁴¹ this was more than compensated for by the capture of Burley on the Hill about the same time. In September 1643 the committee of Rutland was ordered ' forthwith to put in execution the ordinances for sequestrations, of the twentieth part, and for the weekly assessments, and particularly to sequester the estate of Sir Guy Palmes,' who was specially marked out for severe treatment as a Royalist member of the House of Commons ;⁴² and it is therefore evident that the position of such Royalists as remained in the county was from the beginning of the war one of great peril.

One of the first and greatest sufferers for the royal cause was Henry Noel of North Luffenham, who, having lost his first wife in 1640, had married two years later a daughter of Sir Hugh Perry, and had only been settled in his house for a few weeks at the time of his misfortunes, which appear to have been almost entirely due to the fact that he was the younger

³⁵ *Cal. of Com. for Compounding*, 1471.

³⁶ *Ibid.* 1497 ; *Leics. and Rut. N. and Q.* iii, 93.

³⁷ *Cal. of Com. for Compounding*, 850. He was appointed sheriff of the county by the king in 1642 for the year 1643 (B.M. Pressmark 669. f. 6, no. 93), but it is not likely that he had any real authority. In Jan. 1643 he attempted to secure for the king Rutland's share of the subsidy of £400,000 imposed by Parliament ; *Portland MSS.* (Hist. MSS. Com.), i, 91.

³⁸ Jeffrey Hudson, described by Fuller as ' the least man of the least county in England,' and familiar to readers of Scott's *Peveril of the Peak*, was born at Oakham in 1619, and was taken into the family of the Duke of Buckingham at Burley on the Hill when he was nine years old and only 18 in. in height, and was afterwards presented to the queen. During a journey to France to bring over the queen's midwife he was captured by a French pirate, and only liberated by the interference of the French court. During the queen's sojourn in France after the war he fought a duel with Lord Crofts, who had insulted him, fighting on horseback with pistols and shooting his antagonist, for which he was expelled from the court. After this he was taken at sea by a Turkish pirate and carried to Barbary, where he remained a slave for some years. He was eventually redeemed, returned to England about 1658, and received a pension from the Buckingham family. Being a Roman Catholic, he fell under suspicion during the Popish Plot, and was imprisoned for some time in the Gatehouse at Westminster, and he died soon after his release ; Wright, *Hist. Rut.* 105 ; Fuller, *Worthies* (ed. 1811), ii, 243-4 ; *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

³⁹ *Lords' Journ.* v, 493 ; *Rushworth*, v, 119.

⁴⁰ *Commons' Journ.* ii, 957.

⁴² *Commons' Journ.* iii, 257.

⁴¹ Nichols, *Hist. Leics.* ii, 51.

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son of Edward Viscount Campden. At the beginning of the year 1643 a detachment of Lord Grey's forces from Leicester had marched to Oakham, 'and thence carried away 22^{to} barrells of powder and other Ammunition which had long been stored there for the countrie's use,' and shortly afterwards some troopers from Grantham, under Captain Wray, marched to Baptist Noel's house at Exton, but 'finding resistance by the coming in of the neighbours' were forced to withdraw, threatening vengeance on the whole Noel family. On hearing of these raids, Henry Noel, after consultation with his friends, collected sixteen or seventeen of his neighbours as 'a little Guard,' as he terms it, for his home, and officially informed one of the deputy lieutenants of Rutland that he had taken this step as a measure of ordinary prudence and without any desire 'to raise any forces to molest the county or to meddle with anie of their Armes.'⁴³ His foresight proved fully justified, for at the end of February Lord Grey joined forces with Captain Wray with the view of capturing Lord Campden and his son; and, finding that 'his lordship was . . . gone from thence and his eldest son was in Newark' and that 'great store of arms and amunition,' which he had hoped to find, had been removed shortly before his coming, he marched to Henry Noel's house at North Luffenham and demanded 'his person, arms, and horses.'⁴⁴ Though the 'troops and dragoons' under Lord Grey numbered, according to Noel's estimate, 1,300, the latter, whose small force had been increased by the accession of friends and neighbours to 200, of whom 120 were armed with guns and the remainder with pikes and clubs, 'returned answer that he would stand on his defence while he had breath.'⁴⁵ In the skirmish which ensued, Catesby, a lieutenant of one of Lord Grey's troops, was killed, but the next day, when the house had been 'shot through,' the Parliamentarians set fire to some ricks and outhouses in the Hall yard.⁴⁶ This so alarmed some of Noel's neighbours, that, in order to save further bloodshed amongst those who were fighting for him, he surrendered on condition that the fire should be extinguished; that all in the house should have liberty to depart; and that none should enter the house but the commanders.⁴⁷ Lord Grey, in a letter on the subject, sent to Lenthall in London with the prisoners, is silent as to these conditions, which he appears to have entirely ignored, but after reporting his capture of Noel and his friend Henry Skipwith, of Warwickshire, adds: 'With much difficulty I preserved their lives, but the soldiers were so enraged I could not save their goods.'⁴⁸ Noel, whose account is substantiated by Wright in his *History of Rutland*, states that the soldiery not only seized all his wife's jewels, destroyed all his 'goods, accounts, writings, and evidences,' insulted his female servants, and took 'twentie horses of very good value'; but also afterwards entered the adjoining church and defaced a monument erected to his deceased wife.⁴⁹

⁴³ *Rut. Mag.* ii, 201-8. This article is based on a petition presented by Noel to the House of Lords during his imprisonment, which is still preserved in the library of the House.

⁴⁴ *Portland MSS.* (Hist. MSS. Com.), i, 99. A letter to Lenthall, the Speaker, from Lord Grey, 2 Mar. 1642-3, sent with Henry Noel and Henry Skipwith as prisoners. Cf. *Commons' Journ.* ii, 989; *Lords' Journ.* v, 641, and *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* v, App. 76.

⁴⁵ *Portland MSS.* loc. cit.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ *Rut. Mag.* ii, 206; Wright, *Hist. Rut.* 78.

⁴⁸ *Portland MSS.* loc. cit.

⁴⁹ In 1853 some skeletons were found at Whitwell, which were supposed to be those of men killed during the plunder of Luffenham House and the attack on Burley; *Gent. Mag.* (new ser.) xl, 270. But Whitwell is 5 miles from North Luffenham. The North Luffenham parish register has the entry 'A souldier of the Parliament troups buried Febr. 21 [1642] slaine then at ye fight in ye Towne.' (Contributed by Rev. E. A. Irons.)

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Noel was taken to London and lodged in Lord Petre's house as a prisoner, where he remained for more than four months, petitioning Parliament for release and for the restoration of his estates. But though his 'woods in Lincolnshire' were ordered to be protected against spoil, his estate was sequestered in June, and on 4 July the Commons sternly ordered him to be kept a prisoner 'in such manner as he may not go abroad with a keeper or otherwise.' This harsh treatment brought his life to an end, and on 19 July the Lords gave permission for his body to be taken to Campden, Gloucestershire, for burial.⁵⁰ Before the attack on Luffenham House Viscount Campden had attempted to gain protection for himself and his sons by sending £50 to Lord Grey, who replied that he must subscribe a sum 'answerable to his honour and estate.' On the capture of his son he was vainly summoned to attend the house of Lords, and was rated at £2,000, one twentieth of his estate.⁵¹ But he soon passed beyond these troubles, for he died at Oxford on 8 March.⁵²

Lord Grey took a serious view of the necessity for swift action to counteract the Royalist activity of the Noels. 'I found the coals kindle so fast,' he wrote, 'in that Country that had I not suddenly quenched them the whole Country would have been on a Flame. The Malignants flocked so fast, that had I not entered Rutlandshire at that Nick of Time, I am confident in One Week the whole County would have been drawn into a Body against the Parliament.'⁵³ Hence it is not surprising that he suggested to the Earl of Manchester the seizure of the rents of 'the young Lord Campden,'⁵⁴ Baptist Noel, who was now engaged in various operations on behalf of the Royalists. In March 1643 his servants removed Captain Stephen Tory from Oakham to Belvoir Castle, where he was charged before the governor with betraying the Oakham magazine to the enemy and resisting Campden's attempt to raise 300 horse for the king; and he remained a prisoner there till August, losing as he alleged £1,000 by plunder.⁵⁵ In June Lord Campden plundered Sir William Armyn's house at Osgodby in Lincolnshire,⁵⁶ and Sir Thomas Trollope valued at £2,000 the stock, corn, &c., taken from his lands by Campden's troops during the summer.⁵⁷ On 19 July he was reported as intending to 'set before' Peterborough and to have 'a far greater force come in Stamford [which is] fortifying there.'⁵⁸ In 1645 he was imprisoned in London, but was released on recognizances, and obtained in September 1646 a pass to visit Rutland.⁵⁹

The head quarters of the Parliamentary forces in Rutland were fixed at Burley on the Hill. The order of September 1643, already mentioned, was 'especially recommended to Mr. Thomas Wayte to put into execution.' Waite, who was said by Royalist writers to be the son of a tavern-keeper at Market Overton, but more probably belonged to Leicestershire,⁶⁰ was in charge of the arrangements for raising money and horses in the county, and

⁵⁰ *Lords' Journ.* v, 645, 647, 686; vi, 136; *Commons' Journ.* ii, 989; iii, 85, 132, 135, 154.

⁵¹ *Lords' Journ.* v, 629, 631.

⁵² *Dict. Nat. Biog.* xli, 91.

⁵³ *Lords' Journ.* v, 631.

⁵⁴ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* viii, App. ii, 59.

⁵⁵ *Cal. of Com. for Compounding*, 940.

⁵⁶ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* vii, App. 1; cf. as to Sir William Armyn, *Dict. Nat. Biog.* vi, 8.

⁵⁷ *Cal. of Com. for Compounding*, 939.

⁵⁸ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* vii, App. 555a.

⁵⁹ *Lords' Journ.* viii, 460, 477; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* vi, App. 133; cf. *Dict. Nat. Biog.* xli, 88, 89.

⁶⁰ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

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was in December 1643 reappointed to the office of sheriff, which he had held two years before. He was at the same time actively engaged in military service; on Christmas Day Lord Grey reported the defeat by his troops of 'the whole body of the Belvoir forces.'⁶¹ As governor of Burley he came into serious conflict with the Rutland Committee.

In May 1644 the Committee of both Kingdoms reminded the Rutland Committee that it was 'very necessary that the garrison of Burley be entertained for the safety of that and the adjoining places,' and desired them 'to take order for some supply of money for the said garrison, wherein we do not doubt but you will show such willingness and readiness as the dangers of the times . . . do invite you to.'⁶² It was probably in consequence of this letter that about Michaelmas, Evers Armyn, a member of the Rutland Committee and a deputy-lieutenant for the county, finding, on visiting Burley, that the only cavalry force there was borrowed from Northampton, raised—with the assistance of other deputy-lieutenants to Henry Earl of Kent, appointed lord lieutenant of the county on the death of the Earl of Exeter⁶³—'two troops of horse well armed.'⁶⁴ These were placed under the command of Major Layfield (or Leafield) and Captain John Clarke, a sub-commissioner for the county; and later a third troop was raised under Captain Collins, and arrangements were made for the payment of the three.⁶⁵ Additions appear to have been also made to the fortifications, for the Committee of both Kingdoms wrote in November forbidding the pulling down of more houses or the making of more 'spoil' round Burley than was necessary.⁶⁶ During this year a quarrel arose between the governor of Rockingham and the Rutland Committee, whose complaints to Parliament forced him to resign;⁶⁷ and in July the friction between Colonel Waite and the committee resulted in the presentation of articles against him to the House of Commons. The case was investigated by a committee of the House, and Waite was suspended from his command until it should be decided.⁶⁸ Burley was entrusted to Major Layfield, whom Grey does not seem to have readily welcomed, for the Committee for both Kingdoms had to be very explicit in its orders, desiring that 'the house, stables, and all works and strengths of Burley and all the forces of that garrison, horse, foot, and dragoons' should 'for the present' be placed under Layfield's command, and enjoining them 'to avoid all quarrels and mutinies that may endanger yourself and the garrison.'⁶⁹ In October the freemen and yeomen of Rutland petitioned the House of Lords for Waite's continuance in command of the garrison, but without effect.^{69a}

In 1645 Lieutenant John Freeman was sent with a detachment of the garrison to search for Cavaliers in Oakham, where he shot one John Halford for 'resisting' during his entry of a suspected house, and, being committed for trial on a true bill for manslaughter, was obliged to petition the House of Commons for protection;⁷⁰ and in the same month the Rutland Committee was ordered to garrison Stoneleigh for the purpose of blocking

⁶¹ *Commons' Journ.* iii, 351, 354, 364.

⁶³ *Lords' Journ.* vi, 686b; *Commons' Journ.* iii, 605.

⁶⁴ *Cal. of Com. for. Compounding*, 559.

⁶⁶ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1644-5, p. 100.

⁶⁹ *Commons' Journ.* iii, 548-69.

^{69a} *Lords' Journ.* vii, 26-7.

⁷⁰ *Commons' Journ.* iv, 695.

⁶² *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1644, p. 155.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ *Tanner MSS.* lxii, 610.

⁶⁹ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1644, p. 361.

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up Belvoir.⁷¹ In June an ordinance passed by both Houses appointed a committee, consisting of the former members, with the addition of Sir James Harington, Colonel Waite, Abel Barker, and others, with Lord Grey as president, for the furnishing of arms and ammunition, making of fortifications and paying of officers and soldiers, and other public necessary charges for the defence and preservation of the county of Rutland from plunder and ruin, and empowered them 'from time to time, from 9 September 1644 (*sic*) to raise in the said county such sums of money as shall be by them, or any three or more of them, thought necessary for the use aforesaid.'⁷² Waite's appointment to the committee indicates that he had been vindicated from the charges brought against him, and in August he was discharged from further attendance at the House, and his suspension was removed.⁷³ In pursuance of this Ordinance the county was assessed at £250 per week for six months,⁷⁴ and in the following August at £56 18s. for providing 'one hundred foot for blocking Newark,'⁷⁵ while further contributions were demanded for the Scottish army in spite of 'pretended inability to pay.'⁷⁶ The total assessments upon it for the English army during the three years 1644-6 appear to have amounted to £1,840, £1,104, and £736 respectively, in addition to two sums of £365 each in 1644 and 1645 for 'bringing up the Scots,'⁷⁷ and an 'Account of Fines raised by the Long Parliament during three years' on the various English counties gives the total for Rutland as £29,000!⁷⁸

The constitution of the Rutland Committee as described above does not seem to have been altogether satisfactory to Parliament, and in October 1645 the Committee of Examinations was directed 'to examine the business of the improvement of some of the committee and others of Rutland, with a warrant of the Committee of Accompts,' and also 'the business concerning the Committee's plowing of Pastures.'⁷⁹

But the Parliamentarians in Rutland had not their own way entirely in the summer of 1645. The king, after his defeat at Naseby on 14 June, retreated to the west, and then moved north to Doncaster, where he was in danger of being caught between Poyntz' forces in the north and the Scots, who were moving up from Hereford. 'In his desperation he resolved to make a dash at the Associated Counties';⁸⁰ he was at Belvoir on 22 August, and next day swept through north Rutland to Stamford.⁸¹ A trace of fighting in another part of the county is found in the following entry in the North Luffenham Parish Register:—'In y^e fight at Broken back betweene a troupe . . . y^e Kings forces (surprizd by y^e Parliam^s) & y^e Parliam 25 Aug. 2 killed of y^e Kings forces w^{ch} were buried at our Towne'.^{81a}

⁷¹ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1644-5, p. 309.

⁷² This ordinance was originally proposed in Oct. 1644, and was not passed till 21 June 1645. The quarrel between Waite and the committee made it more than usually difficult for Parliament to settle the affairs of the county. See *Lords' Journ.* vii, 17, 443; *Commons' Journ.* iii, 655; iv, 181; with many intermediate references.

⁷³ *Commons' Journ.* iv, 236.

⁷⁴ *Cal. Treas. Bks.* 1660-7, p. 275; cf. *Commons' Journ.* iii, 655; iv, 565.

⁷⁵ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1645-7, p. 42.

⁷⁶ *Portland MSS.* (Hist. MSS. Com.), i, 239.

⁷⁷ *Cal. Treas. Bks.* 1660-7, p. 275.

⁷⁸ Stevens, *Hist. Acct. Taxes*, 291-2. Stevens' account of the Parliamentary exaction as a whole is absurdly exaggerated, but probably this item is not far from the truth.

⁷⁹ *Commons' Journ.* iii, 312.

⁸⁰ Gardiner, *Hist. Civil War* (4-vol. ed.), ii, 290.

⁸¹ *Iter Carolinum* (Somers Tracts), v, 272.

^{81a} Communicated by Rev. E. A. Irons.

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The garrison at Burley, then consisting of 'three troops of horse in good condition' under Layfield, Collins, and Clarke, with Captain Hatcher, Christopher Browne, and John Osborne as representatives of the county committee,⁸² appear to have set fire to the house because they felt themselves too weak to hold it.⁸³ Evers Armyn, who had gone to London at Easter, complained that on his return in August he found his goods and papers, and a book kept to check the receivers of sequestration money, destroyed;⁸⁴ and the Rutland Sub-Committee of Accounts were obliged to betake themselves to the stables,⁸⁵ which were the only portion of the building remaining intact, but which, judging by the description given of them by Fuller, and also by Wright—who says that in his day they were still some of the noblest in England⁸⁶—must have been of exceptionally fine dimensions.⁸⁷ The fortifications seem also to have suffered little damage, for in April 1646 the Committee of Both Kingdoms ordered that they should be 'slighted,' and that the two troops of Major Babbington and Captain Warden should be disbanded on the ground that, as Belvoir had been taken and Newark was closely besieged, there was no longer any need for the garrison at Burley.⁸⁸

In September 1645, since by the defection of both of its members the county had been for some three years unrepresented in the House of Commons, a proposal was made for a new election. Nothing, however, was done for some months, and in January 1645-6 rival petitions were presented to the House, one urging that the writ should be sent down, and the other, from the county committee and others, asking that it should be delayed until the difference between Colonel Waite and the committee should be settled.⁸⁹ In June 1646 there was a recurrence of disorder in the county, and Waite and Mr. Barker were summoned to London to meet a charge of miscarriage brought by the committee.⁹⁰ This particular dispute was no doubt connected with the election, for on 2 July a double return was made, one giving Sir James Harington and Waite as elected, while the other gave Harington and Christopher Browne. Waite was again exonerated from blame, and his election was accepted by the House as valid,⁹¹ while in January 1647 it was ordered that he should receive £2,166 out of the fines levied on Royalists in the county, on account of money disbursed in the Parliamentary service.⁹² In December 1647 Waite was sent down to Rutland to arrange for the pay and disbanding of supernumerary forces, and for the relief of the county from the burden of free quarter. But as he was at the same time to arrange for the payment of Rutland's share of the monthly assessment of £60,000, his constituents must have met him with mixed feelings.⁹³

⁸² *Cal. of Com. for Compounding*, 559.

⁸³ Wright, *Hist. Rut.* 32.

⁸⁴ *Cal. of Com. for Compounding*, 193, 559.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ *Hist. Rut.* loc. cit.

⁸⁷ Cf. *Hist. Burley on the Hill*, 7, 8. Fuller, *Worthies* (ed. 1811), ii, 241, says that in these stables 'horses (if their *pabulum* so plenty as their *stabulum* stately) were the best accommodated in England.' They still exist, but were repaired and slightly altered by the second Earl of Nottingham, who purchased Burley from the second Duke of Buckingham.

⁸⁸ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1645-7, p. 419.

⁸⁹ *Commons' Journ.* iv, 295, 408. It is noticeable that Viscount Campden is described as 'Lord Noel,' the House refusing to recognize the title to which he had succeeded in 1643.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* 565; *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1645-7, p. 440.

⁹¹ *Ret. of Meml. of Parl.* i, 492, and note.

⁹² *Commons' Journ.* v, 48.

⁹³ *Ibid.* 400. The monthly assessment was afterwards raised to £70,000, of which Rutland's share was £272 4s. 6d.; Grose, *Milit. Antiq.* i, 28.

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On the outbreak of the second Civil War a rising of the 'malignants' in Rutland was anticipated if Lord Norwich should break away to the north.⁹⁴ But he remained in Essex, and Rutland was undisturbed. Waite distinguished himself in the capture of Woodcroft House, near Peterborough,⁹⁵ and also took part in the pursuit and capture of the Duke of Hamilton after the rout of Preston, August 1648; he attended the House of Commons and gave a full account of the action, and Rutland, among other counties, was thanked for its supply of troops.⁹⁶ The anxiety and dissatisfaction felt in the county with respect to the political situation at the end of 1648 are shown in a lengthy 'petition or remonstrance from the well-affected inhabitants' presented to Fairfax on 24 November by Lieutenant Freeman and three others. Parliament was at this time engaged in negotiations with the king, and, said the petitioners, 'that which melteth our very souls is the much blood already spilt, and yet we like to return into our former slavery;' they besought Fairfax—'for God's sake, lay these things to heart,' and pointed out with regard to the proposed militia arrangements that 'if the House of Commons had declared themselves the supream Authority of the Nation (as they ought to have done) our securitie had been firm.'⁹⁷ Waite survived Pride's Purge, and was a member of the 'high court of justice' appointed for the trial of the king.⁹⁸

The revolution carried out by the Rump did not at once bring relief to Rutland. Three troops of Lilburne's regiment were quartered in the county, and Abel Barker, who was Sir Edward Harington's tenant at Gunthorpe, wrote to him that four of the men were quartered there. Harington directed the removal of the troops to Worcestershire, whereupon the captain sent to Lilburne for orders, and was bidden to stay where he was.⁹⁹ After this only one troop of horse appears to have been permanently settled in Rutland, numbering four officers and sixty men; the command was given to Major Norton, as Waite's parliamentary duties kept him in London.¹⁰⁰ But once more, in August 1651, the alarm was raised by the invasion of the Scots with Cromwell in pursuit, and the Rutland militia was ordered to rendezvous at Daventry with that of Northamptonshire and Leicestershire, the whole force being under the command of Lord Grey, who also received a commission to raise six troops of volunteer horse in these counties.¹⁰¹

From 1644 onwards, the principal Royalists gradually submitted to the Parliament, and compounded for their delinquency by fines of varying amount. Amongst these was the Duke of Buckingham, whose estates were for a second time sequestered in 1648 for his participation in the second Civil War,¹⁰² but who returned to England secretly in 1651, and, by his marriage with Mary the daughter of Lord Fairfax, to whom his Rutland property had been assigned, was enabled to recover it before the Restoration.¹⁰³

⁹⁴ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1648-9, p. 108.

⁹⁵ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

⁹⁶ *Commons' Journ.* v, 688-9.

⁹⁷ B.M. Pressmark, 699. f. 13 (47).

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* (68).

⁹⁹ Barker says the men were quartered by him at 'Mr. Meakins' at 3s. each per day, 'which was as cheap as we could get them in respect of the dearness of these tymes.' The charge seems excessive. An Uppingham widow about the same time appealed to Barker to get her relieved of the maintenance of a soldier at half-a-crown weekly, which is more reasonable; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* v, App. 392, 397.

¹⁰⁰ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1650, pp. 214, 340.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.* 1651, pp. 323, 341, 369.

¹⁰² Cf. Clarendon, *Hist. Reb.* xi, 5; *Dict. Nat. Biog.* lviii, 337.

¹⁰³ Pearl Finch, *Hist. Burley on the Hill*, 8; *Cal. of Com. for Compounding*, 88.

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Viscount Campden, whose estates were sequestrated in August 1644,¹⁰⁴ and who, on account of complicity in Royalist plots, was obliged in 1651 to enter into a bond of £10,000, with two sureties for £5,000 each, 'to do nothing to the prejudice of the Commonwealth,'¹⁰⁵ compounded for £19,558, which was ultimately reduced to £9,000.¹⁰⁶ Sir Wingfield Bodenham, on the other hand, refused to pay the fine assessed, declared that he was always averse to Parliament and expected a change, and remained for some time a prisoner in the Tower, where he employed his enforced leisure in antiquarian studies; and though he was released on bail in November 1647, his fine was not settled till August 1655.¹⁰⁷ Sir Thomas Mackworth of Normanton, who pleaded that he was under age when he adhered to the king, submitted in December 1646;¹⁰⁸ Sir Guy Palmes¹⁰⁹ of Ashwell, and his son, Sir Bryan, in the same year;¹¹⁰ and Sir Richard Wingfield of Tickencote, who urged that he had been forced to join the enemy, because all his estates were in their power, in December 1645.¹¹¹ To these may be added Dr. Clement Brittain (or Breton) of Uppingham, whose original fine was eventually nearly doubled on the ground that he was a clerk;¹¹² Richard Bullingham of Ketton;¹¹³ Edward and John Heath, sons of Sir Robert Heath of Cottesmore;¹¹⁴ and Valentine Saunders of Lyndon, who, while visiting a sister in Westmorland, had been 'partly inveigled, partly compelled,' at the age of seventeen to take up arms for the king in Skipton Castle, and whose case therefore seems particularly hard.¹¹⁵ He urged that, though his father was a Roman Catholic, he himself had been brought up by his grandfather as a Protestant, that he could prove conformity, and that he had even taken the Covenant and the Negative Oath; but these pleas were rejected, and he was informed that, as he had not renounced popery before taking up arms, he could not compound, and must pay a fine of £1,200.¹¹⁶

The enforcement of the decrees of sequestration, however, caused considerable friction amongst the Parliamentarians themselves. This seems to have been largely due to the attitude adopted by the Central Committee for Compounding towards the Rutland Commission, which consisted of Evers Armyne and Benjamin Norton, with Captain John Clarke and

¹⁰⁴ *Commons' Journ.* iii, 605; *Lords' Journ.* viii, 457.

¹⁰⁵ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1651, p. 75.

¹⁰⁶ *Cal. of Com. for Compounding*, 939.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.* 850. His father, Sir Francis Bodenham, who was also a Royalist, died in 1647.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.* 1605.

¹⁰⁹ The late member for the county.

¹¹⁰ *Cal. of Com. for Compounding*, 1316.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.* 1055.

¹¹² *Ibid.* 1386.

¹¹³ *Ibid.* 1497.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.* 1471.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.* 1157.

¹¹⁶ The list of persons sequestrated in Rutland by the Committee for Compounding (pp. 88, 89) includes, in addition to the above names:—Sir George Benyon (London); Sir Kenelm Digby; Sir Francis Mackworth; Edward Andrews, of Bisbrooke, Rut., and Oxtou, Notts.; Robert Brudenell, papist; Nicholas Crisp of Seaton; James Digby of North Luffenham; Thomas Haslewood of Belton, papist; Henry Herendine of Morcott; John Hunt of Barrowden; Neale Mackworth of Empingham; Peregrine Mackworth of Tickencote; Edward Overton of Morcott; Edward Palmes of Barrowden; Thomas Rudkin of Wissendine; John Sechell of Barrowden; G. Sheffield of Liddington; and Edward Wright of Ketton. Of these it may be noted that Sir Kenelm Digby of Dry Stoke, son of Sir Everard Digby, who participated in the Gunpowder Plot, was on terms of intimate friendship with Cromwell on account of their common interest in physics, and is said to have used his influence to reconcile the Roman Catholics to the Protectorate on condition of their being secured in the free exercise of their religion (see *Rut. Mag.* ii, 166–7). Edward Overton of Morcott in 1655 claimed a discharge as having never been really sequestrated or charged with delinquency (*Cal. of Com. for Compounding*, 3237). Francis Phillpotts of Ryhall and John Sechell of Morcott are also elsewhere noted as compounding (*ibid.* 861, 1178).

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Captain Mathias Barry as sub-commissioners ;¹¹⁷ and on one occasion we find the former body complaining that 'it seems strange that we have neither obedience nor the civility of an answer, and your severity makes us suspect something beyond love of justice.'¹¹⁸ It was reported in 1650 to the Central Committee that as the sequestrated estates consisted mainly of tillage, small farms, and 'mean rents,' there was—apart from the tenants' losses by rot, &c.—some difficulty in remitting the revenues desired from them with the speed and completeness expected in London ; and also that the courts, most of which were in Buckingham's estate, and the maintenance of which was necessary to prevent disorders amongst the tenants, brought little profit.¹¹⁹ The Central Committee was not satisfied, however, and on 20 September 1650, complained that only £100 instead of £245 6s. 8d., the half-year's rent of the sequestrated estates, had been sent up to London, and threatened to fine the members of the late committee £20 each if they failed to make due returns.¹²⁰ In replying to this threat, Armyn and Norton said that for themselves they had complied with this rule, though they could not answer for things done before their appointment or in their absence.¹²¹ 'Some Colonels &c.,' they observed significantly, 'received great pay ; we did not receive public money' ; and Armyn in another letter says, 'If there be any profit to be had, others who seek such places get them ; but if there be any trouble without profit, that they lay upon those which seek for no place at all.'¹²² In December 1654 the Committee for Sequestrations, which had then, under an ordinance of 10 February, 1653-4, replaced the Central Committee for Compounding,¹²³ declared that no account or rentals—except one paper—had been sent in since the appointment of the new Rutland Committee in February 1650, and demanding proper returns within twenty-one days.¹²⁴ On 14 March in this year, however, all existing county committees were discharged, and Rutland, with Northamptonshire, was placed ten days later under Peter Whalley as sub-commissioner,¹²⁵ who sent up in August 1655 a list of fifteen sequestrated Papists and delinquents,¹²⁶ but complained that the late committee refused to give details as to dates in connexion with proceedings against two recusants in the county.¹²⁷ It appears from a letter of 1659 that Rutland was eventually united for sequestration purposes with Huntingdonshire instead of Northamptonshire since the Huntingdonshire commissioners desired Huntingdonshire and Rutland business to be joined with Northamptonshire, the Isle of Ely, or some other.¹²⁸

Other difficulties of various kinds connected with sequestration are also recorded in the papers of the Committee for Compounding. Thus in 1650 Captain Barry, one of the sub-commissioners, complained that at Burley the commissioners were interfered with by the agents of Lord Fairfax, who claimed rights over the manor to secure the payment of certain debts, and on whose behalf the London Committee eventually ordered that the Burley rents should be paid to him until the debts were discharged.¹²⁹ Again Captain Barry and other sub-commissioners opposed the purchase by Mr. Armyn of

¹¹⁷ *Cal. of Com. for Compounding*, 559.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.* 313.

¹²³ *Ibid.* 668.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.* 730.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.* 761 (29 Oct. 1659).

¹²⁹ *Ibid.* 333 ; cf. pp. 357, 372, and 400.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.* 1497.

¹²¹ *Ibid.* 559 (19 Mar. 1651).

¹²⁴ *Ibid.* 713.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.* 728 (7 Aug.), and 736 (29 Feb. 1655-6).

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.* 302.

¹²² *Ibid.* 193.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.* 672-3.

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Greenham and Whitwell Manors, part of Sir George Benyon's estate, and threatened to distrain a tenant if he paid rent to the new owner—a proceeding which was peremptorily forbidden in a letter from London.¹³⁰ Lastly, in 1653, the conduct of Colonel Waite, who in 1650 bought the manor of Hambleton from the county commissioners, forced the tenants and inhabitants, who 'were unwilling to remedy themselves by tumultuous means,' to petition the Council of State for relief. Waite, they complained, besides lessening their farms, forcing them to inclose their pastures, inclosing water springs, turning the brook, and prohibiting the reaping of corn sown by his consent unless 10s. per acre was paid to him, refused to renew their leases except at double rents, and threatened to pull down the tenants' houses as they fell in; and thus, concludes the petition, '80 families of tenants would be undone and 30 families of labourers out of work.' On the appointment of a committee by Parliament—to whom the Council referred the matter—Waite offered an agreement, which was accepted for the sake of peace; but his prompt repudiation of it directly after the dissolution of the Rump by Cromwell necessitated the appointment in April 1654 of Sir Thomas Hartopp and Major Edward Horseman as arbitrators, and William Shield as umpire, with orders to finish the business within eighteen days.¹³¹

To the small assembly known as 'Barebone's Parliament' Rutland sent one representative, Edward Horseman. It was the only county whose representation was unaffected by the Parliamentary reforms of the 'Instrument of Government' in 1653, and to the Parliament of 1654 Horseman was returned with William Shield, while the members in 1656 were Shield and Abel Barker.¹³²

On Cromwell's division of the kingdom in 1655 into districts under major-generals, Rutland, in conjunction with the counties of Northampton, Bedford, and Huntingdon, was assigned to William Boteler,¹³³ who, two years later, was also made major of the Protector's old regiment of Ironsides.¹³⁴ The complaints made against Boteler in Richard Cromwell's Parliament for his arbitrary conduct during his administration of these counties were so loud that a committee was appointed to draw up an impeachment against him.¹³⁵ Some indication of its arbitrary character is to be found in the fact that he not only advised Thurloe, on 16 November 1655, as to the choice of a sheriff for Rutland—'propounding' Christopher Browne of Tolethorpe or Benjamin Norton of Tinwell¹³⁶—but also informed him, on 16 February 1656 that he had prepared a list of jurors in each of the counties within his charge, the acceptance of which he expected 'easily to procure with the sheriffs.'¹³⁷ In November 1655 he reported to Thurloe the capture, in Rockingham Forest, of Edward Anderton, of Dene, Northamptonshire, on his way to Charles Upton, a 'recusant' of Dry Stoke, in Rutland.¹³⁸ Nothing more damaging was, however, found on Anderton—who proved to be 'one of those priests who wander up and down from one catholic's house to another'—than some catechisms, an *Agnus Dei*, beads, and a medal of the Virgin; and

¹³⁰ *Cal. of Com. for Compounding*, 612, 613 (7 and 14 Oct. 1652).

¹³¹ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1653-4, p. 330; *ibid.* 1654, pp. 27, 83.

¹³² Cobbett, *Parl. Hist.* iii, 1408, 1419, 1430, 1481.

¹³³ *Thurloe Pap.* iv, 117; cf. iii, 50.

¹³⁴ C. H. Firth, 'The Later History of the Ironsides,' *Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc.* (new ser.), xv, 17.

¹³⁵ *Commons' Journ.* vii, 636.

¹³⁶ *Thurloe Pap.* iv, 207.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.* 541.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.* 247.

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nothing further seems to have come of the incident.¹³⁹ On 1 December he wrote from Oundle, Northamptonshire, that he 'has this week been in Rutland, where by reason of the smallness of the county and the paucity of the cavaliers, the Commissioners and I have at once perfected the assessments of their estates, which amount not fully to £500 per annum';¹⁴⁰ and in another letter of 7 February 1656 he sent him 'a duplicate of the several delinquents' estates which are decimated within the county of Rutland,' which comprises the names of Lord Campden of Exton, Wingfield Bodenham of Ryhall, esq., Clement Breton of Uppingham, doctor in divinity, and six others, and gives the total of the assessment as £436 8s. 9d.¹⁴¹ The process of decimation seems to have proved more costly than was anticipated, for he also asks in this letter for £1,080 to pay the militia under his command, on the ground that 'the taking' Lord Westmorland's and Sir William Farmor's and some other great estates in Northamptonshire, 'hath made us fall as much short as we should have been over. And the like hath happened in Bedford, Huntingdon and Rutland as they are little countreys so had few delinquents and these very small estates (if any).'¹⁴² A list of the persons within his district committed to gaol by Boteler inclosed in a letter to Thurloe of 20 March 1655 from Bedford, giving an account of some high-handed proceedings with respect to the mayor of that town, comprises twelve at Northampton, one at Huntingdon, and one at Bedford, and one also at Oakham—John Goodman, 'a pitiful drunken wretch and every way as prophane as the devil can make him (I think), hath no estate, lives upon the snatch altogether, and being a prophane jester to some gentlemen of the countrey.'¹⁴³ That he was an advocate of transportation seems evident from his request, in a letter of 14 April in the same year, that Thurloe would help him 'to a vent for those idle vile rogues that I have secured for the present, some in one county and some in another, being not able to find security for their peacible demeanour, not fitt to live on this side, in some or other of our plantations. I could help you to 2 or 300 at 24 hours warning and the countreys would think themselves well ridd of them.'¹⁴⁴

The dissatisfaction caused by Boteler's autocratic methods of government must doubtless have helped to reconcile public opinion in Rutland as elsewhere to the idea of the Restoration. Some of the leading men of the

¹³⁹ *Thurlor Pap.* iv, 274.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.* 512. The complete list is as follows:—

	£	s.	d.
Lord Campden of Exton	160	0	0
Wingfield Bodenham of Ryall, Esq.	17	12	7
Clement Breton of Uppingham, Doctor in Divinity	10	0	0
Arthur Warren of Whisendine, Esq.	20	8	2
Richard Bullingham of Ketton, Esq.	20	0	0
Edward Heath of Cottesmore, Esq.	80	0	0
Sir Thomas Mackworth of Normanton, Bt.	60	0	0
Richard Wingfield of Tickencoate, Esq.	42	14	0
Euseby Pelsent of Liddington, Esq.	25	14	0
Sum total	£436	8	9

Of these, Lord Campden, Wingfield Bodenham, Clement Breton, Richard Bullingham, and Edward Heath, have already been noted as compounding; see p. 196.

¹⁴² He apparently received an encouraging answer (*ibid.* 541), but recurs to the topic in subsequent letters (*Thurloe Pap.* iv, 550, 695).

¹⁴³ *Ibid.* 632-3.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.* 695.

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county were probably prepared to support Parliament loyally to the last, such as Sir James Harington, already mentioned as one of the members of the Rutland Committee of 1645¹⁴⁵; he was president of the Council of State which in May 1659 wrote to warn General Monk that 'divers dangerous persons of Charles Stuart's party are contriving to rayse new warres within this Commonwealth,' and desiring him 'to watch the carriage and motions of malignants in Scotland.'¹⁴⁶ On the other hand, the prevailing sentiment amongst the Rutland troops is shown by the conduct of George Lascelles, quartermaster to Colonel Hackey (? Hackett), who, when left chief officer on the station and ordered by Major-General Lambert to march north, left at Oakham thirteen men of his force, whom he could not trust, and marched instead to join Monk. He was, however, surprised by Lambert's forces at Boroughbridge, and but for the opportune arrival of news that peace had been made between the two generals would have been tried for his life.¹⁴⁷ Another Rutland Parliamentarian who must have adopted the Royalist cause in this year was Colonel Henry Markham of Ketton, who, as he was one of the pall-bearers at the funeral of the Duke of Albemarle at Westminster on 30 April 1670, must probably have been a personal friend of the latter's.¹⁴⁸ His name appears in the Parliamentary Army List of 1647 as a captain of horse in Fairfax's army,¹⁴⁹ and in 1648 he was authorized to raise sixty foot for the security of Belvoir Castle with the charge of which he was entrusted by the Parliamentarians.¹⁵⁰ He was appointed one of the leaders of seventeen troops of horse by Lenthall, the Speaker, on 28 December 1659,¹⁵¹ and that he must at this time have been of some service in carrying out Monk's plans seems evident from the following inscription which was formerly on a slab forming part of the floor of the sanctuary of North Luffenham Church:—'Here lyeth Col. Henry Markham who was very instrumental in the happy restoration of King Charles ye II, and was one of ye 418 Gents of the Privy Chamber of the said King of ever blessed memory.'¹⁵²

On 26 June 1660 those among 'the nobility and gentry of the county of Rutland' who had 'never made a publique application to any pretended power' presented Charles II with an address of 'Humble Congratulations' on his restoration, in which they express to God their 'thankfull acknowledgment of His goodnesse in so great a Blessing accomplished without effusion of blood' and assure the king that 'we shall, according to our duty, bear true Allegiance to your Majestie your Heirs and Successors and shall upon all occasions endeavour ourselves to be Your Majestie's most Loyall subjects.'¹⁵³ These congratulations—presented by Hon. Philip Sherard, to whom the king 'in a very gracious manner was pleased to express his acceptance' of the address—were signed by the Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Exeter, Lord Campden, Lord Ross, Lord Sherard, Philip Sherard, esq., Sir Thomas

¹⁴⁵ *Supra*, p. 193.

¹⁴⁶ *Clarke Pap.* (ed. C. H. Firth, Camd. Soc.), iv, 16. He was, together with Mr. Scott, Berners Samuell and others, 'left out of' the New Militia Committee for Westminster appointed at the close of the year because they 'utterly disowned' its order, and voted that being appointed by Parliament they ought not nor would obey any order from or give account to any but the Parliament or their Council of State; *ibid.* 103.

¹⁴⁷ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xi, App. vii, 92.

¹⁴⁸ *Rut. Mag.* iii, 69.

¹⁴⁹ *Army Lists of the Roundheads and Cavaliers* (ed. E. A. Peacock, 2nd ed. 1874), App. 107.

¹⁵⁰ *Rut. Mag.* iii, 68.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵² *Ibid.*

¹⁵³ B.M. Pressmark 669. f. 25 (55).

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Mackworth, and forty others,¹⁵⁴ and it seems noteworthy that the list of signatories includes the names of only *ten* of those who compounded¹⁵⁵ and *five* of those who were 'decimated' by Major-General Boteler.¹⁵⁶ The clergy of the county also manifested their loyalty during 1660 in a form which must have been even more gratifying to the king, for they united with those of six other counties in making him a 'voluntary present,' which was appropriated for the pay of the king's servants.¹⁵⁷

One of the most influential of the signatories to the congratulations, the Duke of Buckingham, soon after severed his connexion with Rutland by the sale, necessitated by his extravagance, of Burley to Daniel Finch, 2nd Earl of Nottingham.¹⁵⁸ Another Viscount Campden was made captain of a troop of horse, and was appointed lord lieutenant of the county in 1660,¹⁵⁹ when he also received a commission from the king to 'preserve ye game in Rutland.' The law on this subject seems to have fallen into abeyance during the Civil Wars and the Protectorate, for this commission, after reciting that 'Our Game of all sorts is unlawfully disturbed and destroyed by divers leud persons within our county of Rutland and places adjacent against whom no ordinary means have been sufficient to prevent their unlawful practices in the kind,' commands and requires 'Our most trusty and well beloved cousin' to use his 'best care and watchfulness by all ways to prevent such insolences,' and authorizes him to apprehend and bring to justice the offenders, and seize all guns, nets, &c., of all kinds.¹⁶⁰ Campden appears from henceforth to have devoted himself to local affairs, and died at Exton 20 October 1682.¹⁶¹ His son Edward was raised a step in the peerage by his creation as Earl of Gainsborough six weeks after his father's death.^{161a}

Reprisals against the Parliamentarians began within six months of the Restoration by the appointment, in November 1660, of commissions 'to inquire of and seize' the estates of traitors, and a list of those in twenty-four counties of England and Wales, which accompanies the warrant issued for this purpose by Treasurer Southampton to the king's remembrancer, gives the names of three in Rutland—Thomas Waite, Francis Hackett, and Henry Smith.¹⁶² Waite surrendered, and though he was condemned to death as a regicide his life was spared, and he was kept in prison at Jersey until 1668, when nothing more is known of him.¹⁶³ Abel Barker received a pardon for his participation in the revolutionary government, and showed his public spirit by writing to Philip Sherard, one of the members for the county in the Restoration Parliament, to point out the excessive burden of taxation laid on Rutland and the neighbouring counties by the parliamentary arrangements

¹⁵⁴ These are:—Sir Thomas Hartopp; Sir Richard Wingfield; Sir Euseby Pelsant; Sir Wingfield Bodenham; George, Francis, and Henry Sherard, esqs., Edward Heath, esq., Samuel Browne, esq., Abel Barker, esq., William Palmes, esq., Henry, Robert, Neale, and Peregrine Mackworth; James Digby, esq., Alexander and Andrew Noel; Edmund Faulkner; Richard Fancoate; Charles and John Wing; Francis Wingfield; Jervise Day; Henry Foster; William Hartopp; Geo. Sheffield; William Hide; Benjamin Bodenham; William Cheseldine; William Jopson (? Jepson); Charles Tod; Thomas Trollope; George, John, Robert, and Francis Heath; Ezekiel and Daniel Johnson; and Richard and Charles Halford.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. note 116, p. 196.

¹⁵⁶ Cf. note 141, p. 199.

¹⁵⁷ *Cal. Treas. Bks.* 1660–7, p. 301.

¹⁵⁸ Pearl Finch, *Hist. Burley on the Hill*, 8.

¹⁵⁹ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

¹⁶⁰ *Rut. Mag.* iii, 28.

^{161a} *G.E.C. Complete Peerage.*

¹⁶¹ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

¹⁶² *Cal. Treas. Bks.* 1660–7, p. 93.

¹⁶³ See *Dict. Nat. Biog.* for the peculiar circumstances of his trial.

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of 1647-8, which were maintained by the restored monarchy. In 1665 he was made a baronet.¹⁶⁴ Rutland is also included amongst the counties named in instructions issued in August 1667 by Treasurer Southampton for the recovery of 'taxes in arrear' from 'any persons employed by any pretended authority as receivers or collectors' of moneys for the militia, &c., or raised by 'decimations' or by 'any pretended ordinance of Parliament' ¹⁶⁵—a term which included the £4,295 raised upon the county, as already mentioned,¹⁶⁶ by assessments by the Parliament for military purposes during 1644-6. In the following year a Treasury warrant was issued on 19 March to strike tallies, *inter alia*, for £25 on Thomas Marston, receiver of taxes 'under the late usurpers in county Rutland,' for three months from 25 March 1649.¹⁶⁷

By a warrant of 29 September 1660 commissioners were appointed in Rutland, as in other counties, for 'the better answering and preserving the Crown revenues,' and were for this purpose empowered to examine on oath all sheriffs, bailiffs, and other persons accountable for fines, heriots, amercements, waifs, strays, and other casual profits, and persons able to give information of frauds; and also to hold inquiries with respect to the decrease of rent, the custody of ledgers, surveys, and accounts relating to rentals, and arrears of rents and taxes or assignments.¹⁶⁸ This inquiry was presumably undertaken on account of the surrender of the feudal rights of the Crown at the Restoration,¹⁶⁹ and the grant in lieu of them of a moiety of the excise—which had been first imposed by the Long Parliament in 1643¹⁷⁰—and the assignment of the other half for an increase of the royal revenue.¹⁷¹ The office of collector of excise seems to have been a profitable one under the Commonwealth, when the tax yielded over £300,000 a year;¹⁷² and a memorial to the Treasury of 9 July 1661 from Andrew Noel, Francis Orme, and John Boteler complained that though they had been certified by the justices of the peace of Rutland and Northamptonshire as fit to be collectors of excise in the said counties, two strangers had been appointed in their place.¹⁷³ Owing, however, to the failure of the due payment of the tax and complaints against the sub-commissioners, a circular letter was issued by Treasurer Southampton and Lord Ashley on 26 June 1662 to the justices of the peace of Rutland and other counties directing that the excise should be let to farm to such persons as they should recommend at Quarter Sessions, and that failing a return of such persons by them the lord lieutenant should let the farm to the best advantage of the king's revenue.¹⁷⁴ The obligation imposed upon the farmer under this new system of advancing 'from time to time . . . a quarter's pay beforehand' seems to have rendered his office one of great risk;¹⁷⁵ and in April 1663 Samuel Gibson, who in the previous year had been appointed farmer of the excise in Rutland for £1,000 per annum, 'the gentlemen returned by the justices of the peace in the said county having refused to come up to the rate fixed,'¹⁷⁶ was discharged at his own request from the said farm because he 'cannot possibly take it without being ruined.'¹⁷⁷ The

¹⁶⁴ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* v, App. 387, 396.

¹⁶⁶ See *supra*, p. 193.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.* 69. Cf. as to Receivers of Crown Lands in Rut., *ibid.* 1677-8, pp. 172, 279, 312, 607.

¹⁶⁹ Stat. 12 Chas. II, cap. 24.

¹⁷¹ *Cal. Treas. Bks.* 1660-7, p. 402.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.* 402.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁵ *Cal. Treas. Bks.* 1660-7, pp. 274-5.

¹⁶⁷ *Cal. Treas. Bks.* 1660-7, p. 508.

¹⁷⁰ Taswell-Langmead, *Const. Hist.* (3rd ed.), 622.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.* 433.

¹⁷² *Ibid.* 150, 154.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.* 517.

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farm was then let to Alexander Noel and John Cary for two and a half years at £500 per annum;¹⁷⁸ but a memorial of September 1665 from the Excise Commissioners shows that Rutland was, before the expiry of this period, united with Leicestershire for the purposes of the tax, William Lathom being appointed for the latter county in lieu of Alexander Noel, and that Cary and Lathom prayed, on similar grounds, to be relieved of their office. They were superseded by John Aldern of St. Giles in the Fields and John Ramsay of St. Clement Danes, who appear to have been more successful in carrying on the business, but in March 1667 received an abatement on account of losses incurred through the plague.¹⁷⁹ Another tax of this period, which seems to have been as unpopular in Rutland as elsewhere, was that of Hearth or Chimney Money—a tax of 2s. yearly upon every fire hearth, imposed in 1662 and continued until the beginning of the 18th century.¹⁸⁰ In 1665 a warrant was issued for the arrest of the sheriffs of Rutland and some fifteen other counties for unpaid arrears, which was followed by many subsequent ones.¹⁸¹ A letter of 21 May 1663 from Southampton and Ashley to ‘the successor of Sir Hugh Ducy, late sheriff of county Rutland,’¹⁸² informed him that he was to act as the receiver of the amount of the eighteen months’ assessment on the county ‘which was unpaid to the said Ducy;’¹⁸³ Rutland’s share of this monthly assessment of £70,000 was £272 4s. 6d.

Titus Oates, the originator of the story of the Popish Plot, was born in 1649 at Oakham, where his father, Samuel Oates—who had previously been rather notorious in East Anglia as an Anabaptist ‘Dipper’—is supposed to have been a teacher at the time.¹⁸⁴ The only Rutland Roman Catholic who appears to have suffered through his perjuries was Jeffrey Hudson, who was arrested on suspicion on account of his religion and imprisoned for some time in the Gatehouse at Westminster.¹⁸⁵

At the Restoration the old families reappeared in the political affairs of Rutland, and the Sherards, Noels, and Mackworths shared the representation until the end of the century, with one short exception. In the autumn of 1679 an election took place in the heat of the Exclusion Bill controversy. ‘It appears that the ardent zeal against popery in the smaller freeholders must have overpowered the natural influence of the superior classes,’¹⁸⁶ and Rutland chose as one of its members Sir Abel Barker, the old Parliamentarian. But this Parliament met only to be prorogued for a year; before it met again Barker was dead, and his place was taken by Sir Thomas Mackworth.¹⁸⁷

¹⁷⁸ *Cal. Treas. Bks.* 517.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.* 640. Cf. *ibid.* 341, and *ibid.* 1667–8, pp. 190, 259.

¹⁸⁰ Stevens, *Hist. Acct. Taxes*, pp. 310, 350. Stevens says that ‘though it never amounted to above £300,000 per annum, yet afterwards it became one ground of endless clamour, as if it had been the most grievous burthen ever imposed upon subjects.’

¹⁸¹ *Cal. Treas. Bks.* 1660–7, p. 604. Cf. *ibid.* 1660–7, pp. 27, 57, 74, 169, 502.

¹⁸² This successor appears from the list of sheriffs given by Wright (*Hist. Rut.* 13) to have been William Palmes; but in the *P.R.O. List of Sheriffs* Richard Winckfield (Wingfield), who died before his account was presented, and Beaumont Bodenham are given as sheriffs in 1662 and 1663 respectively, and Ducy does not appear at all.

¹⁸³ *Cal. Treas. Bks.* 1660–7, p. 524.

¹⁸⁴ *Rut. Mag.* iii, 21. Cf. *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* vi, App. 397; letters from Robert Horseman to the high sheriff (Abel Barker) with respect to the delivery into his hands of Samuel Oates as ‘a dangerous schismatick preacher.’

¹⁸⁵ Wright, *Hist. Rut.* 105.

¹⁸⁶ Hallam, *Const. Hist.* (1-vol. ed. Ward, Lock & Co.), 593.

¹⁸⁷ *Ret. of Memb. of Parl.* Barker died in 1679; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* v, App. 379.

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Rutland was but little affected by the Revolution. In 1689 James II offered the Earl of Rutland (afterwards first Duke of Rutland), in a letter of 30 July from the Earl of Carmarthen, to continue to him the Lord Lieutenancy of Leicestershire, and to add to it the offices of Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of Rutland.¹⁸⁸ The earl, however, though he bore the queen's sceptre and the cross at the king's coronation, followed his father's politics and declined the offer ; and being shortly afterwards deprived of his lieutenancy for political reasons, joined the Earl of Stamford and Devon in raising troops for William.¹⁸⁹ In 1688 the Lord Lieutenancy of Rutland was given to Lord Peterborough, whose political leanings are shown by a letter to the Hon. Baptist Noel, inquiring whether he will, if elected knight of the shire or burgess in the next Parliament, support the abolition of penal laws and tests, aid in securing the election of members disposed to do this, and support the Declaration of April 1687 for Liberty of Conscience,¹⁹⁰ the king having ordered these inquiries to be made of deputy lieutenants, justices of the peace, and other officers of the Crown.¹⁹¹ Public opinion in the county must have been greatly influenced by the adhesion to William's cause of Daniel Finch, second Earl of Nottingham and sixth Earl of Winchilsea, the owner of Burley, who, though one of the last men in England to accept the Revolution Settlement, appears to have been one of the few who, having accepted it, never intrigued against it, and though a consistent anti-Jacobite, remained always a staunch Tory. From 1689 to 1690 he was one of the Secretaries of State, and, in the last-named year, was one of the council of nine left behind by William when he went to Ireland. In 1702, six weeks after the king's death, he was again Secretary of State under Anne, but resigned office in 1704, and resided after his retirement principally at Burley, where he died in 1730.¹⁹²

The family of Finch, and more especially the Winchilsea branch, has ever since continued to play a leading part in the political history of Rutland, the control of the representation of which until the Reform Act it shared with the houses of Exeter, Gainsborough, and Rutland.¹⁹³ Thus during the elections for the fourth Parliament of George II in 1747, which resulted in the return of Brownlow Cecil Lord Burghley and James Noel, the Earl of Winchilsea wrote to ask the Duke of Rutland to support his brother John Finch, the sitting member, against a combination of the Earls of Exeter and Gainsborough,¹⁹⁴ but in a later letter he said that as he could not expect success he would not desire that the duke should quarrel unnecessarily with the two earls.¹⁹⁵ In 1761 the Marquis of Granby, who was with the army in Germany, directed his tenants 'to give either single votes to Lord Winchilsea, or the first to him and the second to Mr. Noel, as Lord Winchilsea may

¹⁸⁸ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xii, App. v, 126.

¹⁹⁰ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xv, App. ii, 328-9.

¹⁹² *Dict. Nat. Biog.* The earl's state papers, which fill five MSS. books, are preserved at Burley on the Hill. Several of these are orders from William III and bear his signature, while others are letters written by him both when fighting in Ireland and in the Netherlands. Others again are from Sidney, Russell, Cloudesley Shovel, and Portland (ancestor of the present duke); while others relate to the plots of the notorious informers Young and Fuller, and other Jacobite plots; Pearl Finch, in *Rut. Mag.* ii, 150; iii, 121-7, 140-8; see also *Hist. Burley on the Hill*.

¹⁹³ The Dukes of Rutland had considerable influence, but members of the family seldom appeared as candidates for Parliament.

¹⁹⁴ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xii, App. v, 200.

¹⁸⁹ *Dict. Nat. Biog.* xxxvi, 52.

¹⁹¹ See Reresby, *Mem.* 387-9.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

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direct'—an arrangement which resulted in the return of Thomas Noel and Thomas Chambers Cecil in the following April.¹⁹⁶ Another old family whose political influence lasted into the 18th century was that of the Mackworths of Normanton. Sir Thomas Mackworth was one of the knights of the shire in all Parliaments from 1679 to the time of his decease in 1694,¹⁹⁷ when he was succeeded by his son—also Sir Thomas—who also sat from 1701 to 1707 and from 1721 to 1727. In the election of 1722, which was strongly contested, he headed the poll against Mr. Sherard, who was defeated, and Lord Finch.¹⁹⁸

Daniel, Lord Finch, the eldest son of the second Earl of Nottingham, who had been previously returned as Tory member for the county in 1710, when he was only twenty-one years of age, with Richard Halford, was perhaps the most notable of the Rutland members.¹⁹⁹ He was returned again, with Bennet, Lord Sherard, in 1713; with John Noel, after taking office under the Crown, in 1715; with Sir Thomas Mackworth in 1722; was re-elected on again taking office in 1725; was again returned, with John Noel in 1727; and only ceased to be a member on succeeding to the earldom in 1729.²⁰⁰ As Earl of Winchilea and Nottingham he held office under several administrations, and his 'whole conduct' while at the Admiralty is said by Lord Waldegrave²⁰¹ to have been 'so unexceptionable that faction itself was obliged to be silent.' He resigned his last cabinet office, the presidency of the council, in 1766, three years before his death, at the age of eighty-one, and about half a century after the commencement of a career which, to quote Lord Mahon, 'though not illustrious, was long, useful, and honourable.'²⁰²

Owing probably to its being an entirely agricultural county, Rutland seems to have been little affected either by the Luddite riots in the neighbouring counties of Leicester and Nottingham in 1811 and 1816, or by the Chartist Movement some thirty years later, the only incident con-

¹⁹⁶ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xii, App. v, 246; cf. *Ret. of Memb. of Parl.*

¹⁹⁷ Except the first meeting of the Parliament of 1679 (see above), and the Oxford Parliament of 1681, which sat for only seven days; *Ret. of Memb. of Parl.*

¹⁹⁸ *Ret. of Memb. of Parl.*

¹⁹⁹ Pearl Finch, *Hist. Burley on the Hill*, 275. The following entries from the account of his election expenses are of interest:—

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
The Bell-man	2	6	0	Mr. Allen for entertainment at the elec-			
The Drums	10	9	0	tion	0	15	0
Pinister's son, drummer	2	6	0	Ditto for horse hire	10	0	0
Mr. Champenote for taking the Poll	2	3	0	Paid to Mr. Ridley for the Under Sheriff			
For ten Ordinaries at the Bull	1	5	0	for returning Lord Finch	2	3	0

²⁰⁰ *Hist. Burley on the Hill*, 276.

²⁰¹ *Mem.* 139.

²⁰² Lord Mahon, *Hist. of Engl.* (ed. 3), i, 67-8; cf. *Hist. Burley on the Hill*, 276-7. Lord Mahon (*Hist.* i, 67-8) gives an interesting account of Lord Finch's maiden speech during a violent debate respecting the suppression of seditious papers, originated by a pamphlet denouncing the Treaty of Utrecht called 'The Crisis,' which, though really the work of Swift, was supposed to have been written by Steele. Lord Finch being under obligations to him for refuting a libel on his sister was anxious to speak in Steele's defence. After one or two attempts, however, he was overcome by the bashfulness which is so often felt in first addressing the House, and resumed his seat in some confusion, saying: 'It is strange that I cannot speak for this man, though I would readily fight for him.' These words produced a general feeling in his favour, which called forth ringing cheers of encouragement from the House, and Lord Finch, rising a second time, delivered a speech which Lord Mahon describes as 'fraught with high public spirit and natural eloquence.' 'We may,' he said, when dealing with the Peace of Utrecht, 'give it all the fine epithets we please, but epithets do not change the nature of things. We may, if we please, call it honourable; but I am sure it is accounted scandalous in Holland, Germany, Portugal, and over all Europe except France and Spain. We may call it advantageous; it must be so to the ministers that made it.'

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necting it with which is the imprisonment, after his second trial in March 1840 at Oakham, of the Chartist Henry Vincent, who while there addressed a letter to the Chartists recommending them all to become teetotallers.²⁰³

The county, in which down to 1831 there had been no contest for twenty years,²⁰⁴ showed its sympathy with the Reform movement by returning Sir Gilbert Heathcote, Liberal, in conjunction with Sir G. N. Noel, Conservative, in 1832, and continued to be represented by a member of each party until 1867. The election of 1841 gave rise to one of the few political contests of the last century in Rutland, and the result of the poll was :— Mr. G. J. Heathcote, Liberal, 767 ; Hon. W. H. Dawnay, Conservative, 676 ; Hon. C. G. Noel, Liberal, 664.²⁰⁵ In 1846, however, the county showed its distrust of Free Trade by returning Mr. George Finch as a Protectionist in succession to Mr. Dawnay, who had resigned his seat, and in the election of the following year both Sir G. J. Heathcote and the Hon. G. J. Noel, who replaced Mr. George Finch, were returned as Protectionists. When Free Trade became an accomplished fact the members for Rutland returned to their respective original political ideas, and from 1852 the Hon. G. J. Noel, who was appointed First Commissioner of Works in 1876, continued to represent the constituency till his retirement in 1883, in conjunction, first with Sir G. J. Heathcote, who was raised to the peerage as Lord Aveland in 1867, and afterwards with Mr. George H. Finch of Burley, Conservative, elected in the room of the former.²⁰⁶ In 1883 the retirement of the Hon. G. J. Noel brought to a close for the present the representation of the county by the Noel family, which since 1727 had held one seat continuously, except between 1841 and 1847. Mr. J. W. Lowther was returned at the by-election as a Conservative, the Liberal candidate, Mr. J. W. Davenport Handley, receiving only 194 votes on a poll of 1,054.²⁰⁷ Rutland lost one of its members by the Redistribution Act of 1885,²⁰⁸ and at the election in the same year Mr. G. H. Finch retained his seat against the Liberal candidate, Mr. M. C. Buszard, Q.C., by a majority of 1,256. Since then Rutland has always remained Conservative. Until 1907 it was continuously represented by Mr. G. H. Finch, whose parliamentary career from his first election for the county in 1867 thus extends over forty years, and who after his return in 1885 was unopposed until 1906, when he defeated the Liberal candidate, Mr. H. Weetman Pearson, by 483 votes.²⁰⁹ He was made a Privy Councillor in 1902, and in his later years was 'Father of the House.' On his death in 1907 he was succeeded by the sitting member, Mr. John Gretton, of Stapleton Park, Melton Mowbray, Unionist, who represented South Derbyshire in the Conservative interest from 1895 to 1906.²¹⁰ The return of the latter, together with that of Hon. W. H. Dawnay in 1841, and of Mr. J. W. Lowther in 1883, makes a break for the third time since

²⁰³ Gammage, *Hist. of Chartist Movement*, 196.

²⁰⁴ Spencer Walpole, *Hist. of Engl.* i, 119. There had, however, been no contest for 100 years in Cheshire, Nottinghamshire, and Cambridgeshire, and none for nearly 50 in Anglesea, and Derby, Gloucester, Hertford, and other counties were in the same position as Rutland.

²⁰⁵ F. H. McCalmont, *Parl. Poll Bk.* (6th ed.).

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁷ *Parl. Poll. Bk.*

²⁰⁸ G. Barnett Smith, *Hist. of Engl. Parl.* 581.

²⁰⁹ *Parl. Poll Bk.*

²¹⁰ Dod, *Parliamentary Companion*.

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1832 in the continuity of the representation of the county in Parliament by the members of Rutland families. With these exceptions the representation of Rutland was shared between the families of Heathcote and Noel from 1832 to 1867, and between those of Noel and Finch from 1868 to 1907.²¹¹

There is no regiment of the regular army associated with Rutland, but the county appears to have been incidentally connected both with the 58th Regiment, now the 2nd battalion of the Northamptonshire Regiment, and with two others which have ceased to exist.

The 55th Regiment, which was raised in 1755, appears in the Army Lists from 1783—when the practice of assigning territorial designations to all the regiments of the line appears to have begun²¹²—to 1881, when the modern territorial system was established, as the ‘55th (Rutlandshire) Regt.,’ and it seems not improbable that it acquired this title from the fact that Lord Charles Manners appears to have been its first colonel,²¹³ and that it was therefore at one time largely recruited in Rutland. A similar reason may be, perhaps, accepted as accounting for the title of ‘Rutlandshire’—or, as it is given in the *History of the British Army* ‘The Duke of Rutland’s’—bestowed in the Army Lists from 1781 to 1784, when it was disbanded, on the old 86th Regiment, which was raised, with twelve others in 1779;²¹⁴ and Rutland must undoubtedly have been also the chief recruiting ground of a regiment of infantry raised, at a cost of £20,000 by George Finch, 9th Earl of Winchilsea, during the American War of Independence to fight for George III.²¹⁵ No documents, unfortunately, are to be found amongst the papers at Burley with respect to the strength, services, or designation of this regiment, though it is apparently known that men after it was disbanded were employed as marines in various ships;²¹⁶ but the fact that the old 87th Regiment, which was one of the thirteen regiments above mentioned as raised in 1779, and was, like the 86th Regiment, apparently disbanded in 1784, bore the title of ‘Lord Winchilsea’s’²¹⁷ seems to identify it with the latter corps.

The Earl of Winchilsea, who accompanied George III on his tour through Scotland in 1822, and on the king’s death attended as Groom of the Stole on the Windsor Establishment,²¹⁸ also raised in 1803, during the alarm caused by Napoleon’s threatened invasion of England, a volunteer corps called the Rutland Legion of Rifle Corps,²¹⁹ which, like numerous others amongst the auxiliary forces during this period, had a special medal struck in commemoration of its embodiment.²²⁰ The corps, which had a strength of four officers besides its colonel, and 100 non-commissioned officers and men, continued in existence till the end of 1804, when it appears to have merged

²¹¹ *Parl. Poll Bk.*

²¹² The Army Lists show that (as in the case of the 86th, given above) this practice was coming into force in 1781.

²¹³ *Letter Bk. of the Sec. at War.* 1755, p. 258.

²¹⁴ Fortescue, *Hist. Brit. Army*, iii, 290. In 1781 the 86th was serving in the West Indies under Col. Antony St. Leger. *Army List*, 1781. Cf. *Ann. Reg.* 1781, *Chron. App.* p. 65.

²¹⁵ *Hist. Burley on the Hill*, 335.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*

²¹⁷ Fortescue, *Hist. Brit. Army*, iii, 290.

²¹⁸ *Hist. Burley on the Hill*, 335. The Prince Regent and the Duke of York visited Burley from Belvoir in 1814.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.* 336. Some knapsacks, stamped R.V. with an earl’s coronet, with bayonets and other accoutrements of the corps, are still preserved at Burley.

²²⁰ D. Hastings Irwin, *War Medals from 1588 to 1899*, p. 331; cf. *Napoleon and the Invasion of Engl.* ii, 321, 322.

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with, or changed its title to, the Rutland Dismounted Rifles, also commanded by Lord Winchilsea, which were not disbanded till 1812.²²¹ There appears to have been also another volunteer force in the county during this period—the Rutland Volunteer Infantry or Rutland Association of Volunteers, which was raised in 1798 and continued in existence until the close of 1810;²²² three troops of Gentlemen and Yeomanry raised by Lord Winchilsea in 1794—the first yeomanry corps raised under 37 Geo. III, cap. 6²²³—and the Rutland Fencible Cavalry, consisting of six troops, commanded by Colonel Gerald Noel Edwards, raised on 25 March 1794.²²⁴ The last-named corps, which in 1794 had a strength of six officers, 335 non-commissioned officers and men and 276 horses, and had also a chaplain, surgeon, and surgeon's mate, was, soon after its embodiment, dispatched to the defensive camp at Brighton, when an unkind critic wrote in the *Sussex Advertiser* of 23 August 1794:—‘A part of the regiment marched through the town, and viewing it in a *military* capacity it is to be sure the most curious assemblage of men and horses we ever remember to have seen.’ In the following year the corps was moved to St. Albans, and in 1796 was stationed at Montrose, in 1797 at Aberdeen, and in 1798 at Perth,²²⁵ but is said to have been disbanded in the following year.²²⁶

Parliamentary Returns for 1803–4 give the numbers of men belonging to the Army of Reserve in the county as 39, and to yeomanry and volunteer corps as 160 cavalry and 335 infantry, a total of 534.²²⁷

The Rutland Militia, which in 1773 comprised two captains, five subalterns, and 130 non-commissioned officers and men, had by that time ‘been raised five several times’—in 1759, 1762, 1765 and 1766, 1769, and 1772—and had on 11 October 1773 and the following twenty-seven days gone through their second training since they were raised for the fifth time.²²⁸ During the Peninsular War the militia, then under the command of Major Pierrepont, unanimously volunteered its services for Spain—an offer which elicited from the king an expression of ‘great satisfaction,’ sent through the lord lieutenant, Lord Winchilsea, ‘at receiving this additional proof of the zeal and spirit which have been displayed by the corps on all occasions.’²²⁹ The corps, which in 1851 was commanded by the Hon. H. L. Noel, Lieutenant Doria, and 2nd Lieutenant Costall, continued in existence till 1860, when it was amalgamated with the militia of Northamptonshire, and is now known as the Northamptonshire and Rutland Militia, or 3rd Battalion of the Northamptonshire Regiment.²³⁰ It was one of the ten selected from amongst fifty militia regiments which volunteered for service during the Crimean War to serve at the Mediterranean stations,

²²¹ W.O. Muster Rolls, Volunteers, 4524.

²²² Ibid.

²²³ Fortescue, *Hist. Brit. Army*, iv (1), 218. See, too, C. Sebag Montefiore, *Hist. of Volunteer Forces*, 169.

²²⁴ Fortescue, *op. cit.* iv (2), App. E. 941, 942. Fencibles were ‘regular troops enlisted for home service and for the duration of the war only,’ and were first raised in Scotland, where there was no militia, but began to be embodied in England in 1793. ‘At this time the Army, the Militia, and the Fencibles were all bidding against each other for recruits, which only the Army could turn to account’; *ibid.* iv (1), 89.

²²⁵ W.O. Muster Rolls, Fencible Cavalry, 3777.

²²⁶ Fortescue, *op. cit.* iv (2), App. E. 941, 942. It appears, however, from an imperfect augmentation list of 29 June 1805 to have been still in existence in that year; see W.O. Muster Rolls, Fencible Cavalry, 3777.

²²⁷ *Parl. Papers*, 1803–4 (15), xi, 113; (10), xi, 1; (21), xi, 205, 203. Cf. Sub-Div. R. in Great Britain, 7 May 1804, where the figures are: 1st class effective, 1,008; 2nd class do. 269; 3rd do. 470; 4th do. 1,337; Vol. Service, 1,269; Army, Marines, and Volunteer Corps, 182.

²²⁸ *Rut. Mag.* ii, 159. Extract from ‘The Rutland Records’; cf. S.P. Dom. 12 Jan. 1776.

²²⁹ Ibid.

²³⁰ *Rut. Mag.* ii, 69, 159; cf. *Army List*, 1908.

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and are therefore entitled to wear the word 'Mediterranean' on their colours.²³¹

The Northamptonshire and Rutland Militia also took part in the South African War, 1899-1902.²³² No names of officers or men belonging to the regiment, however, appear amongst those inscribed on a tablet in memory of Lieutenant the Hon. C. M. Evans-Freke, 16th Lancers, and twelve Rutland non-commissioned officers and men, serving with various other regiments, who fell in the war, which was unveiled by General Sir Bruce Hamilton in All Saints' Church, Oakham, on 13 November 1904, and to the names recorded on which that of Private T. Dawson, 1st Battalion Leicestershire Regiment, inadvertently omitted, must be added. The regiments referred to comprise six of infantry and three of cavalry of the Regular Army, the Royal Artillery, the 7th Imperial Yeomanry, and the Oakham Company of the 1st Volunteer Battalion Leicestershire Regiment.²³³

²³¹ *Hist. of Our Reserve Forces*, by A Militia Officer, 15, 16. In order of precedence the regiment ranked forty-eighth out of 135 militia regiments in 1870; *ibid.* 77. This work, which was written in 1870, speaks of the amalgamated corps as doing duty in the Mediterranean, but it would appear from the above authorities that the Rutland and Northamptonshire were still distinct units at the time of the Crimean War.

²³² R. M. de Rudolf, *Short Hist. of the Territorial Regts.* 447-80.

²³³ *Rut. Mag.* ii, 6-13. There is also an Uppingham Company of the Lincolnshire Volunteers. A Territorial Forces Association for Rutland was formed early in 1908, the president of which is the Earl of Gainsborough, the lord lieutenant of the county, and the military member, Colonel F. G. Blair, C.B., Leicestershire Imperial Yeomanry. *Army List*, 1908.

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IN 1086, at the time of the Domesday Survey, Rutland was chiefly forest land. Villages and hamlets, with their fields and meadows, lay in the fertile valleys between the gentle slopes of the low hills, but there was not a single burgh or aggregation of houses large enough to be called a town within the district known as Rutland.¹ Small as is the Rutland of to-day, it was even smaller at that period, and consisted only of what we now know as the hundreds of Alstoe, Oakham-soke, and Martinsley. The other parts of the county, as it is now, were included in the Domesday Survey of Northamptonshire. The King held a large proportion of the manors, and a few of these were let 'at farm.' Holding at farm was very different from 'holding of the King,' or of any other overlord. It meant that the 'farmer' could cultivate the land and make from it what profit he was able, but he had usually to give a certain fixed amount, not proportion, of the produce or its equivalent in money to the owner, and the term 'ad firmam' did not imply any hereditary right to the land. That the 'farmer' had not necessarily any claim to the services² of the men belonging to the land at farm may be seen by an entry concerning lands farmed by Hugh de Porth in Luffenham and Sculthorp; the men there seem to have worked for the king when ordered to do so by the reeve.³

The inhabitants of the villages consisted mainly of villeins and bordars (cottagers), but there were also priests and socmen. Authorities have not yet been able to agree as to the exact economic position of the *socbemanni*, but a few facts concerning them have been fairly well established: (1) Their holdings varied greatly in size;⁴ (2) they held their land freely, but performed agricultural services instead of the military services performed by the ordinary free tenant, their works being usually certain, and fixed in amount and kind, and thus differing from those performed by villeins; (3) they very often, though not invariably, had power to alienate their land without licence from any lord. These socmen may have been the descendants of some of the Danes belonging to the later settlements, a fact which would explain why they were to be found only in the counties of the Danelaw.⁵

¹ Rutland was not a county until the reign of John.

² Arrangements concerning the farming of land varied considerably according to the special agreement made between owner and farmer.

³ *Dom. Bk.* i, 219a.

⁴ The socman thus differed from the villein, whose typical holding was 1 virgate.

⁵ W. F. Allen, *Monographs and Essays*, 327.

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No serfs are mentioned in the Rutland Domesday, but they are to be found in a few of the manors now belonging to that county, which at the time of the Survey were included in Northamptonshire.

Between Domesday and Magna Charta there is a large gap in the records of actual facts, but from knowledge which we otherwise possess a good deal may be inferred as to the economic condition of the people. We know, for instance, that large tracts of the county consisted of royal forest, and that the people in such districts would be subject to the operation of the harsh forest laws. In Rutland, as in other counties, many men had lands within the king's forest, but these lands were subject to very burdensome restrictions. The holders could not make any assarts or inclosures without special licence, and very frequently when licence for an inclosure was obtained the hedges and fences had to be of such a height as to allow the beasts of the chase to enter freely. In other parts of the country, not within the king's forests, landowners could inclose portions of their woods and wastes provided sufficient common of pasture was left for their under-tenants.⁶ If a forest landowner tried to reclaim any of his waste land without special licence he was liable to be deprived of the fruit of his labour and enterprise, as, if discovered, the assart was taken into the king's hands.⁷

Among the offenders against the forest laws are frequently found officers charged with the upholding of these laws. We hear of parks and woods being wasted, and unjust extortions and accusations made by them.⁸ Such transgressions are not surprising, because many of these officers held their offices 'at farm' from the king, and made their profits from the forest and its inhabitants.⁹ The roll of the Rutland Eyre for 1269¹⁰ gives many instances of the extortions and persecutions suffered by the people of that county. We read there that 'because of the turbulence which prevailed recently in the realm,' the king had granted thorns and underwood in his wood of Stokewood for the inclosure of the town of Oakham. The wood was to be inclosed for three years, so that the young underwood might not be destroyed by the grazing of animals, but Peter de Nevill, the king's chief forester in Rutland, kept the wood in defence for five years, and so deprived the neighbouring people of their right of common, and also extorted many fines from them on account of their beasts found in the said wood.¹¹ The same Peter also imprisoned 'Master William de Martinvast' without any warrant, on the supposed ground that he was 'an evildoer with respect to the venison of the lord King,' and only liberated him for a fine of 100s. Peter also took from the sister of Master William 20 heaped quarters of wheat, of the value of £4, because she had received the goods and chattels of her brother.¹² Another man, on suspicion of having taken a rabbit, was bound with iron chains and imprisoned for two days and two nights in Peter de Nevill's private gaol at Allextun, in which there was water at the bottom.¹³ Taking unjust tolls was another method of extortion; for example, a cart laden with ash trees belonging to one Geoffrey the son of

⁶ Statute of Merton, 1235.

⁷ For an example of this in Rutland see Forest Proc. Exch. T.R. 139.

⁸ Forest Proc. Exch. T.R. 249, m. 1.

⁹ Turner, *Select Pleas of the Forest* (Selden Soc.), p. xxi.

¹⁰ Forest Proc. T.R. no. 140; Turner, op. cit. 43-53.

¹¹ Ibid. 49.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid. 50.

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Sara was taken on the road between Stamford and Empingham, and *chemin-age* demanded from him, and because he maintained that he was not bound to pay this, as the ash trees had been cut from his own court outside the metes of the forest, the forester, Thomas de Salford, distrained him until he gave him 2s. and found pledges to come to the swanimote. And when he came to the swanimote he was imprisoned at Allextun by Peter de Nevill, and was not liberated until he had paid a fine of half a mark.¹⁴ Such incidents show that the inhabitants within the royal forest of Rutland probably suffered as much from the injustice and dishonesty of the officers as from the actual forest laws.

But it was not only the forest officers who abused their power and caused the people to suffer. In turning to the Hundred Rolls we find many instances of injustice and oppression. For example, 'Edmund the aforesaid Earl (of Cornwall) makes the men of Normanton do suit twice . . . at the view of Frankpledge when they ought not and used not so to do.'¹⁵ 'All the bailiffs of the late Earl Richard and of the present Earl Edmund . . . have taken at Ocham both during the time of the lord King Henry and of the present King (Edward I) toll from carts selling and buying, also to the loss of the county of £10 per annum.'¹⁶ 'The same Richard late Earl of Cornwall took five acres of pasture and wood in Gnosington and inclosed them within his park of Fliares which five acres used to be common for all the aforesaid towns . . . to the loss of the county of half a mark for 22 years past.'¹⁷ Also 'Peter de Nevill diverted the course of the water called Littleby which is the boundary between this county and the county of Leicester on the field of Wilton, and by this he appropriated to himself one rood which was common of the said town.'¹⁸

In the Domesday Book for Rutland we read of socmen, villeins, and bordars; in the Inquisitions Post Mortem and the rentals and other records of the 13th and 14th centuries we read of free tenants, customary tenants (frequently called *nativi* or bond tenants) and cottagers. The rents paid by the free tenants varied greatly, some being merely nominal, others being fairly substantial, but rarely as large in proportion as those paid by the customary tenants. At Greetham (1315) one free tenant paid 1 lb. of pepper price 10d., and two capons price 5d. Another held a messuage and virgate for 6d.; another 3 virgates for 1 lb. of pepper. On the other hand, in the same manor, and in the same year, Thomas Hertewyke held a messuage and 1 virgate of land for 23s. 0½d., which was an exceptionally high rent.¹⁹ In Ashwell (1370) Robert Palmer held two messuages and 2 virgates containing 60 acres of land for 16s. 11d., including 1d. for 'gressilver,' and also 6 acres of free land for a root of ginger.²⁰ Besides doing homage and suit of court the free tenants sometimes had to perform agricultural services; for instance, in Ashwell, the same Robert Palmer had to plough 3 acres each year, the ploughing of each acre being worth 7d.

The typical holding of the customary tenant was the virgate or yardland, consisting in Rutland of from 22 to 30 acres. Occasionally the virgate

¹⁴ Turner, op. cit. 51.

¹⁵ *Hund. R. (Rec. Com.)*, ii, 49.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 50.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 53. Several other encroachments are mentioned, but they are usually more to the damage of the king than to that of the people.

¹⁹ Inq. p.m. file 50, no. 57.

²⁰ Rentals and Surv. R. (P.R.O.), 806, m. 1.

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was held by two men, each half-holding then being called a bovate. As in other counties, the holders of such lands enjoyed certain rights of common of pasture and wood. The customary land at the beginning of our period was held chiefly by agricultural services, but records of the time of Henry III show that a small money rent was paid as well.²¹ At Overton²² at this time there were 9 virgates in villeinage, and the holder or holders of each virgate²³ were expected to work two days in the week for the greater part of the year, between the beginning of August and Michaelmas every day except Saturday, besides four days in autumn. Also a certain amount of ploughing was regularly done, as well as hoeing of the land ploughed. There was no possibility of shirking the work, as the amount expected from each day's ploughing was always specified. Besides these regular working days all these workers on each virgate of land had to turn out at harvest time to do 3 'boon' works for the lord ('quelibet virgata terrae debet operari cum omnibus operariis suis ad precarium domini'). The power of making such requests was exceedingly important to the lord, as it meant he could take full advantage of favourable weather for harvesting. During those boon days the lord supplied the workers with food. For the first two days he gave them bread, beer, and flesh; on the third day the fare was not quite so satisfying, the food consisting of bread with herring, or cheese, and no beer. There were also carrying services, and for these the tenants had to use their own carts and horses. The value to the lord of these services was 12*d.* per virgate. Also from each virgate he received at Christmas a rent of 10*d.* and three hens, and at Easter 9½*d.* and twenty sheep. The cottagers belonging to Overton Manor were very numerous, and may be put into two classes. The first of these is represented by one Henry Palmer, who held a toft and croft²⁴ and 3 half acres of land, giving 1*s.* of rent in the year. He had to perform nine works in autumn, help in the boon services, and provide a woman²⁵ for one day to help to toss the hay and shear the lord's sheep. The second class of cottager gave no services; the larger number paid 2*s.* in rent, but a few paid 1*s.* or 8*d.* only. This latter type of cotter illustrates the statement made by Professor Vinogradoff that throughout England the cottagers were the first to free themselves from the burden of compulsory services.

With regard to the commutation of services for money payments, it is curious to find in such a small county as Rutland that the development of this was so very unequal. To illustrate the point we will quote from three different extents belonging to the year 1315. First, at Luffenham, Guy de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, had five customary tenants, each of whom owned a messuage and virgate for which he paid 16*d.* of rent and worked for two days in the week from Michaelmas to the beginning of August, and for five days in each week between the first day of August and Michaelmas.²⁶ Here we have similar conditions to those in Overton Manor in the time of Henry III. Secondly, at Hardwick Manor there were thirty-seven cus-

²¹ The money rent may have been paid at a much earlier date, as was the case in many of the Glastonbury manors during the 12th century.

²² Rentals and Surv. R. (P.R.O.), 14.

²³ It is always the virgate, not the virgator, that is referred to in the roll quoted.

²⁴ A holding of meadow land.

²⁵ Cf. Rogers, *Hist. of Agric. and Prices*, i, 273, where it is stated that the 'help' was usually a woman.

²⁶ Inq. p.m. 9 Edw. II, file 49, no. 30.

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tomary tenants, fourteen of whom were half virgators ; each of these had to give three days' ploughing and three days' harrowing in the year. Fourteen had the fourth part of a virgate as a holding, and each of these gave in the year a day's weeding and tossed hay for another day. In autumn twenty-eight of the thirty-seven had to reap for three days, six for two days, and one for one day, and 'two out of the aforesaid thirty-seven do not reap at all.'²⁷ Thus, even allowing for the different sizes of holdings, we have a variety of development within one manor. Thirdly, at Greetham there were 24 virgates in villeinage, for which each virgator paid a rent of 20s., and it is definitely stated that these did no work.²⁸ Thus, in the same year commutation has scarcely begun at Luffenham, it is fairly advanced in Hardwick, and at Greetham the process is fully completed. In the year 1336, if not before, the tenants in the manor of Whissendine were quite free from the performance of compulsory services. There ten neifs with a reeve held 14½ virgates, the rent of each virgate being 24s. The cottagers paid among them 15s., 'and the jurors say that these neifs and cottagers do not give works at any time of the year.'²⁹ At Oakham³⁰ in 1320 each virgate of native land was worth 20s., at Egleton³¹ 26s. 8d., and at Langham³² 20s., so we may infer that very little labour was supplied by the tenants in those places. The above-mentioned cases, however, are not sufficiently numerous to allow of much generalization as regards the county as a whole. The tenants in various manors gave other payments besides rent ; for instance, each free tenant in Ashwell gave a half-penny a year for 'gressilver.'³³ 'Scorfe' was a payment made by neifs, for which they were responsible as a whole, whatever the number of neifs might be. At Oakham and Egleton the amount paid was £13 6s. 8d.³⁴ *Gbeva-gium*, the payment given by certain of the neifs (*nativi de sanguine*) for licence to live outside the lord's dominion, was fairly high at Langham ; there Roger Gode paid 6s. 8d., and Simon Bury paid 3s. 4d., that he might stay at Coventry. Two men do not pay 2s., as that year they are living within the manor.³⁵ The date of the manuscript from which these items have been taken is the year 1373, twenty-four years after the Black Death, when labour was still scarce. We also find references to the well-known customs of *merchet*,³⁶ heriot, and wardship of heirs. That *merchet* was sometimes paid by tenants of estates of considerable size may be seen by the following statements taken from an inquisition post mortem of the year 1331 :—³⁷

Simon de Bereford held in Ketton a messuage and two parts of a dovecot of the yearly value of 2s., 80 acres of arable land, of which 40 acres are worth 13s. 4d. per annum, and the residue 3s. 4d. ; 9½ acres of meadow, each acre being worth 1s. 6d. per annum. This estate was purchased by Simon de Bereford of William de Moldestone, who held it of Hasculph de Whitewelle in villeinage, paying 14s. 6d. per annum and doing suit of Court every 3 weeks, and by further service yearly (here follow ploughing and reaping services) . . . and giving to the lord 5s. for *mercheta*, if his daughter should marry . . . and upon the death of the tenant or the alienation of the land a heriot of 16s., according to the custom of the manor.

²⁷ Inq. p.m. 9 Edw. II, file 48, no. 6.

²⁸ Ibid. file 49, no. 29.

²⁹ Ibid. 10 Edw. III (1st nos.), no. 33.

³⁰ Ibid. 14 Edw. III (2nd nos.), no. 67.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

³³ Rentals and Surv. R. (P.R.O.), 806.

³⁴ Mins. Accts. bdle. 964, no. 4 ; Inq. p.m. 14 Edw. III (2nd nos.), no. 67.

³⁵ Mins. Accts. bdle. 964, no. 4.

³⁶ Payment for licence to marry one's daughter.

³⁷ Inq. p.m. 5 Edw. III (2nd nos.), no. 103.

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An interesting case of the abuse of wardship occurred at the manor of 'Wodeheved,' when the friends of the heir of Thomas Gredlay complained that the king's son Edmund, to whom the king (Henry III) had granted the wardship, 'had distributed the same among his friends (*familiares*), who neglect to furnish the heir as is fitting.'³⁸

Besides the gain arising from rent, services, and the various money payments already noticed, lords of manors had profits from the tolls of mills, markets, and fairs, and from the pleas and perquisites of court. These profits of course varied according to the place. Thus at Oakham, in 1285, two mills (a water-mill and a windmill) were placed that year at farm for £8.³⁹ In a later document⁴⁰ we read that these mills were farmed in common by the tenants, the lord finding large wood for necessary repairs. In another it is distinctly stated that the mills were farmed by the neifs⁴¹ (*nativi*). It is interesting to note that the same sum was paid both before and after the Black Death. The actual profits of the mills must have been very much reduced owing to the decrease in the population, but the farm was not lowered on that account. At Langham the farm of a windmill was £4.⁴² At Greetham⁴³ the windmill was worth 20s. per year, and the water-mill 10s. At Ashwell, in the year 1315, the windmill was worth 20s.,⁴⁴ but in the year 1370 the value is given as 43s. 4d.⁴⁵ These were large values, as compared with those of mills in some other manors, as in Essendine, where the water-mill was worth 10s. a year, and 'no more because ruinous and broken down,'⁴⁶ in Barrow,⁴⁷ where the windmill was worth 13s. 4d., and at Barrowden,⁴⁸ where the water-mill was also worth 13s. 4d.

Markets and fairs were not very numerous in Rutland during this early period. Overton and Oakham appear to have been the only market towns during the reign of Henry III, Richard Earl of Cornwall receiving in 1252 a grant of a market and two annual fairs at Oakham, and Gilbert de Umfraville Earl of Angus in 1267 a grant of a market and fair at Overton.^{48a} In 1281 Peter de Montford was granted a market at Uppingham.^{48b} Empingham had a grant of a market and fair in 1318, and Belton, Barrowden, and Burley during the reign of Edward III.⁴⁹

The farm of the tolls and fines of Oakham market and fair amounted to £23, the market being worth £18 and the fair 100s.⁵⁰ These sums included the profits of the 'portmot'⁵¹ and of the assize of bread and ale. It is evident that the portmot took the place of the pie-powder court, the town not being of sufficient importance to have a special pie-powder court at its annual fair.

In Rutland the three-field system was the prevailing system of agriculture. In various documents dealing with manorial details it is distinctly

³⁸ Inq. p.m. Hen. III, file 40, no. 19; *Cal. Inq. p.m.* (Rec. Com.), i, 786.

³⁹ Mins. Accts. bdle. 964, no. 1.

⁴⁰ Inq. p.m. 14 Edw. III (2nd nos.), no. 67.

⁴² Inq. p.m. 14 Edw. III (2nd nos.), no. 67.

⁴³ Ibid. file 49, no. 29.

⁴⁵ Rentals and Surv. R. (P.R.O.), 806, m. 1.

⁴⁶ Inq. p.m. 8 Edw. III (1st nos.), no. 66.

⁴⁷ Ibid. 9 Edw. II, file 47, no. 49.

^{48a} Chart. R. 36 Hen. III, m. 10; *ibid.* 51 Hen. III, m. 2.

^{48b} Ibid. 9 Edw. I, no. 46.

⁵⁰ Mins. Accts. bdle. 964, no. 2; Inq. p.m. 14 Edw. III (2nd nos.), no. 67.

⁵¹ The town court.

⁴¹ Mins. Accts. bdle. 964, no. 4.

⁴⁴ Ibid. 8 Edw. II, no. 40.

⁴⁸ Ibid. file 49, no. 30.

⁴⁹ *Rep. on Market Rights and Tolls*, 1889.

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stated that two-thirds of the arable land might be sown in one year ; this was the case in Ketton,⁵² Essendine,⁵³ Whissendine,⁵⁴ Clipsham,⁵⁵ and Gunthorpe,⁵⁶ and nowhere have we found any trace of a two-field system.⁵⁷ Many of the demesne lands lay beside the lands in villeinage in the open fields, and the lord of a manor was expected to conform equally with his tenants to the agricultural customs implied by a three-field system. The land lying fallow was held in common, and was used for grazing purposes, each person giving up for the time being his individual right to certain strips. Deviations from this custom were very rare, and when made roused much jealousy in the agricultural community. In a memorandum of the time of Edward III there is mention of a complaint made to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster concerning Thomas Hotot, lord of Gunthorpe, who had been letting out his lands in the common fields to divers tenants, and allowing them to be inclosed during the time of fallow, so that others, including the church of St. Peter at Westminster, were deprived of their rights of common.⁵⁸ Inclosures of land not lying in the common fields were frequently made, even by owners of land within the king's forests, but for this latter special licence was always required. The records concerning Forest Proceedings show that licence to assart was frequently given ; such assarts when sown with grain were called *imbladamenta* and the owner of the assart had to pay to the king, for every crop of wheat sown, 1s., and for every crop of oats, 6d.⁵⁹

Owing to the richness of the pasture-land in Rutland wool was a large source of wealth to those who had a right to graze their sheep on the pastures of the county. In 1337 the price of Rutland wool, as fixed by Parliament, was 7½ marks the sack, but in 1343 it was fixed for three years at 10 marks the sack,⁶⁰ this being above the average price throughout England. The annual value of meadow-land was, on the whole, high also. At Empingham,⁶¹ Essendine,⁶² Ryhall,⁶³ Little Casterton⁶⁴ and other manors the yearly value was 2s. per acre, and this seems to have been a usual one, but at some other places, as Greetham⁶⁵ and Barrow,⁶⁶ for example, the value was as high as 2s. 6d., while at Barrowden⁶⁷ there was meadow worth 3s. the acre. At Whissendine there was some meadow worth only 4d. per acre ; but this is accounted for by the fact that the land was very often inundated by water, and the crops destroyed.⁶⁸ The yearly value of arable land varied from 4d. to 1s. 8d. per acre.⁶⁹ Thus at Oakham the price was 1s. 8d.,⁷⁰ at Langham 12d.,⁷¹ at Hardwick 10d.,⁷² at Greetham,⁷³ Barrowden,⁷⁴ and Ketton⁷⁵ 6d.,

⁵² Inq. p.m. 5 Edw. III (2nd nos.), no. 103.

⁵⁴ Ibid. 10 Edw. III (1st nos.), no. 33.

⁵⁶ Westm. Abbey, Rut. Doc. parcel 2, no. 20637.

⁵⁷ In Wiltshire instances of a two-field system are as numerous as those of a three-field system.

⁵⁵ Westm. Abbey, Rut. Doc. parcel 2, no. 20637.

⁵⁹ Forest Proc. Exch. T.R. 249, m. 1.

⁶¹ Inq. p.m. Hen. III, file 21, no. 16.

⁶³ Ibid. 9 Ric. II, no. 54.

⁶⁵ Ibid. 9 Edw. II, file 49, no. 29.

⁶⁷ Ibid. file 49, no. 30.

⁶⁹ Compare with Wiltshire, where arable land was frequently as low as 2d. the acre, and rarely higher than 6d.

⁷⁰ Mins. Accts. bdle. 964, no. 4.

⁷² Inq. p.m. 9 Edw. II, file 48, no. 6.

⁷⁴ Ibid. file 49, no. 30.

⁵³ Ibid. 8 Edw. III (1st nos.), no. 66.

⁵⁵ Ibid. 26 Edw. III (1st nos.), no. 51.

⁶⁰ *Cal. Close*, 1337-9, p. 149 ; *Parl. R.* ii, 138b.

⁶² Ibid. 8 Edw. III (1st nos.), no. 66.

⁶⁴ Ibid. 10 Edw. III (1st nos.), no. 47.

⁶⁶ Ibid. file 47, no. 49.

⁶⁸ Ibid. 23 Edw. III (2nd part), no. 153.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷³ Ibid. file 49, no. 29.

⁷⁵ Ibid. 5 Edw. III (2nd nos.), no. 70.

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and at Barrow 4*d.*⁷⁶ On account of this general fertility there was probably much prosperity among the inhabitants of Rutland, and it is not surprising to read that large portions of the demesne land at Oakham, Langham, and Egleton were farmed by the neifs or bond tenants.⁷⁷ As they also farmed meadows, pasture, fisheries (the moat round Oakham Castle being one of these), and the mills, it is not unlikely that they farmed in conjunction with the free tenants the tolls and profits of the market and fair. In a more important trade centre these might have been farmed by a gild merchant. Oakham was in reality only a large village with the messuages and cottages clustering round the central manor-house or castle. The following description of the latter was given in 1340:—‘At Oakham is a certain castle well walled, and in that castle are a hall, four rooms, a chapel, a kitchen, a stable, a barn for hay, a house for prisoners (the state prison for the county), a room for the porter, a drawbridge with iron chains, and the castle contains within its walls 2 acres of ground. . . . Outside the castle is a garden, which is worth with the fruit and herbage 8*s.*, and also a vivarium and a moat worth per year 3*s.* 4*d.*’⁷⁸ Evidently the busy part of the little town was just outside the castle moat, where during the reign of Edward III there seems to have been a considerable demand for sites for workshops, the usual size of these being 40 ft. long and 18 ft. broad, and the rent 4*s.* per annum.⁷⁹ We also read of sites being let in the ‘Bayllie’ and of houses near the bridge and on the castle ‘dych.’

The records at our disposal do not give much information as to the price of hired labour before the year 1349, but the money value of the day’s work expected from bond tenants is frequently mentioned. For example, in Greetham in 1315, a day’s ploughing, harrowing, weeding or tossing hay, was worth $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*, while reaping was valued at 1*d.*,⁸⁰ the autumn services being always worth double those of the rest of the year. These sums sound small, but it is necessary to remember that the purchasing power of money was high at that period. Thus in 1300 horses were sold at 8*s.* and 12*s.*, geese and capons at 3*d.*, and oxen at about £1.⁸¹ The ‘Black Death,’ which occurred in England in 1348–9, has sometimes been considered the direct cause of the rise of wages during the 14th century, but there is ample evidence to show that the price of labour had risen before that date. This was undoubtedly due to the famines and lesser plagues which according to the chroniclers ravaged the whole country at intervals during the first half of the century. As an illustration of this rise we quote from a document of the year 1331,⁸² where we find that the value of a day’s sowing was 1*d.*, a day’s reaping 3*d.*, and a day’s ploughing 8*d.*, this latter being the work of four men at 2*d.* per day.

With regard to the Black Death itself very few details concerning Rutland can be quoted, but probably the following case was typical of many others: [at Whissendine] ‘15 virgates of land . . . are now worth nothing, because all the tenants of the same are dead, but each virgate used to be

⁷⁶ Inq. p.m. 9 Edw. II, file 47, no. 49.

⁷⁷ Mins. Accts. bdle. 964, no. 2, m. 1 and 2; also *ibid.* no. 4.

⁷⁸ Inq. p.m. 14 Edw. III (2nd nos.), no. 67.

⁷⁹ Mins. Accts. bdle. 964, nos. 2 and 4.

⁸⁰ Inq. p.m. 9 Edw. II, file 48, no. 6.

⁸¹ Westm. Abbey, Rut. Doc. Mins. Accts. 20228 and 20230.

⁸² Inq. p.m. 5 Edw. III (2nd nos.), no. 103.

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worth 24*s.* per year,'⁸³ and of the same manor five years later we are told that the price of the arable land by the year is 3*d.* per acre only, 'and not more since the time of the pestilence, because of the small number of workers.'⁸⁴ The wages given at Oakham during the autumn of 1349 illustrate the sudden rise in the price of labour which took place all over the country. During the first week of harvest the reapers received 5*d.* and the ordinary labourers 3*d.* per day; during the second week the reapers received 6½*d.* and the other labourers (or helpers) from 2*d.* to 4½*d.*; during the third week the reapers were paid at the rate of 6*d.*, while the helpers received 2*d.* and 4*d.*; during the fourth week the reapers' wages went down to 5*d.*, but those of the helpers still varied from 2*d.* to 4*d.* Apparently the workers were fed, as in each case there are accounts for food—bread, beer, flesh, herring, and fish.⁸⁵ In the following year, however (1350), the notorious Statute of Labourers was passed, and workmen were forbidden to receive such high remuneration, the wages paid in the year 1347 being taken as the standard for the future. Haymakers were not allowed to take more than 1*d.* per day, mowers of meadows more than 5*d.*, and reapers more than 2*d.* and 3*d.* But in Rutland, as elsewhere in England, the statute was by no means strictly obeyed, as may be seen from a minister's account for Oakham in the autumn of 1350. The wages, though not as high as in the preceding year, are shown to exceed the limits laid down in the statute, for the reapers received 4*d.* per day instead of the regulation price of 3*d.*⁸⁶ Workmen such as tilers, thatchers, &c., were also to have 3*d.* only, while their helpers were to have no more than 1½*d.*, but in 1353 we find 3*s.* 4*d.* or 4*d.* per day given to one man for ten days' work at the roofing of Brooke Barn, while his helpers received 2*d.* The same amount was given for similar work at Langham and Oakham.⁸⁷

If further proof is wanted that the labourers and artisans of Rutland resisted the regulations of the statute of 1350, we have it in certain Assize Rolls, where occasional entries are to be found such as the following: 'Hugh Plumer took in excess for leading the church and other buildings in Overton, 6*s.*' 'Thomas Chapman took in excess 18*d.* for Autumn works.' 'Thomas a servant took 4*s.* in excess wages.'⁸⁸ Records of such instances are not as numerous as for some other counties in England, but they are sufficiently frequent to show that Rutland took some part in the general struggle against the regulations laid down in the Statute of Labourers. The greatest outburst of resistance to the reactionary statute was the Peasants' Rising of 1381, which was also in large measure due to the imposition of poll-taxes in 1377 and 1381. There is, however, no record of any disturbance in Rutland at this time, and the only known connexion of the county with the rising belongs rather to political than to social history.^{88a} The statute was confirmed in 1360 and 1368, and various others concerning wages were enacted during the next 200 years, but we have no record of the actual effect of these in Rutland until 1563, the date of the famous Statute of Artificers. This statute differed from that of 1350 in so far as legislators had at last

⁸³ Inq. p.m. 23 Edw. III (2nd part), no. 153.

⁸⁴ Westm. Abbey, Rut. Doc. press 10, shelf 1, 20263.

⁸⁶ Ibid. 20266.

^{88a} See the article on 'Political History.'

⁸⁴ Ibid. 27 Edw. III (1st nos.), no. 65.

⁸⁷ Ibid. 20359.

⁸⁸ Assize R. 731, m. 7.

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learned that a general rate of wages for the whole of England was impracticable owing to the different conditions existing in the various parts of the country. Justices of the peace were charged with the task of fixing wages in the different counties. Two assessments belonging to Rutland have been preserved, one being for 1563⁸⁹ and the other for 1610.⁹⁰ The following table will show the differences and similarities between certain kinds of wages in 1350, 1563, and 1610:—

WAGES PER DAY FROM EASTER TO MICHAELMAS

	According to the Statute of Labourers	Rutland Assessments	
	1350	1563	1610
A haymaker	1 <i>d.</i>	3 <i>d.</i>	4 <i>d.</i>
A woman haymaker	—	2 <i>d.</i>	2 <i>d.</i>
A mower	5 <i>d.</i>	5 <i>d.</i>	5 <i>d.</i>
A reaper	2 <i>d.</i> & 3 <i>d.</i>	4 <i>d.</i>	4 <i>d.</i>
A woman reaper	—	3 <i>d.</i>	3 <i>d.</i>
A master carpenter	3 <i>d.</i>	8 <i>d.</i>	8 <i>d.</i>
'Another' carpenter	2 <i>d.</i>	5 <i>d.</i>	5 <i>d.</i>
A master freemason	4 <i>d.</i>	8 <i>d.</i>	8 <i>d.</i>
A rough mason	3 <i>d.</i>	5 <i>d.</i>	5 <i>d.</i>

More money is given when the labourer finds his own food, and this food money in some cases is higher in 1610 than it is in 1563. For example, the master carpenter in 1563 gets 12*d.* if he supplies his own provisions, but in 1610 he gets 14*d.*; the rough mason in 1563 has 9*d.* without food, but in 1610 he has 10*d.*

In the two Rutland assessments the yearly wages given to servants, with the exact services expected from each, are also noted. The following are a few examples of these:—

	1563	1610
A bailiff in husbandry having charge of two plough-lands at the least	40 <i>s.</i> and 8 <i>s.</i> for livery	52 <i>s.</i>
A chief servant in husbandry of the best sort, which can eire, mow, thrash, make a rick, thatch and hedge the same, and can kill and dress a hog, sheep, and calf	40 <i>s.</i> livery 6 <i>s.</i>	50 <i>s.</i>
A common servant in husbandry which can mow, sow, thrash, and load a cart, and cannot expertly make a rick, hedge, and thatch the same, and cannot kill and dress a hog, sheep and calf	33 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> livery 5 <i>s.</i>	40 <i>s.</i>
A mean servant in husbandry which can drive the plough, pitch the cart and thrash, and cannot expertly sow, mow, nor make a rick, nor thatch the same	24 <i>s.</i> livery 5 <i>s.</i>	29 <i>s.</i>

For over a century after the Black Death we find that the price of arable land in Rutland had a tendency to fall, while the price of meadow remained as high as before. Thus in Ryhall, in 1425, 400 acres of demesne arable land were worth per year only 2*d.* per acre, while the meadow was still valued at 2*s.*⁹¹ The fall in value of the arable land was of course largely due to the difficulty and expense of cultivation, while meadow-land was unaffected by this. Pasture-land also became of more importance, owing

⁸⁹ Rogers, *Hist. of Agric. and Prices*, iv, 120–3.

⁹¹ Inq. p.m. 4 Hen. VI, file 24 (36).

⁹⁰ *Arch.* xi, 200–7.

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to the fact that a much smaller amount of labour was needed for the rearing of sheep than for the growing of corn. It seems highly probable that because of this rich pasture and meadow-land, and the fair price of wool, Rutland took part, during the first half of the 15th century, in the movement towards inclosure and towards the conversion of arable land into grass, as it undoubtedly did during the latter years of that century and the beginning of the next.

The returns^{91a} made by jurors of Oakham Soke and East Hundred in September 1517 show that the process of conversion of arable into pasture, with a consequent reduction in the number of small farms, had been proceeding slowly but steadily during the previous thirty years. The amounts inclosed were as a rule quite small, but the aggregate for the county must have been considerable and marked a stage in the increasing displacement of labour and enrichment of the landlords at the expense of the peasant proprietors. In Oakham itself 11½ acres of arable had been converted into pasture within the last four years by Henry Jervis, as tenant of the Duke of Buckingham, and Manasses Crane had 'taken to ferme two houses with two plowlands, to the hurte and losse of the town; upon the said houses and lands was lately kept gode and honeste inhabitacions with honest persones.' Henry Jervis appears again at Eggleton as having inclosed a grove of 2 acres. At Belton, Richard Taylor, holding of 'my lord Mongie' (Mountjoy), had inclosed 8 acres called 'the Lownte' and another 14 acres; the Prior of Brooke had inclosed 3½ acres of his own land, and 8½ acres more had been turned into pasture by other persons. In Ketton 22 acres had been inclosed, fourteen by Thomas Greenham, who had also laid down 'one plowland' and a cottage; two cottages had fallen into decay during the last twenty-seven years, and two others had been destroyed by fire, while on the rector's land 'three plowes be decayed.' At Empingham 6 acres of 'layes and medowe' had been turned into pasture by George Mackworth and 23 acres of arable by Guy Edmunds. There was 'another plowe land decayed with caswelte of fier, late occupied with 23 acres,' besides smaller inclosures. Fire had destroyed two cottages at Great Casterton and one at Essendine, and at the latter Everard Digby had inclosed several small parcels of land, some being in the hands of his son John Digby and others in those of David Cecil. The largest inclosure appears to be at Little Casterton, where 41 acres had been converted into pasture by Christopher Brown. In the case of Tinwell, where 8 acres of arable belonging to the Abbot of Peterborough had been inclosed by Richard Knott, it is added, 'the poore men of the towne be debarred of theire commons by reason thereof.'

We will give a few instances of disputes and complaints belonging to a slightly later period, which point to the changes then taking place. In 1545 Francis Mackworth complains, among other things, that Sir J. Harington has 'caused to be plucked up and cast down certain quicksetts in the common fields of Empingham,' inclosing five or six acres of land held by the plaintiff, 'as he (Sir J. Harington) intends to appropriate these lands to himself.'⁹² This indirectly shows, first that land-

^{91a} Chan. Misc. bdl. 7, no. 2 (2). Communicated by Mr. L. F. Salzmann. The above returns were collected after the publication of Mr. Leadam's 'Domesday of Inclosures.'

⁹² P.R.O. Star Chamb. Proc. 37 Hen. VIII, bdl. 28, no. 28.

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owners were trying to consolidate their holdings in the common fields, and secondly that they were inclosing these. It was only natural that they should try to do so, as the holding of land in scattered strips (quite apart from the inconvenience of working these) was the cause of much dissension between the cultivators with regard to their common rights. And not only did disputes arise among persons belonging to the same manor, but also between those living in different parishes, for inhabitants of adjoining manors sometimes had strips of land intermingling in the common fields of one or the other ; also the common rights were in many cases claimed by persons in one manor over the common fields of another, even when they had no right to the fields when sown. Thus several persons belonging to South Witham in Lincolnshire claimed to hold some strips of land in the common fields of Thistleton, and the quarrelling which arose in consequence between the inhabitants of the two manors not infrequently resulted in the complete destruction of the crops on the disputed land, as well as in expensive suits at law.⁹³

In the early part of Elizabeth's reign we find certain freeholders of Cottesmore claiming right of common over the fields of Weston during the usual times of grazing, and complaining that various 'covetouse and greedye persons now being farmers and occupiers of the said fields of Weston will not allow them to use the said rights of common which they have been wont to use before the memory of man and ever since.' These freeholders had no written evidence of the rights they claimed, and depended entirely on the testimony of witnesses who were 'too impotent and aged to travel to London to be examined.'⁹⁴ Again, in 1577, one Dorothy Poole, of Eggleton, wrote to Gabriel Goodman, Dean of Westminster, making accusations against the freeholders in Gunthorpe that they would not allow her tenants to have common there, which she claimed as their right.⁹⁵

As far as our evidence goes, it appears that in Rutland it was the inclosure of parts of the common fields or the conversion of portions of these to pasture that roused discontent rather than the inclosure of old pasture or of waste. Thus, in 1599 Francis Haslewood of Belton was accused of abstracting thirteen or fourteen yard-lands from the holdings of several of his tenants, so that they could not 'maintain their tillage there in so good sort as in times past.'⁹⁶ The land thus forcibly taken away does not seem to have been inclosed, but to have simply been changed from tillage to grass land. The defendant (Francis Haslewood) is also accused of labouring by all 'ways and means' to induce the tenants and farmers of Belton to inclose their fields or a great part thereof, and convert the same into pasture. The defendant's witnesses denied that he had taken so much as thirteen or fourteen yard-lands, but they had to admit that he had taken two, now in his own occupation, and that his mother had taken away several yard-lands which she had let to her son at a 'racked rent.' Another of his witnesses owned that he was in favour of his tenants inclosing their lands in the common fields, but whether to 'delay any tyllage or not he knoweth not.' A very interesting example of

⁹³ Exch. Spec. Com. 18 Eliz. no. 1865. The connexion of Thistleton and South Witham can be traced back as far as Domesday. See article on 'Domesday Survey,' above, pp. 130, 131.

⁹⁴ Chan. Proc. (Ser. 2), bdle. 155, no. 35.

⁹⁵ Westm. Abbey, Rut. Doc. parcel 3, no. 28705.

⁹⁶ Exch. Dep. Mich. 39 & 40 Eliz. 13.

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forcible inclosure of portions of common fields is contained in a letter dated from Barleythorpe, 1605, written by Jeffrey Bushy to George Byllot, receiver at Westminster.⁹⁷ The writer says that Sir Andrew Wood's workmen and labourers are 'dickinge and quick-setting in Langham field, and purposeth to in and inclose fyve hundret acars of arable land at the least besides that which he had taken in before tyme . . . also they are taking in some ground belonging to Westminster.' He proceeds to say, 'I have discharged the workmen, but they will take no discharge at me, for Sir Andrew's officers said that they did no wrong. They are very importunat to know of me how I hold the two yard lands which I have by lease of the College in Langham feilds, and are about to entitle Sir Andrew Wood in the same,' and he (the writer) wishes the dean to be moved in his behalf—'for the symple people there will inclose also, and the arable land will be converted into pasture, and there will be neither tythe corn for me nor for the college.' He also writes that many of Sir Andrew's tenants would willingly take land, and offer great sums of money for it, 'but can have none for he doth inclose the best arable land in the feild.'

Probably there were many cases similar to those just quoted at an earlier period, and if so it is not surprising to hear that some of the men of Rutland took part in the rising of 1548-9. In the journal⁹⁸ of King Edward VI we read that this revolt began in Wiltshire, and spread to eleven other counties, 'Rutlandshier' being one of these. The king proceeds to say, 'by fair persuasion, partly of honest men among themselves and partly by gentlemen thei were often appeased, and again because certain commissions were sent downe to plucke down inclosures, then did rise again.'⁹⁹ Very few Rutland details of this rising are known, but we may infer that it was fairly violent from a letter written by the Earl of Huntingdon, 12 September 1549, in which he writes: 'Ther have already dyverse in the countie of Rutland byn condempned, & have suffred for the same.'¹⁰⁰

In 1649 the county was described by Walter Blyth as entirely uninclosed, but the examples we have given of attempts at inclosure during the 16th and 17th centuries, and the part taken by Rutland in the revolt of 1548-9, seem to contradict this statement.¹⁰¹ There is also the testimony of Celia Fiennes, who, writing in the late 17th century, says, 'Rutlandshire seems more woody and enclosed than some others.'¹⁰² Inclosing must have proceeded fairly rapidly during the 18th century, for by 1794 only one-third of the county remained open.¹⁰³ In 1808 the only parishes where land lay in open fields were Barrowden, Morcott, the two Luffenhams, Seaton, Thorpe, Pilton, Whitwell, and Oakham, and in some of these were 'old inclosures.'¹⁰⁴

⁹⁷ Westm. Abbey Rut. Doc. parcel 3, no. 20717.

⁹⁸ *Lit. Remains of King Edw. VI* (ed. Nichols), ii, 226.

⁹⁹ The Lord Protector, Somerset, tried at first to pacify the people by issuing a proclamation against inclosures, and ordered that the commons should be laid open again, but very few paid any attention to the proclamation, and so the people rose again and took the law into their own hands.

¹⁰⁰ Lodge, *Illustrations*, i, 134. Cf. Mr. E. F. Gay, 'The Midland Revolt,' *Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc.* xviii, 195.

¹⁰¹ Mr. Slater queries the statement on the ground that similar statements made by Walter Blyth with regard to other counties are undoubtedly inaccurate. *The English Peasantry and the Enclosure of Common Fields*, 203.

¹⁰² Celia Fiennes, *Through England on a Side Saddle in the time of William and Mary*, 54.

¹⁰³ John Crutchley, *Gen. View of Agric. of Rut.* 30.

¹⁰⁴ Parkinson, *Gen. View of Agric. of Rut.* 5-10.

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The early inclosing movement in Rutland, as in other Midland counties, was accompanied by a considerable amount of distress among certain classes, because inclosure there largely meant the conversion of arable land to grass, and as Rutland was a purely agricultural county there were no industrial towns to which the unemployed ploughmen, sowers, and reapers could migrate. It is during these early transitional times that we find Rutland fairly rich in charities, these taking the form either of gifts or bequests of money or land for the relief of the poor. Unfortunately these gifts were administered not always according to the wishes of the donor. Thus money intended in 1616 for poor tenants on any of Lady Harington's lands in Hambleton was sometimes given to other poor people in the same place who were tenants of the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln, to the exclusion of those for whom the money had been provided.¹⁰⁵ But this, though a case of robbing Peter to pay Paul, was not such a serious misappropriation as one which occurred in Exton. There it was found that 'divers of the rich substantiall inhabitants' had been receiving loaves of white bread every Sunday for many years. The mistake was a natural one, as the donor, John Rattibie, formerly of Exton Rectory, had left money for the purpose of giving bread to poor tenants of certain cottages in Exton in which he had boarded. As the tenants of these cottages were now (i.e. in 1688) too well off to be eligible, it was arranged that the bread should be distributed amongst the poorest inhabitants of Exton.¹⁰⁶ Various charities in Tinwell were also misappropriated, including one intended for the education and clothing of poor children in that parish.¹⁰⁷ At Belton in 1630 when Leighfield Forest in Rutland was disafforested, the freeholders in Belton who had rights of common within the forest received in lieu of their rights certain inclosed lands. To the honour of these freeholders they refused to accept their allotments, or to concert or agree with the commissioners until some provision had been made for the poor of the parish. It was accordingly arranged that these freeholders or their descendants should ever afterwards hold in trust for the use of the poor of Belton a close of land lying within the forest of Leighfield called Fairashsall or Fairashcotesall, containing 34 acres. The commissioners of 1688 found that the rents and profits arising from this land had sometimes been misemployed by 'illdesigning men' who had endeavoured to appropriate the same to their own cottages and tenements for their own private benefit.¹⁰⁸

At the time of the commission (1688) many of the charities mentioned in the returns were about one hundred years old.

In Rutland friendly societies have played a considerable part in helping to relieve and raise the poorer classes and in keeping down the poor rates. In 1795 there were such societies in Oakham, Empingham, and North Luffenham. The chief object was to procure support in old age, sickness, and other infirmities. The most important society of all was one established in 1785¹⁰⁹ by the justices of the peace and members of most of the parishes in Rutland for the encouragement of industry among the poor. It was first proposed by the Rev. Thomas Foster of Ryhall. The poor rates in the

¹⁰⁵ P.R.O. Proc. as to Charitable Uses, bdle. 43, no. 28.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid. bdle. 83, no. 26 ; bdle. 43, no. 31.

¹⁰⁹ Crutchley, *Gen. View of the Agric. of Rut.* 25.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid. bdle. 43, no. 30.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid. bdle. 43, no. 29.

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whole county had increased between 1776 and 1785 from £2,664 6s. to £3,750 9s. 9d., and it was mainly to avoid future rises that the society was formed. Parishes and individuals were invited to give certain annual subscriptions with a view to the providing of raw materials, such as wool, yarn, hemp, and flax, as well as spinning-wheels, so that the poor might be enabled to do such work as they were capable of performing. Parents were not to obtain relief on account of any child above six years who could not knit, or of any child above nine who could not spin both jersey and linen. The best workers among the children were to receive premiums of clothing, and to young people who had fulfilled certain conditions premiums of money were offered on beginning apprenticeship and service, or at marriage. Premiums were also to be given to parents who had brought up four or more children without parish relief. Free admission to the spinning-rooms of workhouses was also allowed, and free teaching in the industry. When the learners were children the profits of their work were to be used for the benefit of their parents. Among the workers at this period the spinners of jersey were the most numerous, and the spinners of linen the least so. This will be seen by the following short table showing the number of candidates for premiums in the years 1786 and 1793 :—

1786.	Spinners of jersey	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	211
	„ linen	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	3
	Knitters	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	22
1793.	Spinners of jersey	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	261
	„ linen	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	21
	Knitters	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	89

These three employments were general throughout the county for the wives and children of labourers. The wages varied from 3d. to 8d. per day according to age and ability, and the jersey so spun was woven into 'tammies' by poor weavers in the south of Rutland, in Leicestershire, and in Northamptonshire. This we learn from a parochial report from Empingham for the year 1795, which also gives some information as to the price of men's labour at that time. This was usually from 14d. to 16d. a day, but during 1795 was rather more, owing to the high price of provisions. Wages were always higher in harvest time, and during the autumn of this year wheat was reaped at 6s. or 7s. the acre, barley and oats mown at 2s. and 2s. 6d. the acre, and grass at 1s. 6d. and 2s. 6d., the labourers at those rates finding their own meat and drink.¹¹⁰ At North Luffenham threshing was the chief winter employment, the labourer being able to earn at this work from 8s. to 9s. a week, according to the amount done.¹¹¹ At this time the price of wheat was fluctuating from £4 10s. to £5 the quarter, and of barley from £2 to £2 4s. These high prices made bread almost a luxury, and in Empingham the cost of beef and mutton was reduced during the summer of 1795 in order to prevent the too great consumption of bread. In Empingham (then newly inclosed) some of the cottagers rented small pieces of land, and were thus enabled to keep a cow or fatten a pig. This was the case in several parishes, and must have tended greatly to prevent distress and keep down the poor rates. At this period the Earl of Winchilsea had from seventy to eighty

¹¹⁰ 'Parochial Report for Empingham,' quoted by Eden, *State of the Poor*, ii, 601.

¹¹¹ 'Parochial Report for North Luffenham,' 1795, quoted by Eden, *op. cit.* 613.

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labourers upon his estate in Rutland, who kept from one to four cows each. The Earl informed the Board of Agriculture that those who managed well cleared about 20*d.* per week, or £4 6*s.* 8*d.* the year, by each cow.¹¹³

By 1808 winter wages at Empingham had risen to 1*s.* 9*d.* per day, summer wages to 2*s.*, and harvest wages were 2*s.* per day with board,¹¹³ but the price of labour varied considerably throughout the county. Thus at Ashwell, Bridge Casterton, Clipsham, Edith Weston, Essendine, Glaston, and Ridlington wages were 12*s.* per week in winter and 15*s.* in summer. At Gunthorpe they were 12*s.* and 21*s.* according to the season; at Hambleton 10*s.*, 12*s.*, and 18*s.*; while at Normanton they were 10*s.* and 18*s.* with beer. In none of the uninclosed parishes was the higher remuneration given, but on the other hand wages were as low in several of the inclosed parishes as in the uninclosed. The average weekly wage for the whole county, without board or beer, was about 10*s.* 6½*d.* in winter, 13*s.* in summer, and 16*s.* during harvest.¹¹⁴ But although the nominal wages had risen, it is doubtful if the condition of the labourers was better than in 1795, for prices of provisions had also risen. The best beef and mutton could not now be bought under 8*d.*, while the coarser kinds were 4*d.* and 5*d.* The price of butter was from 8*d.* to 1*s.* 3*d.* the pound, cheese from 6*d.* to 1*s.*, bacon 1*s.*; eggs brought from 6*d.* to 1*s.* the dozen, carrots were 2*d.*, and potatoes 4*d.* and 6*d.* the peck, while cabbages were from 6*d.* to 1*s.* the dozen. Thus the prices of butter, cheese, bacon, and vegetables were not very different from those of the present day, and bread still remained very dear, flour being sold at from 3*s.* 4*d.* to 3*s.* 6*d.* the stone.¹¹⁵

Mention has already been made of the rapid rise of the poor rates which took place in 1785. A table of these given in the agricultural survey for 1794¹¹⁶ shows that they actually decreased after 1785 (the year of the foundation of the 'Rutland Society of Industry'), except in the years 1789 and 1791, the high rates at that time being caused by a general rise in prices throughout the kingdom. In 1808 the average rate was 2*s.* 7*d.* in the pound, a low rate which Mr. Parkinson attributed to the fact that small portions of land were often let to the labourers along with their cottages.¹¹⁷ According to Mr. Crutchley the rates in 1794 were highest in the uninclosed parishes, but in 1808 this was not invariably the case, for Whitwell, which at that date had very little inclosed land, paid only 1*s.* in the pound. Generally speaking however, the higher rates were in the uninclosed places, as at Oakham, North Luffenham, and Seaton, where they amounted to 5*s.* in the pound,¹¹⁸ showing that inclosures eventually made for the prosperity of the county.

In 1808 seven parishes remained uninclosed, and of these Barrowden and North Luffenham were not inclosed until 1881, and South Luffenham not until 1882. We are told in the report of the Select Committees for 1878 that the inter-commonage and inter-mixed state of holdings then in vogue in these parishes led to constant disputes among the people, who were apt to trench upon each other's rights. The assistant commissioners considered that inclosure would bring about harmony and 'a better tone and character.' At this time Barrowden was evidently in a very bad economic

¹¹³ 'Communications to the Board of Agriculture,' iv, 358, quoted by Slater, *op. cit.* 134.

¹¹³ Parkinson, *Gen. View of Agric. of Rut.* 148.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.* 147-51.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.* 152-3.

¹¹⁶ Crutchley, *Gen. View of Agric. of Rut.* 25.

¹¹⁷ Parkinson, *op. cit.* 33.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

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condition, and is described as a 'back-going district,' much of the land being unlet and scarcely cultivated at all. Only the worst kind of labourers were found there as employment was so precarious, and the farmer had no work to offer in the winter time. The reason given for this decay was that about four years previously attempts had been made by Lord Exeter's agent to throw certain lands together, which resulted in a slight increase of rent ; in consequence one farm had been utterly uncultivated for two years, and three farmers had recently given notice of removal.

The accounts given by the commissioners of the agricultural customs in the two Luffenhams and Barrowden are exceedingly interesting, showing as they do how very little change had occurred since the 14th and 15th centuries. The owners held their land in strips in 'known acres': that is, each owner (or occupier) used the same strips every year as his own private property, subject to the rights of grazing. When the crops had been gathered in, all the land became common pasture until wanted for the cultivation of the next crop. In South Luffenham the tenants of the arable land alone had rights of common over the arable fields, but in Barrowden not only the owners of the strips in the fields had this right, but also the owners of certain cottages and tofts. The ancient custom had been that the fields were to be used for a fixed or 'stinted' number of beasts, but of late years this had been entirely disregarded, and owners of common rights had turned on what cattle they chose, irrespective of stints. In earlier centuries such breaches of custom would have been brought before the manorial court, and the transgressors fined or otherwise punished.

We must note some interesting points which came out in the evidence concerning the ownership of the soil of a piece of land called the 'Cow Pasture,' at North Luffenham. The pasture was claimed by certain individuals, not necessarily inhabitants of the parish, who exercised the right of pasturage, and whose shares in the land were represented by so many stints. It was maintained that the ground had originally been owned in a fixed number of acres by each owner, and that so many stints represented one acre, that the precise acres had been lost as to situation, and that the rights were then known by the number of stints. In 1871, when application for inclosure was first made, two pieces of evidence had been brought forward to prove the above ownership. One of these was a copy of an old survey of 1660, showing the 'Cow Pasture' to have been owned by several persons in several acres in a similar manner to the open fields, and the other piece of evidence was provided by the Rev. Mr. Dennis, who said he had taken extracts from the terriers in the registry of Peterborough, showing glebe land of so many acres in the 'Cow Pasture.' It was not usual to hold pasture in fixed acres, so it seems reasonable to suppose that at some period prior to 1660 the ground might have been either meadow or arable land, and that when it had been converted to pasture, and no longer cultivated, the number of cattle allowed for each owner became the important point, not the number of acres owned. If the 'Cow Pasture' was originally part of the common fields, then the other owners of land in these must have been for over two hundred years previously deprived of a certain amount of common right.

Two new features appear in arrangements for inclosures after the Act of 1845, viz. the provision of land for the labouring poor, and that for public

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recreation. Thus both in North Luffenham and Barrowden 20 acres of the common fields, and 15 acres of the South Luffenham fields, were made into field gardens for cottagers, while in all three parishes several acres were made into recreation-ground, regard being had to convenience of situation.

In spite of improvements brought about by inclosures Rutland is not as prosperous as its fertile soil would lead one to expect. One reason for this lack of prosperity is the low price of wool. In 1864 and 1865 wool had sold at 65s. and 62s. 6d. a tod, but in 1895 it had fallen to 21s.¹¹⁹ Another reason given is the scarcity of labour. When Mr. Rider Haggard visited the county in 1901, he was told that the lads were drawn away by trade and the building business,¹²⁰ and that before hiring a farm, thinking men took this question of the scarcity of labour into consideration.

In 1901 wages in Rutland were about 15s. per week, which is not below the average of the agricultural wages in England in general. The housing of the labourer at this time appears to have been satisfactory, the cottages throughout the county being described as 'good and efficient, especially those on the estates of the large landowners, such as the Marquis of Exeter, Lord Ancaster, and Mr. Finch.'¹²¹

Much encouragement has been given in Rutland to the system of small holdings, but these nevertheless have declined in number. In 1901, in the parishes of Burley, Egleton, Hambleton, and Greetham, there were forty-three small occupiers of grass holdings, varying in size from 5 to 40 acres, but originally there were many more.¹²² Throughout the county in 1890 there were 222 small holdings of from 1 to 5 acres, but by 1906 the number had fallen to 117. Of holdings from 5 to 50 acres there were 537 in 1890, which by 1906 had fallen to 374.¹²³

It is probable that one of the reasons for this decrease is that Rutland is not near any important health resort, or any large centre of population. If the difficulty of the high railway rates could be overcome, the small holdings might again increase throughout the county, and the peasant farmers become as flourishing as in the 18th century.

¹¹⁹ H. Rider Haggard, *Rural Engl.* ii, 272.

¹²⁰ Ibid. 273.

¹²¹ Ibid. 260.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Bd. of Agric. and Fisheries, *Returns of the number of Agricultural Holdings in Gt. Britain.*

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TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801 TO 1901

Introductory Notes

AREA

The county taken in this table is that existing subsequently to 7 & 8 Vict., chap. 61 (1844). By this Act detached parts of counties, which had already for parliamentary purposes been amalgamated with the county by which they were surrounded or with which the detached part had the longest common boundary (2 & 3 Wm. IV, chap. 64—1832), were annexed to the same county for all purposes; some exceptions were, however, permitted.

By the same Act (7 & 8 Vict., chap. 61) the detached parts of counties, transferred to other counties, were also annexed to the hundred, ward, wapentake, &c. by which they were wholly or mostly surrounded, or to which they next adjoined, in the counties to which they were transferred. The hundreds, &c. in this table also are given as existing subsequently to this Act.

As is well known, the famous statute of Queen Elizabeth for the relief of the poor took the then-existing ecclesiastical parish as the unit for Poor Law relief. This continued for some centuries with but few modifications; notably by an Act passed in the thirteenth year of the reign of Charles II which permitted townships and villages to maintain their own poor. This permission was necessary owing to the large size of some of the parishes, especially in the north of England.

In 1801 the parish for rating purposes (now known as the civil parish, i.e. 'an area for which a separate poor rate is or can be made, or for which a separate overseer is or can be appointed') was in most cases co-extensive with the ecclesiastical parish of the same name; but already there were numerous townships and villages rated separately for the relief of the poor, and also there were many places scattered up and down the country, known as extra-parochial places, which paid no rates at all. Further, many parishes had detached parts entirely surrounded by another parish or parishes.

Parliament first turned its attention to extra-parochial places, and by an Act (20 Vict., chap. 19—1857) it was laid down (a) that all extra-parochial places entered separately in the 1851 census returns are to be deemed civil parishes, (b) that in any other place being, or being reputed to be, extra-parochial, overseers of the poor may be appointed, and (c) that where, however, owners and occupiers of two-thirds in value of the land of any such place desire its annexation to an adjoining civil parish, it may be so added with the consent of the said parish. This Act was not found entirely to fulfil its object, so by a further Act (31 & 32 Vict., chap. 122—1868) it was enacted that every such place remaining on 25 December, 1868, should be added to the parish with which it had the longest common boundary.

The next thing to be dealt with was the question of detached parts of civil parishes, which was done by the Divided Parishes Acts of 1876, 1879, and 1882. The last, which amended the one of 1876, provides that every detached part of an entirely extra-metropolitan parish which is entirely surrounded by another parish becomes transferred to this latter for civil purposes, or if the population exceeds 300 persons it may be made a separate parish. These Acts also gave power to add detached parts surrounded by more than one parish to one or more of the surrounding parishes, and also to amalgamate entire parishes with one or more parishes. Under the 1879 Act it was not necessary for the area dealt with to be entirely detached. These Acts also declared that every part added to a parish in another county becomes part of that county.

Then came the Local Government Act, 1888, which permits the alteration of civil parish boundaries and the amalgamation of civil parishes by Local Government Board orders. It also created the administrative counties. The Local Government Act of 1894 enacts that where a civil parish is partly in a rural district and partly in an urban district each part shall become a separate civil parish; and also that where a civil parish is situated in more than one urban district each part shall become a separate civil parish, unless the county council otherwise direct. Meanwhile, the ecclesiastical parishes had been altered and new ones created under entirely different Acts, which cannot be entered into here, as the table treats of the ancient parishes in their civil aspect.

POPULATION

The first census of England was taken in 1801, and was very little more than a counting of the population in each parish (or place), excluding all persons, such as soldiers, sailors, &c., who formed no part of its ordinary population. It was the *de facto* population (i.e. the population actually

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resident at a particular time) and not the *de jure* (i.e. the population really belonging to any particular place at a particular time). This principle has been sustained throughout the censuses.

The Army at home (including militia), the men of the Royal Navy ashore, and the registered seamen ashore were not included in the population of the places where they happened to be, at the time of the census, until 1841. The men of the Royal Navy and other persons on board vessels (naval or mercantile) in home ports were first included in the population of those places in 1851. Others temporarily present, such as gipsies, persons in barges, &c. were included in 1841 and perhaps earlier.

GENERAL

Up to and including 1831 the returns were mainly made by the overseers of the poor, and more than one day was allowed for the enumeration, but the 1841–1901 returns were made under the superintendence of the registration officers and the enumeration was to be completed in one day. The Householder's Schedule was first used in 1841. The exact dates of the censuses are as follows :—

10 March, 1801	30 May, 1831	8 April, 1861	6 April, 1891
27 May, 1811	7 June, 1841	3 April, 1871	1 April, 1901
28 May, 1821	31 March, 1851	4 April, 1881	

NOTES EXPLANATORY OF THE TABLE

This table gives the population of the ancient county and arranges the parishes, &c. under the hundred or other subdivision to which they belong, but there is no doubt that the constitution of hundreds, &c. was in some cases doubtful.

In the main the table follows the arrangement in the 1841 census volume.

The table gives the population and area of each parish, &c. as it existed in 1801, as far as possible.

The areas are those supplied by the Ordnance Survey Department, except in the case of those marked 'e,' which were calculated by other authorities. The area includes inland water (if any), but not tidal water or foreshore.

† after the name of a civil parish indicates that the parish was affected by the operation of the Divided Parishes Acts, but the Registrar-General failed to obtain particulars of every such change. The changes which escaped notification were, however, probably small in area and with little, if any, population. Considerable difficulty was experienced both in 1891 and 1901 in tracing the results of changes effected in civil parishes under the provisions of these Acts; by the Registrar-General's courtesy, however, reference has been permitted to certain records of formerly detached parts of parishes, which has made it possible approximately to ascertain the population in 1901 of parishes as constituted prior to such alterations, though the figures in many instances must be regarded as partly estimates.

* after the name of a parish (or place) indicates that such parish (or place) contains a union workhouse which was in use in (or before) 1851 and was still in use in 1901.

‡ after the name of a parish (or place) indicates that the ecclesiastical parish of the same name at the 1901 census was co-extensive with such parish (or place).

§ after the name of a parish (or place) indicates that the civil parish of the same name at the 1901 census was co-extensive with such parish (or place).

o in the table indicates that there is no population on the area in question.

— in the table indicates that no population can be ascertained.

The word 'chapelry' seems often to have been used as an equivalent for 'township' in 1841, which census volume has been adopted as the standard for names and descriptions of areas.

The figures in italics in the table relate to the area and population of such subdivisions of ancient parishes as chapelries, townships, and hamlets.

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TABLE OF POPULATION

1801—1901

—	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Ancient or Geographical County ¹	97,273	16,300	16,380	18,487	19,385	21,302	22,983	21,861	22,073	21,434	20,659	19,720

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
<i>Alstoe Hundred</i>												
Ashwell § † . . .	1,835	192	194	220	209	223	267	206	197	245	244	225
Burley § † . . .	3,051	192	198	222	232	252	230	237	266	296	252	234
Cottesmore † :—	3,535	545	514	602	631	670	735	627	600	529	536	532
Cottesmore § . .	2,504	416	420	497	487	528	601	481	465	409	431	422
Barrow Hamlet §	1,031	129	94	105	144	142	134	146	135	120	105	110
Exton §	4,072	787	692	735	751	881	832	805	756	652	651	642
Greetham § † ² . .	3,081	423	425	541	505	583	713	706	704	583	537	523
Horn §	946	14	27	10	18	38	27	30	21	33	23	17
Market Overton § †	1,806	419	387	468	470	503	498	429	417	388	351	294
Stretton § † . . .	1,976	152	174	195	208	220	241	189	173	196	194	171
Teigh § † ³	1,289	133	133	178	176	235	147	128	113	132	123	108
Thistleton § † . .	1,379	143	150	181	151	161	142	142	142	133	112	98
Whissendine § † .	4,033	555	555	701	800	831	795	693	759	732	723	670
Whitwell § † . . .	629	80	114	112	124	139	129	104	100	109	108	81
<i>East Hundred</i>												
Casterton, Great §	2,303	306	306	335	353	376	369	323	335	321	277	251
Casterton, Little § †	1,227	121	117	84	135	132	119	118	148	178	188	172
Empingham § † . .	4,875	778	767	759	913	914	938	921	893	823	688	654
Essendine †	1,526 ⁴	98	136	175	156	152	239	193	186	176	177	214
Ketton §	3,338	657	712	797	810	951	1,138	1,053	1,115	1,116	1,035	1,041
Pickworth §	2,486	116	131	140	140	132	157	151	218	169	171	145
Ryhall § ⁴	2,681	501	462	439	569	678	1,075	847	790	713	618	583
Tickencote § † . .	1,293	98	100	126	128	111	98	104	100	103	118	109
Tinwell § †	1,711	230	228	245	262	258	287	235	249	224	231	222
<i>Martinsley Hundred</i>												
Ayston § †	904	92	110	110	101	88	118	97	119	108	94	70
Edith Weston § † .	1,852	267	320	301	337	343	362	387	399	350	281	267
Hambleton § † . .	2,862	336	296	308	297	325	290	323	305	245	235	244
Lyndon § †	911	93	97	106	102	100	106	126	111	103	112	114
Manton §	1,181	187	205	229	229	272	276	274	251	312	321	264
Martinsthorpe § .	539	4	5	4	2	8	7	6	3	9	6	4
Normanton § † . .	720	57	24	26	33	28	35	59	42	79	81	80
Preston § †	1,207	266	262	295	352	371	328	349	330	273	286	250
Ridlington § † . .	2,081	178	222	247	262	299	316	282	256	234	233	187
Uppingham * † ⁵ . .	1,210 ⁵	1,393	1,484	1,630	1,757	2,034	2,068	2,186	2,601	2,549	2,559	2,588
Wing § †	1,116	246	249	273	307	302	334	342	308	320	353	311

¹ Ancient County.—The area is taken from the 1901 Census Volume. No change in area was notified under the Act 7 & 8 Vict. cap. 61.

² Greetham Parish.—The decrease in population between 1821 and 1831 was mainly attributed to the prevalence of typhus fever.

³ Teigh Parish.—The population in 1841 included 40 visitors at the annual feast.

⁴ Ryhall Parish.—The population in 1851 included 285 labourers temporarily present, employed on the works of the Great Northern Railway.

⁵ The population of *Beaumont Chase*, 1801–1831, was returned with that of *Uppingham Parish*.

A HISTORY OF RUTLAND

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
<i>Oakham-soke Hundred</i>												
Belton §	1,024	366	340	394	400	402	408	441	405	375	372	314
Braunston § † . .	1,577	367	350	423	424	443	411	398	420	387	350	374
Brooke §	1,439	95	104	110	95	113	102	112	88	107	102	87
Clipsham § † . .	1,669	175	175	221	216	206	264	213	200	223	178	150
Egleton §	923	135	138	131	137	138	136	131	117	124	111	113
Langham §	2,920	485	487	571	608	591	629	636	632	676	619	634
Leighfield Forest	2,358	49	23	—	—	43	40	32	40	34	42	24
Extra Par. § ⁶												
Oakham ⁶ :—	3,721	1,620	1,704	2,167	2,390	2,726	3,031	2,959	3,089	3,227	3,566	3,502
Gunthorpe	476	7	8	7	4	8	8	11	17	23	24	18
Township §												
Oakham Deans- hold Manor	1,235	557	430 155	796	828	616 200	728	689	704	957	1,146	1,091
Barleythorpe Manor												
Oakham Lords- hold Manor*	2,010	1,056	1,111	1,364	1,558	1,902	2,092	2,091	2,207	2,247	2,396	2,393
Wardley §	748	52	63	52	50	59	59	68	58	48	45	45
<i>Wrangdike Hundred</i>												
Barrowden § † . .	1,813	510	481	524	485	658	718	653	636	600	488	440
Beaumont Chase	463	—	—	—	—	22	18	31	23	32	16	15
Extra Par. † ⁷												
Bisbrooke § † . .	1,144	196	214	223	177	211	254	266	276	268	195	204
Caldecott § . . .	1,162	306	245	274	266	260	329	346	356	297	300	273
Glaston § † . . .	1,170	189	165	188	229	249	252	238	219	220	208	198
Liddington † . .	2,020	527	495	594	534	589	604	613	592	546	447	359
Luffenham	2,034	357	389	421	447	478	442	491	476	432	412	443
North § † ⁸												
Luffenham,	1,442	227	231	274	273	317	437	400	359	344	309	290
South § † ⁹												
Morcott § † ¹⁰ . .	1,363	364	356	443	480	516	667	494	485	480	450	412
Pilton § †	347	43	57	66	69	74	86	72	63	53	45	48
Seaton † :—	2,135	458	425	457	435	446	511	422	392	382	351	307
Seaton §	1,446	358	356	377	346	362	398	345	324	319	264	240
Thorpe by Water	689	100	69	80	89	84	113	77	68	63	87	67
Hamlet †												
Stoke Dry (part of) ¹¹	992	61	57	52	50	49	54	44	45	60	49	55
Tixover §	843	59	85	108	100	102	115	129	95	86	86	68

⁶ The population of *Leighfield Forest* in 1821 and 1831 was returned with that of *Oakham Ancient Parish*.

⁷ See *ante*, note 5.

⁸ *North Luffenham Parish*.—The population in 1841 included 45 persons 'attending anniversary of benefit society.'

⁹ *South Luffenham Parish*.—The population in 1851 included some labourers temporarily present, employed in constructing a railway.

¹⁰ *Morcott Parish*.—The population in 1841 included 48 gipsies in tents, and in 1851 a number of railway labourers were temporarily present.

¹¹ *Stoke Dry Parish*.—The remainder is in Leicestershire (*Gartree Hundred*).

INDUSTRIES

DRAYTON'S 'small shire,' Fuller's 'dwarf' amongst the English counties, the *provinciola minima* of Camden,¹ is possessed of 'one vale of special name, one forest, and one flood,'² but the Stilton cheese of the Catmose valley, and the turner's craft of the Forest of Leafeld have alike shrunk to slender proportions. The manufacturing activities of the little county, purely agricultural as it is in character, have been almost unanimously dismissed by topographers as 'of no account,'³ whilst the mineralogy, from which Rutland derives its chief industries at the present day, the quarrying of both Ketton stone and iron ore, has been described as 'upon a very circumscribed scale.'⁴ At one time the Welland furnished a well-used navigable waterway; at a later date the county was served by the 'extensive Melton Mowbray Canal to Oakham.'⁵ The earlier roads, however, in the forest region, were probably no better than those in Northamptonshire. As late as the close of the 18th century indeed the turnpike roads were reported to be 'badly formed,' and not in good repair, owing to the stones being laid in autumn and winter instead of in spring, the sides of the roads, moreover, not being properly levelled.⁶ At the present day heavy goods in Rutland, as elsewhere, are largely conveyed by rail, the chief service within the county being supplied by the Midland and London and North Western systems, while, in addition, the Stamford branch of the Great Northern Railway crosses the north-eastern corner of the shire.

The timber of the county, of which much is still cut from the 3,838 acres of woodland,⁷ consisted largely, at the close of the 18th century, of oak, for building we are told, not for the Navy.⁸

¹ Camden, *Brit.* (ed. Gough), ii, 219.

² Drayton, *Polyolbion*.

³ Brewer, *Beauties of Engl. and Wales*, xii, 18.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Parkinson, *Agric. Rut.* 158. 'This canal,' adds the same authority, 'was frequently defective in summer, from the scanty supply of water.'

⁶ Crutchley, *View of Agric. of Rut.* 21.

⁷ Kelly, *Dir.* 1904, p. 593.

⁸ Crutchley, *op. cit.* 20.

The timber was cut in April and May, when it was sold to the farmers and tradesmen. In 1806 the average price was from 2s. 6d. to 2s. 9d. per cubic foot. The bark was sold to the tanners⁹ by the cubic yard, 20 yds. to a load, the price averaging £10 per load, peeling, stacking, &c., being paid for by the purchaser. A load weighed from 30 to 35 cwt. Underwood was cut in November and December, and sold for hedging at £6 to £8 per acre.¹⁰ The coarser kind of oak, if not used for fences, was made into hurdles, gates, &c., and sold at Spalding, Peterborough, and other fairs, and carried into the fen country.¹¹

The 'Uppingham Trencher' manufacture, which Grose assigns to the town in question, seems to be involved in some obscurity,¹² but whilst trustworthy evidence on this point does not seem to be forthcoming, it is by no means unlikely that the mediaeval turners, who were of such importance to the economy of table equipment prior to the adoption of ware and metal,¹³ should be attracted to the vicinity of the Forest of Leafeld, with its abundance of material ready to their hand.¹⁴

The brewing trade, although in early existence in the county, has no doubt been somewhat discounted by the superior resources of the neighbouring barley-bearing district of the Vale of Belvoir, to which Nottinghamshire and Leicestershire, rather than Rutland, owe the reputation of their malt. Here, as elsewhere in the kingdom, however, the alewife makes her appearance

⁹ William le Tanur and Henry le Tanur were pursuing their craft at Oakham at least as early as 1285. Assize R. 722, m. 4 d.

¹⁰ Crutchley, *op. cit.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Grose, *Glossary*, 88.

¹³ Throughout the 15th and 16th centuries the beechen squares known as common trenchers, which were in ordinary use at table, varied in price from 2d. to 6d. per dozen. A superior kind were sold at 6½d. to 8½d. In 1601 these cost 2d. Rogers, *Agric. and Prices*, v, 690.

¹⁴ At Barrowden there is now a small water-mill, where moulds for batter are turned out of the solid wood, and various devices are carved on them, giving employment to one old man. (*Ex informatione* Mr. G. Phillips of Oakham.)

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in mediaeval times. The fines inflicted on certain *braciatrices* in the hundred of Hartnoll in 1262 drew forth a protest against the method of levying the same; those who made good beer, it would seem, being as hardly dealt with as those who made an inferior sort.¹⁵ In 1577 the justices of the peace, in making a return of the number of alehouses in the county, commented on the fact that the establishments in question were 'for the most part very poor.'¹⁶ In 1841 there was 'a little trade in malt' at Langham and Whissendine;¹⁷ in 1846 there were several maltsters in Uppingham,¹⁸ and at Oakham 'a patent steam brewery with a new process' had lately been started by Mr. James Crewson.¹⁹ The Rutland Brewery at Oakham still worthily represents this industry.

Traces of ancient iron workings are frequent throughout the county,²⁰ masses of slag having been found on the surfaces of newly-cleared fields. Peter le Irinmanger was a craftsman of Uppingham at least as early as 1285,²¹ whilst at Empingham²² and elsewhere we hear of smiths. The industry died away to a great extent with the destruction of the forests, and the consequent lack of charcoal, although a phase of revival seems to have set in about the beginning of the 19th century.²³ The ore, which is chiefly worked in quarries or open works at Cottesmore, is yielded by the ferruginous formation of the Northampton Sand, the thickness of the ore at its greatest being about 9 ft., whilst it is overlaid by sand and clay belonging to the drift to a depth of from 3 ft. to 7 ft. at Cottesmore.²⁴ In 1895 no less than 70,762 tons of iron ore were raised in the county; in 1900 the output was 44,118 tons.²⁵

Talc was found at Lyndon in the stiff blue clay of the district in 1780.²⁶ The discovery of chalk at Ridlington, whilst digging for road-metal in 1791, is recorded as 'a great surprise' to the people of Rutland.²⁷ The chalk is described as having 'rows of flints therein, as in the south of England,' and as being 'not soft.'²⁸

The Upper Lias Clays are dug for brickmaking at various places in the county—Seaton, Oakham, Uppingham, and elsewhere.²⁹

¹⁵ Assize R. 47 Hen. III, 721, m. 12 d.

¹⁶ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1547-80, p. 570.

¹⁷ Pigot, *Dir.* 54.

¹⁸ White, *Rut.* 634.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 648.

²⁰ At Pickworth, Clipsham, and Market Overton. *The Quarry*, 1902, p. 356.

²¹ Assize R. 722, 14 Edw. I, m. 7.

²² *Ibid.* m. 11.

²³ Judd, *Geol. Rut.* 55.

²⁴ Kendall, *Iron Ores*, 239.

²⁵ *Min. Rep. and Statis.* At the present time the output of Rutland iron-stone is merged in the returns with that from Oxfordshire.

²⁶ Camden, *Brit.* (ed. Gough), ii, 223.

²⁷ *Philos. Trans.* lxxxviii, 74.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *The Quarry*, 1901, p. 432.

When Daniel Finch, the second Earl of Nottingham, towards the close of the 17th century, was building his mansion of Burley-on-the-Hill, a great quantity of bricks were made from clay dug in and near Burley Park by brickmakers from Middlesex and Nottingham. By a deed of 25 October 1697 Stephen Crofts and John Dods, both of the parish of St. Mary, Nottingham, covenanted 'to digg forthwith a sufficient quantity of earth or clay of the best sort and the most proper that can be found near the kilns in Burley Park, the said earth not be spitted above 4 in. thick and to turn the same between Christmas and Candlemass next ensuing, and in all respects to prepare the sand in the best manner for making good and sound bricks.' In other contracts these brickmakers agreed to find all moulds, utensils, sand and other requisites, while Lord Nottingham should make 'hovells for the bricks' and provide the straw required, as also 'such pitt coals, seacoals and furzes as should be necessary for the making and bavins to kindle the fire.' The rate to be paid the brickmakers was 5s. 6d. the thousand.³⁰

At Morcott, Edith Weston, and Exton, the White Sands of the Lower Estuarine Beds are dug for making mortar.³¹ Excellent lime has been yielded by the Upper Estuarine series of the Great Oolite.³² From one of the earth-products of the county a former industry, 'and that a poor one,' took its rise. The trade in question was that of the 'Rutlandshire Raddlemen,' itinerant vendors of ruddle, or ochre, which they carried in packs or parcels on their backs and sold to the farmers for sheep-marking.³³

Light is thrown, according to one authority, on what would appear to have been a leading industry of the county, by the trade tokens which were in circulation in the 17th century. 'From the series thus issued in Rutland,' says the writer, 'it might be imagined that the men of the greatest prosperity in the county of Rutland were the tallow-chandlers,' no less than five out of seventeen bearing the device of a candle or the arms of the 'Tallow-Chandlers' Company, as in the case of John Holmes, of Langham, in 1658. Thomas Goodman of North Luffenham issued a token of the same date bearing the figure of a man making candles, a similar device appearing on the token of Jonathan Fisher of Oakham,³⁴ whilst Samuel Reeve adopted a stick of candles.³⁵

Other miscellaneous industries of Rutland form but a meagre list. Rugs, parchment, and glue seem to have been staple trades of Barrowden at one time.³⁶ In 1846 Richard Gill was a fellmonger, woolstapler, and Spanish leather maker

³⁰ Miss Pearl Finch, *Hist. of Burley-on-the-Hill*, i, 42.

³¹ *The Quarry*, 1901, p. 487.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ Fuller, *Worthies*, ii, 242.

³⁴ Williamson, *Trade Tokens*, ii, 941.

³⁵ *Ibid.* 944, 945.

³⁶ Pigot, *Dir.* 1822.

INDUSTRIES

at Barrowden.³⁷ Flaxdressing and ropemaking were carried on by Henry Christian at Oakham in 1822.³⁸ The same town, in addition to its former 'considerable wool trade,'³⁹ has been for many years engaged in the boot and shoe manufacture, the industry being represented at the

present time by one small factory, established by a Leicester firm, and giving employment to about thirty persons.⁴⁰ There is a modern milling establishment at Luffenham, and a small quantity of Stilton cheese is still made in the county.⁴¹

QUARRYING

Quarrying was carried on at an early date in the county. It is recorded on the rolls of the eyre of 1262 that in the hundred of Wrangdike, Godfrey of Wakerley was crushed (*oppressus*) in a certain quarry (*quarera*) in the same vill;¹ while in the East Hundred Hugh le Marchaund was found slain in a certain quarry near Pickworth (*versus Pickkeworth*).² The most important sources of the stone supply in the county have been the quarries of the celebrated Ketton free-stone, those of Little Casterton,³ and Clipsham.⁴ In 1796 it was remarked by a traveller through the district that 'the advantage of having stone near at hand was the reason why we see so many stone spires and so much ornamental work about the buildings. Getting the material at an easy rate, they can afford to spend more in labour.'⁵ Parkinson, writing at the beginning of the 19th century, states that there was 'nothing worthy of remark under the head of minerals, except that at Ketton there is a kind of stone very proper and famous for building.'⁶ The quarrying of this stone has apparently been carried on for a very lengthy period, though positive records are unfortunately not forthcoming with regard to the ancient conduct of the industry. There

would appear, however, to have been an interval when the pits were altogether abandoned and their history lost. In the early part of the 18th century we find topographers alluding to 'some marks or pits in our maps, called the quarries, upon Witchley Heath, between Ketton and Tinwell, in the East Hundred, which we suppose were holes in the earth, out of which some kind of building stone hath been dug, but the vein is long since exhausted.'⁷

In the opinion of the Commissioners appointed in 1839 to report on the building stones of the kingdom, 'Ketton Rag' is greatly distinguished amongst other limestones by 'its great cohesive strength and high specific gravity.'⁸ The stone was being worked at this date to a depth of 4 ft., the weight per cubic foot being 128 lb. 5 oz., blocks of 100 ft. being obtainable. The stone cost 1s. 9d. per cubic foot at the quarry, the price in London being 3s. 4d.⁹ The Commissioners described the beds as 'sometimes in one, sometimes in two beds, a hard bed above, called rag, 3 ft. 6 in. thick, covered by crash,¹⁰ which is 5 ft. thick, covered with clay, from 15 to 20 ft. in thickness, level and regularly bedded.'¹¹

There were two places where the stone was being quarried in 1873, one being an old working, known as 'The Deeps,' from which only a small quantity of stone was being obtained, owing to the depth which gave the quarry its name. The whole area of the workings at this date exhibited an immense extent of broken ground, no attempt being made to level or restore the surface, which was left after excavation in a perfectly useless condition. Several holdings were included in the workings, numbers of men being employed, and a great quantity of stone being raised.¹²

⁷ Laird, *Rut.* 18.

⁸ *Rep. Building Stone*, 1839, p. 48.

⁹ *Ibid.* 20.

¹⁰ The 'crash-bed,' very soft when dug, hardens by exposure. It is only used locally for rough purposes, field walls, &c. Judd, *Geol. Rut.* 155.

¹¹ *Rep.* loc. cit.

¹² Sharp, 'Oolites of Northampton,' *Proc. Geol. Soc.* xxix, 239-42.

³⁷ Pigot, *Dir.* 1846.

³⁸ *Ibid.* 1822, p. 351.

³⁹ *Ibid.* 1835, p. 337.

⁴⁰ Communicated by Mr. G. Phillips of Oakham.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

¹ Assize R. 47 Hen. III, m. 9 d.

² *Ibid.* m. 10 d.

³ In 1846 there were two quarries being worked at this place, one, a mile south of the village, owned by Mr. Simpson, and the other, a mile to the north, belonging to Mr. Clement Brand. White, *Dir.* 620.

⁴ Stone from Clipsham has been used in Peterborough and Ely Cathedrals, in many Lincolnshire churches, and in Woburn Church, Bedfordshire. It was also largely employed in the main building of the mansion of Burley-on-the-Hill, while Ketton stone was used in the colonnade. Some curious details as to the provision of stone for this purpose will be found in Miss Finch's valuable *History of Burley-on-the-Hill*, i, 28 et seq.

⁵ *Lond. Mag.* 1796, p. 296. Clipsham stone is an Oolitic Limestone similar to that of Ketton, but less even in grain. Judd, *Geol. Rut.* 167.

⁶ Parkinson, *Agric. Rut.* 157.

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The following are details of a section at The Deeps :—

	ft.	in.
1. Upper Estuarine Beds :—		
a. Grey clay	3	0
b. White clay	5	0
c. Variegated clay	8	0
d. Ferruginous band	0	9
	16	9
2. Oolitic Beds Lincolnshire Limestone :—		
a. Coarse Red Oolite	2	6
b. Freestone, good Ketton stone	3	6
c. Rag stone	5	0
	13	0

New Ketton quarries were opened in 1902,¹⁴ when there were six quarries in the whole county, five of which were actually at work, giving employment to seventy-three persons.¹⁵

Ketton stone, which maintains its reputation for goodness and durability, is chiefly utilized for stairs, plinths, mullions, and other dressings, and has been used in the construction of the following buildings :—St. Dunstan's, Fleet Street ; St. Pancras Railway Station, and the modern part of Peterborough and Ely Cathedrals ; also for Sandringham House.¹⁶ Both the Ketton and Casterton Freestone Beds are analogous to those of Bath and the West of England.¹⁷

Other important quarries which have furnished a large amount of excellent stone during the last decade are those of Mr. Henry Wing at Edith Weston. The same valuable qualities which characterized the 'Old Ketton' are claimed for Edith Weston stone. It is easily worked in the quarry, but becomes very hard and durable after a short exposure to the weather. Its oolitic grain is fine and distinct, so that a sharp 'arris' can be obtained by the sculptor ; it is thus adapted for monumental as well as building work. Edith Weston stone has been largely employed in many

buildings both in the Midlands and elsewhere, as for example in the London City and Midland Banks at Peterborough and Nuneaton, the Grand Hotel, Southwold, the new Cemetery Chapel and Buildings at Leicester, the private Chapel at Warter Priory, the Prince Christian Victor Memorial at Windsor, and many other works.¹⁸

In 1905, according to the report of the inspector appointed in the Midland district under the various Acts regulating mines and quarries, 6,315 tons of limestone, sandstone, and other material were obtained from the quarries of Rutland, while 69 men were employed inside the quarries, and 91 in dealing with the stone outside.

An interesting feature of the stone trade of Rutland is the frequent presence of traces of the ancient pits from which stone was formerly dug. At Wing, for instance, Professor Judd records such evidences at and about a place called 'Stone-pits Field Garden.' The stone he describes as 'very hard and white,' admirably fitted for road repairs, for which it was largely utilized. None of the pits had been opened for fifty years, and they were exhausted in 1875 of all good stone, and consequently abandoned. Similar pits have been found at Lyndon.¹⁹ Before the inclosures these pits were sources of supply for the people of the surrounding districts, who procured the stone from their parish-pits, roughly tooled it, and built their own houses without plans or by-laws.²⁰

The lowest beds of the Northampton Sand were at one time dug at Bisbrooke for lining ovens, for which they are said to have been admirably adapted.²¹ A considerable trade was carried on in stone from the neighbourhood of Uppingham, which was made into troughs and carried into the adjoining counties.²² Morcott has been from time to time a centre of much quarrying activity, the Lincolnshire Oolite yielding at that point material for lime-burning, road-metal, and mortar.²³

WOOL AND TEXTILES

We are not without glimpses from mediaeval to modern times of an ancient trade in wool and cloth in the county, though here, as in other parts of the kingdom bordering on more important centres of textile industry, manufacture was by no means proportionate to the quantity of

raw material available. Early records attest the activities of the wool trade, thefts of such merchandise being severely dealt with. It was recorded at the eyre of 1262 that very many fleeces had been stolen at 'Driestock'¹ (Stoke Dry) ; while in East Hundred Maud Scherewind stole the wool of seven sheep and fled for sanctuary to Tinwell Church. On venturing out, however, she was taken, arrested, and carried into the Abbot of Peterborough's Court at Tinwell, and by judge-

¹³ Sharp, 'Oolites of Northampton,' *Proc. Geol. Soc.* xix, 239-42.

¹⁴ *The Quarry*, 1902, p. 31.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 367.

¹⁶ *Notes on Building Construction*, pt. iii, 69.

¹⁷ *Rep. Brit. Assoc.* 1847, p. 131.

¹⁸ We are indebted to Mr. H. Wing of St. Peter's Street, Stamford, for information respecting the Edith Weston Quarries.

¹⁹ Judd, *Geol. Rut.* 178.

²⁰ *The Quarry*, 1901, p. 758.

²¹ Judd, *op. cit.* 109.

²² Pigot, *Dir.* 1828, p. 667. ²³ Judd, *op. cit.* 154.

¹ Assize R. 721, 47 Hen. III, m. 10.

ment of the same court was hanged, though neither the sheriff nor coroner was present.² Again, Osbert of Thurgarton flayed five sheep in Hardwick Field, and was taken with the skins in his possession. He met the same fate as Maud Scherewind, for he was hanged at Tinwell by judgement of the Abbot's Court.³

Rutland wool was often collected by merchants and exported to the Low Countries through the port of Boston. For we hear that in spite of a prohibition of the export of wool during a quarrel between Henry III and the Countess of Flanders, William de Beck, a citizen of London, bought up ten sacks of wool, at 100s. the sack, in Rutland, and sold them at Boston, though the jury of Martinsley Hundred was discreetly ignorant as to the buyer and the ultimate destination. Two Stamford men, John le Plowman and Gilbert de Chesterton, had offended in like manner.⁴ We may safely assert that all this wool found a continental mart.⁵ In 1337⁶ it was ordered that 30,000 sacks of wool should be bought in the various counties for the king's use. Of this amount 4,500 sacks were to be obtained in Lincoln and Rutland, but the Rutland wool was evidently inferior to that from Lincoln, since its price was fixed at 7½ marks a sack as compared with the 10 marks a sack of the Lincolnshire fleeces.

William Dalby of Exton was a wool merchant in 1395.⁷ Abel Barker of Lyndon carried on a profitable trade in wool in the middle of the 17th century. Entries in his note-book of that date record the sale of 530 tods in September 1642 to 'his loving friend,' Mr. William Gladwine,⁸ as well as of various consignments sent to Coggeshall in 1648, when the price was 29s. per tod,⁹ and again in 1655, when the same buyers were supplied with 50 tods, made up of 376 fleeces, and with 12½ tods, comprising 97 fleeces.¹⁰ A 'Todd Bill' of Mr. Geoffrey of Wardley, 1783-1804, is noted in Parkinson's *Rutland*.¹¹ Uppingham was carrying on a small trade in wool in 1841.¹²

Early notices of weavers and fullers are occasionally found. Nicholas le Webstere appears on an Assize Roll of the county for the year 1285, whilst Peter le Fulur was following his craft at South Luffenham in 1290.^{12a}

² Assize R. 721, 47 Hen. III, m. 10.

³ Ibid. m. 10 d.

⁴ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 52.

⁵ Assize R. 722, 14 Edw. I, m. 5.

⁶ Pat. 11 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 15.

⁷ *Cal. Pat.* 1391-6, p. 627.

⁸ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* v, App. i, 387.

⁹ Ibid. 391. ¹⁰ Ibid. 325.

¹¹ Parkinson, *Agric. Rut.* 129.

¹² Pigot, *Dir.* 57.

^{12a} *Cal. Pat.* 1292-1301, p. 219.

¹³ Memo. R. K.R. Mich. 39 Edw. III.

Rather late in the reign of Edward III we hear of the forfeiture of Rutland cloths.¹³

The cloth chiefly produced in Rutland in the 18th century was that known as 'tammy,' for which the county was said to be 'noted,'^{13a} the industry, it would appear, having been largely located in the southern portion of the shire,¹⁴ the preparation of the raw material however giving employment to numbers of the poor throughout the county. Tammy, called also tamine, was a woollen stuff, formerly imported from abroad, but made at home, according to Anderson, from about 1733. In 1800 tammies were described as plain piece-stuffs, from 18 to 36 in. in width, made from deep-stapled Lincolnshire or Yorkshire wool, and manufactured in great variety, from forty-eight to eighty threads of weft, and forty-eight to sixty threads of warp, to one inch. The fabric was designated 'fine class good, often glazed in finishing.' Tammies were largely exported to the West Indies for the use of the slave population, whilst at home they were principally utilized for window curtains and screens.¹⁵ There was undoubtedly a superior variety in use for home consumption, although this was probably of foreign production. In 1650 we find this cloth selling for 1s. 10d. and 2s. 6d. per yd. The latter, known also as 'sea-green Turkey,' was of superfine quality.¹⁶ Elizabeth Allen was manufacturing tammy at Uppingham in 1793.¹⁷ 'A few tammies' were still being made in the county in 1821,¹⁸ but the industry has now ceased to exist.

The spinning of linen¹⁹ and of jersey²⁰ seems to have been in the nature of a cottage industry. In 1701 the overseers of the poor of Glaston expended 15s. in buying hemp and getting it spun, a further 2s. 2d. being laid out for a wheel.²¹

Silk shag²² was formerly made at Oakham, where Robert Gouger was 'the only manufacturer' of this fabric in 1828.²³

^{13a} Tymms, *Family Topographer*, v, 58.

¹⁴ Brewer, *Beauties of Engl. and Wales*, xii, 27.

¹⁵ Beck, *Drapers' Dict.* 338.

¹⁶ Rogers, *Hist. of Agric. and Prices*, v, 577.

¹⁷ *Brit. Univ. Dir.* iv, 649.

¹⁸ *Gent. Mag.* Jan. 1821, p. 12.

¹⁹ Two linen-weavers worked for hire at Empingham in 1795. Eden, *State of the Poor*, ii, 598.

²⁰ A woollen fabric, of which stockings were made. See *The Woman Hater*, and the *Scornful Lady*. A pair of these stockings cost 9s. Carnation jersey stockings were worn in 1616. Fairholt, *Costume in Engl.* ii, 262.

²¹ *The Reliquary*, v, 41.

²² Generally a worsted material, sometimes made of hair or silk. In 1676 the price of this material was 13s. 6d. per yard. Favourite colours were scarlet, black, blue, and buff. Beck, *Drapers' Dict.* 296. ²³ Pigot, *Dir.* 1828, p. 667.

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RUTLAND, the smallest county in England, only contains about one hundred and forty-eight square miles, and its extreme length from north-east to south-west is about twenty miles; its greatest breadth from east to west about sixteen. Its surface is undulating, consisting of ridges of high ground running east and west with rich valleys between, the principal being the valley of Catmose to the south of Oakham, and on the north-east is an elevated table-land bordered on the south by the valley of the Wash. The highest point in the county is Manton, between Oakham and Uppingham. The climate is not so moist as that of counties nearer to the rain-clouds of the Atlantic. In the east and south-east the soil is generally light and shallow; the rest of the county consists mainly of a strong rich loam, and in the vale of Catmose the soil is either clay, or loam, or a mixture of the two. The table-land to the north is formed of the great Oolite, which is also found in the rising ground to the south from Stamford to near Uppingham, and the rest of the county is ferruginous sands, with, in many places, superposed masses of transported gravel. The prevailing redness of the soil, which colours the streams as well, is derived from the ferruginous limestone of the hills, and is said to give its name to the county, but this is very doubtful. The principal industry is agriculture.

Some account of the agriculture of Rutland during the Middle Ages will be found in the article on the Social and Economic History of the county, but a number of record sales made at different markets in Rutland from the 14th century onwards have been collected by Professor Thorold Rogers in his *Hist. of Agriculture and Prices*,¹ and may be analysed here. At this period the larger proportion of the arable land of England (and there is no reason to suppose that Rutland differed from the rest of the country) was cultivated on the open-field system, the lord of the manor with the freeholders and villeins all having their strips of land in the three common arable fields, their portions of the meadow land, and their rights in the common pasture and the woodlands. The first Inclosure Act was passed in 1235, but there was no marked tendency towards inclosures until the end of the 15th century. Rutland was considered a rich county agriculturally, if we may judge by the assessment to the wool tax made in 1341, when it was assessed at one sack to 855 acres, one of the highest assessments in England, Leicestershire being rated at a sack to 1,535 acres, and Nottinghamshire at one to 1,605.

The year 1344 was one of very low prices for grain everywhere, but Market Overton had the distinction of providing one of the lowest prices for wheat in England, 2s. 4d. a quarter, though in the course of the farming year, which then was reckoned from one Michaelmas to another, it reached 3s. 2d., the average, however, for England being 3s. 6d., about 2s. 4d. below the general price of wheat during the 14th century. At the same market barley was also low, 2s. 1d. to 2s. 3d. a quarter; oats were 1s. 6d. to 1s. 8d., rye 2s., and pulse 1s. 4d. to 1s. 6d. On the other hand, wool, then the great product of the English farmer, famous all over Europe, was very dear, selling for 4s. 2d. a stone of 14 lb., about 3½d. a lb., which has to be multiplied by about fifteen to give its equivalent in modern money. It was also sold at 7½d. a fleece, which shows that the local fleece was above the average weight of the time, namely 1½ lb. These prices, high as they were, were not abnormal, and in 1361, also at Market Overton, wool sold at higher rates, 4s. 9d. a stone and 8¼d. a fleece. Oxen,² which were valued chiefly for draught purposes, fetched 9s. to 14s. 6d. each, a fair price then; a bull was sold for 17s. and muttons or wethers at 1s. 6d. each, a little over the average. Apples were only ¾d. a bushel, also an ordinary price. The wages of the labourer had not yet been affected by the Great Plague of 1348-9, and from the same record it

¹ Vol. ii, 118 et seq.

² The ox of this period was probably the small animal now found in Scotland and mountainous districts, weighing about 400 lb.

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appears that for threshing a quarter of wheat or rye a man was paid 2*d.* a quarter, rather more than a day's pay, and for the same amount of barley or peas 1½*d.* and of oats 1*d.* In 1361, at Market Overton, wheat was still below the average, 4*s.* a quarter; barley had gone up to 3*s.* 4*d.*, and oats were said to be scarce and sold at 3*s.* 6*d.*, quite a high price.

The increase in the wages of the labourer after the Black Death was not so great apparently in Rutland as in many counties, where they were doubled, and in some more than doubled. For instance, at Market Overton in 1361, the price of threshing a quarter of wheat had now advanced to 3*d.*, of barley and peas to 2*d.*, and of oats and drage (an inferior kind of barley) 1½*d.* However, this is a considerable increase on the wages of 1344, and seems to prove that the Statute of Labourers insisting on the same rate of wages as before the plague was inoperative. Mowing an acre of rye cost 6*d.*, and a pair of millstones at Market Overton was sold at the same date for 10*s.* 6*d.*, a very low price even in those days.

Little advance took place in agriculture during the 15th century; perhaps the labourer, owing to stationary prices and increased wages, was better off; but in the 16th century there was a considerable increase in the number of inclosures, and much laying down of land to grass, and this represented progress, for inclosed land was always better cultivated than that in the open fields, and the laying down to grass gave the land, much exhausted by wasteful farming, a badly-needed rest. An assessment made in 1453 for granting 13,000 archers to Henry VI, for the recovery of the lost French provinces, shows the comparative wealth of the English counties at the time, as it was made on an estimate of their supposed capacity to contribute according to the levy made on them.³ In 1341 Rutland had come seventh, now the county comes sixth, a position also held by it in the assessment of 1503 for granting feudal aids to Henry VII. As the wealth of the county was purely agricultural, we may conclude that at this period farming in it was comparatively very flourishing. Yet for the quality of its wool, which was now even more than formerly the chief source of the farmers' wealth, Rutland was not distinguished. In 1454 the Commons prayed the king that 'where the wolles growing within this reume here before have been the grete comodite enrichyng and welfare of this land, and how now late the price of the said wolles ys so gretly decayed,'⁴ that wool should not be exported except at certain prices named in the schedule annexed. Therein 'Rutlond wolle' is valued at six marks and a half, or £4 6*s.* 8*d.* a sack of 364 lb., whereas Cotswold wool was put at £8 6*s.* 8*d.*, and Leominster (Herefordshire) at the exceptional price of £13.

A tithe dispute at North Luffenham between the villagers and their rector throws some light on the financial position of farmers and labourers in the 16th century.⁵ One Thomas Hunte was accused of not paying tithe on wool in 1576, which he denied, saying that every pound was worth 6*d.*, whereas the rector had valued it at 3*s.* 4*d.* If the rector had done so he was certainly grasping, as Hunte's estimate was a little under the average market price. Hunte also stated that from his bee-hives, which were much more generally kept than to-day, he sold honey at 3*d.* or 4*d.* a quart and wax at ¾*d.* a lb. Several witnesses were examined at the trial, mostly 'husbandmen,' and all made statements as to their worldly wealth, and it is remarkable that all, however humble, had saved something. Thomas Blackburne, a husbandman, who had served his master as 'chiefe baylie of his husbandrie,' had, at the end of a long life, saved £40, perhaps equal to £300 to-day. He also stated that he had bought a lamb as cheap as 4*d.*, a ridiculously low price however. Another husbandman, William Walker, eighty years of age, during forty-eight years' service to Mr. John Wymarke, had accumulated £10. Robert Sculthorp, who had at one time been a farmer, was worth £26 6*s.* 8*d.*, but we are unfortunately not told the size of his farm. Roland Wymarke, a 'gentleman' who had farmed for forty years at North Luffenham, was little better off than Blackburne the 'baylie,' for he estimated his worldly possessions at £50. From the judgement delivered at this trial it appears a load of firewood was worth 20*d.*, a lamb 3*s.*, and a fleece of wool 18*d.*, a great increase in price since 1361, for we know that the fleece did not become heavier till long after this.

In the composition in lieu of purveyance of 1593 Rutland was assessed at £95 or 200 fat muttons at 9*s.* 6*d.* each,⁶ rather a low price for fat sheep, as the average price for sheep in that year was 9*s.* 4½*d.* This was a high assessment compared with that of many of the counties, though it seems to have been somewhat arbitrary.

In the 17th century there were many signs of coming improvements, though they were not generally put in force until the end of the 18th century; from the Low Countries came the turnip and artificial grasses, yet it was many years before they spread over England. Inclosures, however much injustice they sometimes wrought, certainly led to better farming, and liming and marling, almost discontinued since the 14th century, were revived. Unfortunately the Civil War and the

³ Thorold Rogers, *Hist. of Agric. and Prices*, iv, 75 et seq.; *Parl. R.* v, 232.

⁴ *Ibid.* v, 274. The lowest price in the schedule was for Sussex wool, 50*s.* a sack. The Rutland price was about the average.

⁵ *Rut. Mag.* i, 64.

⁶ Eden, *State of the Poor*, iii, p. cxv.

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political unrest of the latter part of the century checked the improvement. In the various assessments of the counties made in the 17th century the position of Rutland varies considerably, but it is more often high on the list in comparative value than otherwise, and in the poor rate of the end of the reign of Charles II it comes second, with $25\frac{1}{2}$ acres to the £; Notts. and Leicester paying at the rate of about forty-four acres to the £. It is probable therefore that the agriculture of the county was still in a flourishing condition.

We are enabled to obtain a clear and reliable account of the wages paid in the 16th and 17th centuries from the assessment of wages drawn up by the magistrates of Rutland in pursuance of the famous statute of 1562, 5 Eliz. cap. 4, which amended the previous law on the subject, a practice continued until the commencement of the 19th century. In the preamble of the assessment of 1563 the prices of linen, woollen, leather, corn, and other victuals, are stated to be 'great,'⁷ wheat being nearly £1 a quarter, an enormous price then, though next year it dropped to 10s. 10½d. The magistrates stated that a bailiff in husbandry, having charge of two plough-lands at the least, should have wages by the year 40s. and for his livery 8s. A chief servant in husbandry 'which can eire (plough), sow, mow, thrash, make a rick, thatch, and hedge the same, and can kill and dress a hog, sheep and calf,' 40s. by the year, and for his livery 6s. A common servant in husbandry 'which can mow, sow, thrash, and load a cart, and cannot expertly make a rick, hedge and thatch the same, and cannot kill and dress hog, sheep and calf,' was to have 33s. 4d. by the year, and 5s. for his livery. A mean servant in husbandry 'which can drive the plough, pitch the cart, and thrash, and cannot expertly sow, mow, nor make a rick, nor thatch the same,' 24s. a year, and 5s. for his livery. A chief shepherd, who now gets more than a 'mean' or a 'common servant in husbandry,' then only received 20s. by the year and 5s. for his livery; all the above wages were obviously for men who were also boarded and lodged in the house. By the day a mower with meat earned 5d., without meat 10d.; a man reaper with meat 4d., without 8d.; a woman reaper 3d. and 6d.; a man haymaker with meat 3d., without 6d.; a woman haymaker 2d. and 5d. The ordinary labourer was to have 6d. a day in winter, 7d. in summer, and from 8d. to 10d. in harvest-time, 'finding himself.'

The same statute of Elizabeth which enabled magistrates to fix wages, among other regulations settled, or tried to settle, the working hours of the labourers by the day or week, who from the middle of March to the middle of September were to be and continue at their work at or before 5 in the morning, till between 7 and 8 at night, with two hours and a half for breakfast, dinner and drinking; that is half an hour for breakfast, and for each 'drinking,' and one hour for his dinner; and for his 'sleape when hee is allowed to sleape,' that is from the middle of May to the middle of August, half an hour, while from the middle of September to the middle of March they were to work from the spring of the day until night; and for every hour's absence from work they were to lose 1d.⁸ In 1610 there was another assessment by the magistrates at Oakham,⁹ by which a bailiff was to have 52s., but there is no mention of livery; a man servant 'of the best sort' 50s., a common servant 40s., a mean servant 29s., all without livery. Mowers and haymakers received the same wages as half a century before, except that the man haymaker was advanced to 4d. with meat, and 8d. without, and hedgers and ditchers were paid 8d. without meat. The ordinary labourer's wages were also unaltered, yet wheat in that year averaged 32s. 7d. a quarter, and for the ten years 1603-12, 35s. 3½d.

The year 1630-1 was the commencement of a series of dear seasons, when for nine consecutive years the price of wheat did not fall below 40s. a quarter, actually touching 86s., and the justices of the county of Rutland certified 'that they have according to his majesty's commands appoynted the most substantial inhabitants within the several hundreds of the said county to estimate and certifie to them the quantitie of all men's corne and graine inhabitinge in this countie.' The substantial inhabitants certified accordingly, and said there was scarce enough corn in the county to sustain their families and seed the land. They also certified that the markets were served according to the king's command and that wheat was 6s. 8d. a strike,¹⁰ rye 5s., barley 4s. 4d., malt 6s., oats 2s. 6d., and the markets were to be sufficiently supplied. Soon after Sir John Wingfield writes that he has 'taken order that ingrossers (monopolizers, or, as we should say, men who have made corners) of corne should be carefullie seen unto and that there is no Badger¹¹ (corn dealer) licensed to carrye corn out of this countye, nor any starch made of any kind of graine. They have also refrayned the maulsters from excessive making of mault and have suppressed 20 alehouses . . . and further that they have taken order for the strict execution of the laws for the reliefe of the poore, punishing rogues and sturdie beggars.'¹²

⁷ Thorold Rogers, op. cit. iv, 120 and *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*, 389.

⁸ *Statutes of the Realm*, iv (1), 416.

⁹ *Arch.* xi, 200 et seq.

¹⁰ The strike was generally a bushel, stricken off level, not heaped up.

¹¹ Badger, originally one who was licensed to buy corn in one market and sell in another.

¹² *Leics. and Rut. N. and Q.* iii, 11; *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1629-31, p. 414.

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From the private letter book of Sir Abel Barker¹³ of Hambleton, who was High Sheriff of Rutland in 1646, it appears that wool in 1642 was £1 a tod, Mr. Abel Barker, as he was then, selling 530 tods at that price to his 'loving friend Mr. William Gladwine,' and the same gentleman in buying wheat orders it to be 'brined after the Lincolnshire fashion to avoyd blasting.' In 1648 his wool had gone up to 29s. a tod. During the Civil War some of Mr. Barker's horses were carried off and employed for the service of the State, and he values them at £8 a-piece, a fair price at the time, but 25 quarters of oats which were also taken were only valued at 10s. a quarter, the average price then being several shillings higher. Some years later for mowing 44 acres of grass he sets down in his account¹⁴ £2 7s.; for making the same £2 3s., and stacking it 3s., and about the same time he bought a 'steere' of parson Clarke for £1 5s., a low price. A heifer with her calf was sold for £3 4s.

In the inventory of the goods of Viscountess Campden of Brooke, made in 1680,¹⁵ occur the following items:—

	£	s.	d.
172 sheep and 8 beasts	96	13	4
200 tod of wool	200	0	0
15 swine	7	10	0

As sheep were then worth about 9s. each and oxen £5 this was near the ordinary price, and the wool was the same price as that sold by Mr. Barker in 1642; indeed, the price of wool during the 17th century was almost stationary.

In 1692 wheat at Oakham was 27s. 4d. a quarter, but next year it had risen to as high as 46s., and the year after it was as low as 24s. Hay also was subject to the same fluctuations, in 1694-5 selling at Oakham for 30s. a ton, and in the last three quarters of 1696-7 at 14s., while in 1697-8 it had gone up to 24s.

Between 1715 and 1765 prices fell considerably, crops generally being abundant and England still an exporting country in many agricultural products; consequently we are not surprised to find that at Stamford in 1733 wheat was only 23s. to 24s. 6d. a quarter, barley 13s., and oats 10s.

Arthur Young during his six months' tour¹⁶ was in the neighbourhood of Casterton in 1769, where the soil is clay and a poor sandy loam, 'what they call creech,' where farms varied greatly in size from £20 a year to £500, rents also varying much from 5s. and 7s. an acre for open-field land to £1 an acre for that which was inclosed. The usual course of cropping was (1) fallow; (2) wheat; (3) trefoil and clover mixed for two years; (4) barley or wheat; (5) turnips; (6) barley. Four ploughings were considered necessary for wheat, and a seeding of 2½ bushels produced a crop of 20 bushels per acre, worth in Mark Lane about 40s. a quarter. The average barley crop was 32 bushels, and they ploughed once for oats, sowed 4 bushels per acre, and, as a rule, obtained 40 bushels in return, the price of which was then from 16s. to 20s. a quarter. Beans, sown broadcast and never hoed, produced from twenty-four to twenty-eight bushels per acre, and turnips, hoed once, were always grown for the sheep.

In 1771, according to the Kennel accounts of the Exton Foxhounds,¹⁷ oats were purchased at from 14s. to 18s. a quarter, and beans at from 35s. to 40s. In 1782 the former had fallen to from 11s. to 16s. a quarter, and the latter to from 24s. to 29s., a significant proof of bad roads, as in Mark Lane oats were from 15s. to 34s., and beans about 35s. By the same accounts we learn that shoeing a horse from 1753 to 1789 cost the low price of 1s. a month.

A large quantity of sainfoin, as Young tells us, was sown generally with barley after turnips, and the farmers reckoned on its lasting twenty years, mowing it once a year and getting for twelve years or so about two loads per acre, a load being a ton. In the cultivation of sainfoin, turnips, and clover Rutland was in advance of many parts of England, where it was at this time unknown; and it was no doubt the proximity of the county to Leicestershire, one of the most progressive of English counties agriculturally, that conferred upon it this advantage. When Young made his tour English farming was undergoing a great revolution. Hitherto the farm had been considered merely as the support of the farmer and his family, and a very small proportion of the produce was sold off; now, owing to the rise of manufacturing towns which had to be fed, farms were converted into manufactories of bread and meat for the townspeople. A great impetus was thus given to the inclosure of wastes, the extinction of open fields, the partition of commons, and the consolidation of holdings, 3,000,000 acres of land being inclosed during the 18th century, and twice as much

¹³ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* v, 387 et seq.

¹⁴ MS. accounts of Sir Abel Barker, bart., in the possession of E. W. P. Conant, esq.

¹⁵ *Rut. Mag.* ii, 181.

¹⁶ Young, *Six Months' Tour through the North of Engl.* (ed. 2), i, 66.

¹⁷ *Rut. Mag.* i, 260.

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during the first half of the 19th. No doubt farming benefited greatly from the abandonment of the old wasteful system of the common field, but the common field farmer was thereby converted into a hired labourer.

A farm visited by Young, of 200 acres, was rented at £100; 150 acres were arable, the rest grass; 6 horses were kept, 10 cows, and 160 sheep, and the labour was performed by four 'servants' and two labourers, the servants being paid by the year and boarded in the farm-house, the labourer paid by the day and 'finding' himself. A wagon in Rutland at this time cost £18, a cart £7, a plough 25s.,¹⁸ a pair of harrows 25s., a roller from 25s. to 50s.

Three miles from Casterton the labourer in winter received only 7d. a day, yet at Casterton he was paid 1s., the average wage all the year round in England at this time being from 7s. to 7s. 6d. a week. In hay-time, however, he got 1s. a day and board, and in harvest 7s. 6d. a week and board. For reaping the price was 5s. an acre, which was also paid for hoeing turnips, for mowing spring corn 1s., and for mowing grass 1s. 3d. However, this low rate of wages was compensated for by the low price of food, beef, mutton, and veal being 3d. a lb., butter 6d., and cheese 3d., while for a house and an acre of land the labourer paid only £1 a year.

At the end of the 18th century Rutland farms in general were held from year to year or at will, with which the occupiers appeared satisfied, and it is interesting to note that the spread of leases was attributed to the desire of the more avaricious of the landowners to increase their rent-rolls.¹⁹ As a rule there was complete confidence between landlords and tenants, and a tenant at will who entered on a farm as a young man was expected to hand on the holding to his posterity.

If leases were used the following is a specimen of the prevailing form about 1786. The tenant did the ordinary repairs of buildings and all the fences, being allowed materials and the liberty of lopping hedgerow timber. He agreed to pay double rent so long as he continued to hold after notice given; to pay the landlord 1s. a rood for such hedges and ditches as should not be properly made after three months' notice had been given in writing. He was also bound not to break up certain lands specified in the schedule under a penalty of £20 per acre, nor to plough more than a certain number of acres in any one year under the same penalty, and to forfeit the same sum for every acre that should be ploughed for more than three crops successively without making a clean summer fallow after the third crop. He was also restricted as to the number of acres to be mown in any one year. When he laid down arable land to grass, he was to manure it with 8 quarters of lime to the acre and sow 12 lb. of clover seeds and 1 bushel of rye grass per acre. He was to spend on the premises all hay, straw, and manure, or leave them at the end of the tenancy, being allowed for the hay left. He was also allowed for all clover and rye grass sown in the last year, and for all lime used and fallows made in the same period.²⁰

There were, however, at this date many yeomen still left who cultivated their own estates of from £200 to £500 a year, a class of men who were, unfortunately for England, to dwindle rapidly during the succeeding war with France, and in Rutland have to-day practically disappeared.

In 1794 one-third of the county was uninclosed and farmed on the open-field system which had been in use for centuries, and in this respect it differed little from the rest of England.²¹ The first great run of inclosures, in the 18th century at all events, began about 1760, and for some time there was little improvement in the cultivation of the newly-inclosed fields, but gradually better methods prevailed, with the result that there was more demand for labour, and the rural population increased. About one-third of the land was then subject to tithes, which were usually compounded for, and upon inclosures land was generally allotted in lieu of tithes. Corn was somewhat cheaper in Rutland than in the adjoining counties, chiefly owing, it was said, to the want of water carriage, there being no navigable river or canal in the county, but beef, mutton, and pork were about the same price; and 1d. a lb. cheaper than in London.

In order to relieve the rates and promote industry among the children of the labourers, Mr. Foster, a clergyman of Ryhall, had organized schools of rural industry. By this plan the overseers of each parish were to provide wool, yarn, hemp, and flax, together with spinning wheels and other implements, for all those capable of work, and set them to work. If the children refused to work the overseers complained to the justices, and no person was allowed any relief on account of any child above six years of age who could not knit, nor for any child above nine who could not spin.

¹⁸ At Brandsby in Yorkshire, in 1774, a new plough cost £1; Thorold Rogers, *Agric. and Prices*, vii (1), 479. In 1758 a new wagon at the same place cost £16; *ibid.* vii (2), 473.

¹⁹ Marshall, *Rural Econ. of Mid. Cos.* i, 16; John Crutchley, *Gen. View of Agric. of Rut.* 22.

²⁰ In his *View of the Agric. of Rut.* 1794, John Crutchley gives some new covenants lately introduced, among them that of only taking one crop of white corn before a fallow, and one providing that a tenant not living in the farm-house should pay an additional rent of £10 a year.

²¹ Sixty years before the district was 'principally open,' Marshall, *Rural Econ. of Mid. Cos.* ii, 225.

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The class of farmer known as the 'farm spoiler,' the man who goes from farm to farm exhausting each, was not unknown then, for Crutchley says that most gentlemen of landed property had farms upon their estates in a ruinous condition from such gentry, but the spirit of improvement had increased very much of late years among occupiers of land generally. At the end of the 18th century the holdings were not usually very large, one rented at £300 or £400 being exceptional, and there were a great many very small ones. The farm-houses were mostly good, but very inconvenient, being often congregated in villages, a survival of the old common-field system, and the barns, cow-houses, etc., were poorly constructed, and their accommodation inadequate.

There were many cottages with sufficient land attached for keeping one or two cows, and wherever this custom prevailed, great benefit was derived from it in the increased comfort of the cottagers themselves, and in the lower poor rates paid by owners and occupiers. The rent of cottages varied considerably: in some villages it was possible to obtain a comfortable house with a good garden for £1 a year, and the farmers of the county were generally well-disposed to the poor, though few allowed their labourers to sow potatoes in the unused corners of the fields as was then customary in many districts. Several gentlemen in the county set an excellent example by farming part or a whole of their land, and were considered the best managers in the county.

The open fields, which still occupied so considerable an area, were under the old course of two crops and a fallow, but upon most of the light soils a great improvement had taken place about 1790 by turnips being cultivated on part of the fallows, and fed off with sheep. In some of the open fields in the eastern part of the county, after the fallow, barley with broad clover was sown; the second year the clover was mown, the third year fed with sheep, then broken up and sown with wheat. The manure was always spread on the fallows, which were never ploughed till spring, for winter ploughing was considered hurtful, and the crops immediately after the fallows were good and clean, but the succeeding ones very much the reverse. Long beam swing ploughs with four or five horses in single file were common, all crops were sown broadcast, and none but the turnips ever hoed. The open-field system was obviously inconvenient and unproductive, to contemporaries as to us, and it is astonishing that many of the best lands in the country should have been suffered to lie so long in an unprofitable state. The end of it however was approaching, for in 1808 we are told there were only eight common-field parishes in the county, an improvement no doubt greatly helped by the high prices then prevailing because of the war.²² On the inclosed lands tillage was almost entirely confined to the light soils, the red loam and the limestone, on the former of which the Norfolk four-course system was customary: (1) turnips; (2) barley and clover; (3) clover mown; (4) wheat; and on the latter after breaking up the clover there came two crops of spring corn, then turnips followed by barley sown with rye-grass and clover, which were allowed to remain three or four years and grazed principally by sheep. On the light soils light single-wheel and two-furrow ploughs were much used, and two horses only abreast were frequently employed.

Crops on the uninclosed land were very uncertain, but on the inclosed, 32 bushels of wheat 36 of barley, 64 of oats, and 40 of beans were an average crop on the red soil, and 24 of wheat, 28 of barley, 36 of oats, on the limestone. The red Lammas wheat, grown almost exclusively in Rutland, was quite famous, and sold largely in Leicestershire for seed at good prices. Thirty-two bushels an acre of wheat was then a good crop, as contemporary writers often estimate the average crop at twenty bushels.

Wheat at this time was seldom drilled, and was reaped by the sickle and thrashed with the flail, the price in the county in 1808 being from 75s. to 84s. a quarter, about the same as in Mark Lane. Barley was 38s. to 42s., oats 30s., beans 42s. to 52s.²³ Horse-hoeing was practically unknown even for turnips; beans for instance were hand-hoed, and weeded by the spud and hook, some little by sheep.

Potatoes were raised in very small quantities, merely sufficient being grown for domestic use, but in this respect Rutland differed little from the rest of England, for they were not cultivated generally in the field until the Napoleonic war.

The favourite turnip was called the White Norfolk Tankard, but the only person in the county to use the drill was Lord Winchilsea, who consequently obtained fine crops. Fifteen to 20 loads of farmyard dung per acre was the common allowance of manure for it, supplemented on the red lands by some lime. The crop was rolled with the plain wooden roll, and hand-hoed two or three times.

In 1794 three-fifths of the inclosed land of the county was in permanent pasture, one-half being good feeding land and the rest inferior and used for store cattle, almost the whole of it laid down in the great high ridges, still to be seen in many parts of England, which caused the furrows to be wet and unproductive, and the grass on the tops to be poor and thin. It was asserted by Parkinson that the management of grazing lands at the commencement of the 19th century was 'much

²² Richard Parkinson, *Gen. View of the Agric. of Rut.* 5.

²³ The average price for 1808 of barley was 43s. 5d., of oats 33s. 4d.; *Statistics of Bd. of Agric.* (1905), 119.

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better understood in Rutland than in many counties. There is less waste of grass, and the ground is generally stocked with an equal and proper proportion of cattle and sheep, with a small quantity of horses, so that the sorts of grass suitable to each of the different palates of those animals are all taken off.' There was very little dairying in the county.

In various parts there were common cow grounds for the cottagers; at Hambleton one of 114 acres divided into 91 separated 'pastures' let at 30s. a year, and each pasture was stocked with one cow, or four barren sheep, or three ewes and lambs, from old May Day to old Michaelmas Day, and with two and a half sheep or three lambs, from old Michaelmas Day to old Lady Day, no stock being allowed on the land for the remainder of the year.

Much even of the good land was undrained, and the system of drainage in use very primitive; besides the old stone drains, that is those filled in at the bottom with loose stones, there were sod drains made as follows: the upper part of the trench was opened with a common spade, from 9 to 12 inches wide at the bottom, a smooth even bottom being left, in the middle of which a narrow channel was sunk with a draining tool, and cleared with a scoop to the required depth. There was thus left a fair shoulder on either side above the narrow channel and on them the sod was laid grass side downwards, and trodden down firm at the sides, the upper part of the trench being then filled in. It may be readily understood that such drains frequently became stopped up, yet Marshall saw some after twenty years' use working well, and the cost was only a penny a yard.

The use of oxen²⁴ in Rutland as draught animals had by this time apparently been long discontinued, and horses were universal, some tolerably good black ones being bred, but taking them altogether they were very inferior in quality. One man attended to a team of six, and a wagoner and his lad could manage two teams, which were often harnessed in a manner described as truly ridiculous; the harness standing up awkwardly high above the horses' back 'like the sail fin of the nautilus, as if it were intended to catch the wind' and hasten or retard the horse.

Very few cattle were reared, and those of no particular breed and mostly bad ones, but in 1794 a few of Bakewell's Longhorns and some Devons had been introduced for breeding purposes. Grazing, however, was the principal business, the cattle most in request for that object being Irish and small Scotch, some of which were very good and others very poor. After one summer's grass they were sent to London, for there was little stall feeding, though some had hay in the fields and were kept on till Christmas. It was also the custom to buy two-year-old Short-horn heifers of the Durham breed and sell them at three years old in calf to dealers who took them to London or the dairy counties.²⁵ In 1806 there were estimated to be 7,780 cattle in the county.

The sheep of the county are described as of the 'polled long wool kind,' and these, like all stock and crops, were very inferior in the old open fields to those in the inclosed lands, though many even of these were stocked with 'creatures that would disgrace the meanest land in the kingdom.' The favourite breed was the Old Leicestershire, but on the Lincoln side the Lincolnshire was prevalent. The famous New Leicestershire of Robert Bakewell of Dishley was, however, finding its way into the district, and as much as 50 guineas had been given for the hire of a ram, although for the old sort only 2 to 5 guineas was the usual price.²⁶ According to Marshall the majority of breeders and graziers in Rutland were against the new breed,²⁷ and it was preferred for crossing and not in its entirety, for it was said not to produce so much wool as the Old Leicestershire sort, though it had a better carcass and fattened quicker. The chief markets for sheep then were London, and Melton Mowbray where they were sold to go north.

The period of the great war with France which ended with the battle of Waterloo is generally held up as one exceedingly prosperous for agriculture. Prices were enormous, wheat in December 1800 reaching £6 13s. 4d. a quarter, its highest price in modern history, though if the comparative purchasing power of money is taken into account, some mediaeval prices were much higher. The landowner and farmer profited greatly, the labourer not at all, but even for the former there must have been a reverse side to the picture, for taxation was crushing, the very cart-horses being subject to a heavy tax; and rates, chiefly to supplement the labourers' wretched wages, were very high. At all events with the peace the edifice of artificial prosperity came down with a run, so suddenly that a few months afterwards rents in some parts of England fell 30 per cent.

²⁴ Marshall, *Rural Econ. of Mid. Cos.* i, 133. Marshall, like Walter of Henley five hundred years earlier, held that oxen were equal to every work of husbandry in most situations, and, unlike the horse, were useful when their working days were over.

²⁵ Crutchley, *op. cit.* 16. It was in 1795 that the famous Durham ox of Charles Colling, weighing 3,024 lb. at 5½ years old, sold for £140. The improvement effected by Bakewell and the Collings may be gathered from the fact that in 1710 the average weight of beeves at Smithfield was 370 lb., in 1795 800 lb.

²⁶ Not long before this Bakewell had let a ram for one year for 1,200 guineas.

²⁷ *Rural Econ. of Mid. Cos.* i, 317. Marshall says the new breed produced more wool per acre than the old, the Great Bakewellian controversy as to their respective merits being then at its height.

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The Board of Agriculture sent round a circular letter in the early part of 1816 to inquire into the distress which had so suddenly arisen, and from the following answer given by Rutland it appears that the county had suffered less than most :—²⁹

Parish	Unoccupied Farms	Notices to Quit	Rent Reductions	Poor Rates	Remedies Proposed
Exton	5 from 200 to 400 acres each	A great number	—	Increased one-third	Lower rent, taxes and revision of poor laws
Lyndon	None	None	15 per cent.	Decreased	Lower taxes

Yet the papers were full of farmers' assignments and arrests, and executions either for rent or taxes were put in force daily, and the farmers who still held up their heads were sunk in apathy and despondency. No permanent improvement was going on; 'the eye in vain wanders,' wrote a farmer in the county, 'for the view of hollow drainers, or grubbers, or casters of moles and anthills; the miry bog and the savage mountain must now remain in a state of nature, all are at a stand, the labourer is thrown out of employ, as the farmer has not a shilling to employ him with. If the present prices of corn and stock continue twelve months longer nine-tenths of the remaining farmers must be ruined.' Yet wheat in 1816 averaged 78s. 6d. a quarter. It was observed that the farms that were retaken were let to men who moved from one farm to another in the hope that another year might prove more advantageous to sell up in, but these worthies were not prospering. Considering this picture, which is similar to that painted in the returns by most of the answerers, it is hard to understand where all the money made by the farmers in those bouncing years of the war had gone to.

In 1831 the land of Rutland was, as now, mostly in grass in the west, and under tillage in the east, the latter being said to be better managed than in Lincolnshire, the barley especially being of a very fine quality.³⁰

The working classes were more comfortable and 'more humanely treated' by the owners and farmers than in many other counties, the Earl of Winchilsea being especially distinguished for his exertions in this direction; the cottages which he had built having a kitchen, parlour, dairy, cow-house, and two bedrooms over; and there were several with small holdings attached of from five to twenty acres. He also encouraged the practice of letting portions of the pasture to labourers, and of taking in their cows at so much per head. Another excellent custom was that whereby the cottagers took small portions of farmers' fields to use as gardens; for instance, at Oakham a field of 3 acres had been divided into twenty-four gardens let at 5s. each.

The Leicestershire and Rutland Agricultural Society had been established in 1806 and met at Melton Mowbray and Oakham alternately, and altogether there was less want of knowledge in this county than in most others.

The following were the customs and covenants about the middle of the 19th century, three-fourths of the tenancies then commencing at Lady Day, and the remainder at Michaelmas :³¹—On a Michaelmas holding the incoming tenant paid on the summer fallows for one year's rent, rates, and the acts of husbandry; also for purchased manures and the hauling of them, and for the hauling and spreading of farm manure. He took to the root crops at a consuming price, paying too for the purchased manure and its carriage. On stubbles prepared for wheat or tares he had to pay the cost of lime used and for the hauling of the same, for the ploughings, hauling and cost of purchased manure, the hauling of home-made manure, and on clover seeds for the seeds and sowing. If the incoming tenant took to the hay, clover, and straw, he paid for it at a consuming price; if he refused to, which was seldom, the outgoing tenant had the farm premises to convert the straw into manure. On Lady Day holdings, the summer fallows were paid for as in the Michaelmas ones, and the incoming tenant paid for seeds of all sorts which had been sown from which the outgoer had received no benefit. The tenants usually did all the repairs, except to roofs, outside walls and main timbers, the landlord sometimes providing timber in the rough. As to draining, when the tenant found labour only, an allowance was made for four years; when he found the pipes as well it was made for six years. A quarter of the cost of the linseed and cotton cake consumed during the last two years of the tenancy was allowed, and the same proportion for the lime.³²

²⁹ *Agric. State of the Kingdom* (1816), 260 et seq.

³⁰ Loudon, *Encycl. of Agric.* (ed. 1831), 1156.

³¹ Probably old Lady Day and old Michaelmas as now.

³² *Roy. Agric. Soc. Engl. Journ.* (Ser. 2), iv, 155.

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In the returns of the Board of Trade for 1867 the total area of Rutland is returned at 95,805 acres, of which 78,750 were under cultivation, and of this quantity 42,643 acres were arable and 36,107 pasture. Cattle numbered 12,917, sheep 109,726, pigs 5,918.

In 1878, when the depression in agriculture which has lasted until to-day was beginning to be felt, the acreage under cultivation had grown to 86,160 acres, divided as under :—

CORN CROPS

	Wheat	Barley	Oats	Rye	Beans	Peas
Acres . .	10,172	11,162	3,211	24	1,176	773

a total of 26,518 acres.

GREEN CROPS

	Potatoes	Turnips and Swedes	Mangolds	Carrots	Cabbage, Kohl-rabi and Rape	Vetches and other green crops
Acres . .	154	6,179	480	5	103	558

a total of 7,479 acres.

Under clover, sainfoin and grasses under rotation there were 7,042 acres, and 2,656 acres were fallow or uncropped arable, the grand total of the arable amounting to 43,695 acres, while 42,465 were permanent pasture, a considerable increase since 1867.

The live-stock consisted of

Horses	Cattle	Sheep	Pigs
3,170	16,418	99,812	3,983

Of the cattle 3,205 were cows and heifers in milk or in calf.

The decrease in the number of sheep was largely attributed to the favourable season which had enabled farmers to get them ready for market earlier in the year than usual, so that many had been sold before the live-stock census on 4 June, and the decrease in pigs was said to be partly due to the increase of American competition in bacon.

Only 60 acres were in orchards, 23 used as market gardens, and 7 as nursery grounds; while 3,094 acres were in woods, coppices, and plantations.

The years 1879 and 1880 will long be remembered in the midland, western, and southern counties for their disastrous rainfall and the consequent liver-rot among the sheep; in the western part of Rutland on the flooded pastures it was fatally prevalent, and in many parishes scarcely a sheep was left.³³ The cattle too were infected and a considerable number died. Prices now fell steadily and agriculture entered on one of the worst periods it has ever known, yet in 1896, when the commissioners visited the county, they were astonished at the excellent farming.

In 1905 the acreage under cultivation was 87,397, a slight increase since 1878, and the following were the crops :—

CORN CROPS

	Wheat	Barley	Oats	Rye	Beans	Peas
Acres . .	5,305	8,895	3,941	51	688	640

a total of 19,520 acres.

The diminution in the quantity of land under wheat owing to foreign competition is as marked as in most counties in the kingdom.

GREEN CROPS

	Potatoes	Turnips and Swedes	Mangolds	Cabbage, Kohl-rabi and Rape	Vetches and Tares	Other Crops
Acres . .	192	5,060	766	341	278	95

a total of 6,732 acres.

Clover, sainfoin, and grass under rotation accounted for 6,022 acres, small fruit for 45, and bare fallow for 1,219. Altogether 33,538 acres were in tillage and 53,859 in permanent pasture. Thus since 1878 the arable land had decreased 10,157 acres, and the permanent pasture increased 11,394 acres, a change characteristic of England as a whole. Orchards now occupied

³³ Report on liver-rot, *Roy. Agric. Soc. Engl. Journ.* (Ser. 2), xvii, 174. Yet according to the Board of Agriculture Returns there was only a decrease of 4,132 sheep between 1878 and 1880.

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97 acres ; woods, coppices, and plantations 3,819 acres, and it is worthy of mention that Rutland is the only county in England which returns no mountain or heath land used for grazing.

In live-stock the number of cattle during the last quarter of a century has grown considerably, and there were in 1905 nearly three times as many as a hundred years before ; on the other hand sheep have greatly decreased in number.

The totals for 1905 are—

Horses	Cattle	Sheep	Pigs
3,196	19,429	73,917	2,232

With regard to the sizes of the various holdings a marked decrease is to be noticed in the number of the smaller class in the following table :—

	50 Acres and under	Between 50 acres and 300	Above 300
1875 . . .	950	346	66
1880 . . .	865	336	67
1905 . . .	522	315	84

the average size of the holdings in the county for the last year being 94·9 acres, a size exceeded by only four counties in England,³⁴ and of these 79,165 acres were occupied by tenants, and 8,232 by owners.

In the average yield per acre of various crops for the ten years 1895 to 1904 the following is the position of Rutland as compared with the average for the whole of England.

			Wheat		Barley		Oats		Beans		Peas	
Rutland	.		30·60		29·03		34·51		26·91		29·23	} Bushels.
England	.		30·53		32·58		40·71		27·39		26·36	
					Potatoes				Turnips and Swedes		Mangolds	
Rutland	.	.	.	4·90			11·26				18·41	} Tons.
England	.	.	.	5·84			11·91				18·39	
							Hay from artificial grasses				Hay from permanent pasture	
Rutland	.	.	.	.	.	.	21·90				19·79	} Cwt.
England	.	.	.	.	.	.	28·79				23·61	

During the severe depression of the last thirty years rents in Rutland as elsewhere have come down from twenty to thirty and even fifty per cent., though in the last few years they may be described as stationary. Poor tillage is let as low as 7s. 6d. an acre, and inferior pasture at 10s., but the better sort of the former still fetches 25s. an acre, and really good pasture as much as 50s., while of course accommodation land is still dearer.

The western portion of the county to-day is mainly grass, and the eastern and southern arable, the north being divided roughly between the two, and though there is a considerable amount of dairying most of the grass is used for grazing. The most common rotation of crops on the arable land is the old four-course system, varying however, with the nature of the soil. The Stamford district is one of the most famous barley-producing areas in England, its crops commanding a high price from the Burton brewers, and in Rutland generally barley has proved the most profitable of all crops.

Nearly all the farms are let on yearly agreements, as in so many parts of England, usually from 6 April, old Lady Day, or from 11 October, old Michaelmas Day. In spite of fallen rents and growing burdens most landlords have managed to keep the farm buildings in a good state of repair, and though in some cases this is not so, their general condition may be described to-day as fair ; and cottages, in some cases ancient with poor accommodation, in others modern and very comfortable, are sufficient in number for the decreased rural population ; they are let too at a low rent, often at 1s. a week, and a rental of £5 per annum is about the maximum.

The important question of the labour supply is not so black as it looked when Mr. Rider Haggard was in Rutland in 1901, when he was told that the shortness of labour combined with low prices was bound to throw much of the land out of cultivation³⁵ ; and the supply to-day is generally sufficient. But here, as everywhere else, the complaint of the deterioration in the

³⁴ Dorset, Northumberland, Oxfordshire, and Wilts.

³⁵ *Rural Engl.* ii, 273.

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quality of the work done is loud and deep. The modern agricultural labourer, it is declared, cannot compete with the old one in the better class of farm work, such as stacking, thatching, &c., and few take any pride in their work, though there are still a considerable number of the older men who can lay a hedge and shear a sheep well. Their wages are fair; 13s. to 15s. a week with extras in harvest time for ordinary labours, 15s. to 16s. with a cottage, garden and potato ground for carters and wagoners, with harvest extras, and about the same for shepherds with extras at shearing and lambing. Allotments have been in vogue since 1830, and nearly every village has its allotment field, the size of the plots varying from an eighth of an acre to two acres, usually rented at the rate of 30s. or 40s. an acre, the landlord paying the rates and keeping the fences in order; in some cases indeed the supply is more than equal to the demand. Hardly any of the itinerant Irish labourers who used to be such familiar figures at harvest time are now seen in Rutland, for fewer crops and the increased use of machinery have largely obviated their employment. Women too are employed much less frequently in field work.

With regard to live-stock the favourite cattle for grazing and dairying alike are Shorthorns, the Lincoln red being particularly popular; Lincolns too are the favourite sheep, Lincoln ewes often being put to a Hampshire ram, and for pigs most farmers prefer the large and middle white Yorkshires, or 'Lincoln curlycoats,' with a few Berkshires here and there.

In conclusion it may be said that the outlook for agriculture is not so gloomy as it was a few years ago; prices of farm produce have risen in several cases, and with rents still reduced, the intelligent and industrious farmer ought to prosper.

FORESTRY

THE Domesday Survey of 1086 yields clear evidence that this small county was fairly well wooded in the early days of the Norman settlement. Not only was wood at that time of the first importance for building and inclosure purposes, and more especially for the providing of fuel, but as the flesh of swine was such a primary article of diet throughout England for the poorer classes, the woods with their acorns and occasional beech-mast were invaluable for fattening purposes during the autumn season. Hence it came about that in various counties the commissioners were content to estimate the value of the woods by the number of pigs that they could, on the average, support at pannage time; for the oak throughout England was at that period and for long afterwards the dominant tree. Now and again, but very rarely, a wood was returned as *infructuosa*, or by some kindred expression, a term that signified a wood of ashes or of some other timber, where oaks and beeches were absent.

In the case of Rutland the extent of woodland is for the most part entered under the respective manors by linear measure, the size of the wood being roughly set forth in leagues and furlongs, and occasionally in square measure by acres. Out of the thirty-two manors of Rutland twelve were destitute of woodland. The latter were chiefly manors on the fringes of three sides of the county, the wooded parts being in the centre and adjoining the Leicestershire or western boundary. These twelve woodless divisions were Thistleton, Teigh, Whissendine, and Ashwell on the north; Little Casterton, Tolethorpe, Belmesthorpe, Tinwell, Tickencote, and Luffenham on the east; and Liddington and Glaston near the south.

Of the other manors Hambleton had the largest extent of woodland, for it measured 3 leagues by $1\frac{1}{2}$ leagues, and is described as underwood but furnishing pannage in places (*'silva minuta fertilis per loca'*). Underwood is mentioned again at Bisbrooke, where there was a patch $1\frac{1}{2}$ furlongs square. In several of these manors the wood is described as *pastilis per loca*, a phrase probably synonymous with *fertilis per loca*, as at Greetham, Market Overton, and elsewhere. At Barrowden there were 6 acres

of thicket or thorny growth (*spinetum*), 3 acres of the like at Tixover, and other patches at Great Casterton and Seaton.

The forest of Rutland—usually known as the forest of Rutland and Leicestershire up to 1235, when the Leicestershire portion was disafforested—embraced in the 13th century the whole of the southern part of the county, and at least half the total area. It included all below a line drawn straight across Rutland from a little above Oakham on the west to Great Casterton on the east. It afterwards underwent considerable reductions on the eastern side, and had much shrunk in area by the 17th century, when it was between 11 and 12 miles in length, extending from just below Oakham in the north to Caldecott in the extreme south; its greatest width was about 6 miles. A narrow parallel strip of Leicestershire originally belonged to the same forest jurisdiction.

Misunderstanding as to the old term 'forest' is so persistent that it is not perhaps superfluous to state that the expression 'forest' in its mediæval use had no necessary connexion with the idea of a dense or extended wood. 'A forest,' says Mr. Turner, 'is a tract of land within which a particular body of law is enforced, having for its object the preservation of certain animals *feræ naturæ*.'¹ Its use was reserved for the king and for those who bore his definite licence, and its rights were maintained by local courts and by itinerant forest justices who held Pleas of the Forest at fluctuating periods. Several of these great hunting tracts, such as the forests of the High Peak, Dartmoor, or Exmoor, could never have been more than very sparsely wooded in a few places at any time in their history; but as other forests were much overgrown with timber and underwood, and as a certain amount of thicket was always requisite as covert for the game, the term gradually came to be used for a large wood. As for Rutland, its forest district, like that of the New Forest, seems to have included a far larger amount of open moor or waste than of actual wood or underwood.

¹ *Select Pleas of the Forest* (Selden Soc.). This excellent work should be consulted by all desirous of understanding old forest laws and customs. Dr. Cox's *Royal Forests* covers much of the same ground after a more popular fashion.

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The pleas of venison held at Oakham on 3 March 1208-9 are set forth in detail by Mr. Turner.² The regarders³ of both Rutland and Leicestershire were all in mercy (that is, at the mercy of the court, to be fined at pleasure) because of neglect of their duties. The knights of Rutland gave a verdict that at the summons by the justices of the forest all men of Leicestershire ought to attend the pleas who dwelt outside the forest as far as 3 miles. Ralph de Martinvast was fined the great sum of 20 marks on account of his son being found on the high road within the forest with a bow without a string. The foresters found part of a hart in the house of Henry the son of Lefsi; on being asked whence it came he said that the king's hunters gave it to him; but the foresters suspected that he had carried away a hart which the king had killed in the forest, but which had been lost. The township of Oakham was in mercy because they did not produce Robert, the servant of the Earl of Hereford, whom they had pledged. The township of Eggleton was in mercy for absence from the eyre. The sheriff of Rutland was also in mercy because he had not the prisoners who were delivered to him by the hands of the foresters to guard.

A regard, or careful inquiry into the condition of this forest, was ordered in 1219 preparatory to holding the Forest Pleas.⁴

In 1219 Henry III sent Richard de Brademare, his huntsman, to the forest of Rutland with his two grooms, one berner, one ventrer, two horses, eighteen running dogs, and six greyhounds. The sheriff was ordered to see to all their expenses, to provide them with salt for curing the venison, and to arrange for its carriage.⁵

The king sent his mandate in 1221 to Brian de Insula, who was the justice of this forest, to release John Marshall, esquire (*vadletus*) of the Bishop of Lincoln, at that prelate's intercession, from gaol, where he had been placed for taking a hart, and if Marshall and his groom had been released on pledge to forfeit the pledges.⁶ In 1223 Brian de Insula was instructed to permit the Bishop of Lincoln to take three does in Rutland Forest.⁷

After the great storm of 1222 had swept over England separate letters were addressed to the foresters and verderers of both Rutland and

Leicestershire as to the disposal of the windfall and uprooted trees.⁸ Hasculf de Hathelakestun was at that time keeper or warden of this forest.

In 1231 Hasculf de Nevill was directed by the king to allow the men of Peter Fitzherbert to gather nuts on one day in each year throughout the Rutland Forest, for Peter's use, according to custom.⁹ Theobald de Bellehus was granted ten oaks in the following year out of this forest for his manor-house of Wikingeston (Whissendine), the trees to be taken where they would be the least missed, and where they would be conveniently drawn to his manor.¹⁰

Forest Pleas were held at Oakham on the morrow of the feast of Trinity 1256, before William Briton and three other justices. There were thirty-eight fines levied for venison offences, varying in amount from 40s. to 1s. The definite presentments for poaching seem to show that fallow deer largely predominated in this forest; nine of the charges were for taking bucks, three for does, and one for a brocket; whilst there was a single charge as to the taking of a hart and another concerning a red deer calf. There was also a single case in which a roe deer was concerned. Every opportunity was taken at this eyre to secure amercements or fines. Thus almost all the townships appear to have committed some technical offence *de venatione*; under this head the township of Leigh was fined 2s. and that of Glaston half a mark. It is interesting to note the remarkable fluctuation of the acorn crop in different seasons. Thus in 1252 the pannage receipts, as returned by the agistors, amounted to £10 7s. 5d.; in 1253, *nil per defectum pesson*; in 1254, 13s. 6d.; and in 1255, £6 5s. 6d.¹¹

Forest Pleas were again held at Oakham in June 1269. The principal business that came before the justices on the latter date were the serious charges of extortion and damage made against Peter de Neville. The chief forester and the foresters and other knights and good men of the two counties testified on oath that since the last eyre—which was held thirteen years before, namely in 1256—Peter de Neville had continually appropriated to himself nuts, mast, and windfall, together with thorn, hazel, and such-like small vert, and kept dogs and greyhounds on the unlawful pleas of taking hares, foxes, rabbits, and wild cats; that he had appropriated escape of beasts and received fines for hare and rabbit poaching that ought to have gone to the king; that he had imprisoned men and bound them with iron chains for trifling forest trespasses and had released them on payment of fines; that he had taken 24 marks from Richard of Whitchurch for taking a buck

² Turner, *Select Pleas of the Forest*, 6, 7, citing Forest Proc. Exch. T.R. no. 249.

³ As to the respective duties of regarders, verderers, foresters, and other forest ministers, as well as to the local courts and the Forest Pleas, see Cox, *Royal Forests*, *passim*.

⁴ Pat. 3 Hen. III, m. 4 d.

⁵ Close, 3 Hen. III, m. 7. The berner was a man who had charge of the running hounds, whilst the ventrer was in charge of the greyhounds.

⁶ Close, 5 Hen. III, m. 13.

⁷ Ibid. 7 Hen. III, m. 6.

⁸ Pat. 7 Hen. III, m. 6.

⁹ Close, 16 Hen. III, m. 19.

¹⁰ Ibid. m. 12.

¹¹ Forest Proc. Exch. T. R. no. 139.

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without a warrant, and 100s. from Henry Murdoch for his mastiffs that were found following his ploughman to Deepdale within the forest; that he amerced various townships for offences at his will; that every year, save the year between the battles of Lewes and Evesham, he had his piggery and pigs, sometimes to the number of 300, digging in the forest inclosure to the great injury of the pasturage of the king's deer; that he had appointed a forester for the last three years to guard the road between Stamford Bridge and Casterton, on the outlying part of the forest on the east side, to take cheminage for his own use, charging 4d. on every cart carrying wood or timber from the county of Lincoln to Stamford, an entirely novel charge; that he made a gaol of his own at Allextun (just over the border in Leicestershire), full of water at the bottom, and there imprisoned unlawfully many men of his bailiwick in the county of Rutland, whereas they ought to be taken to the Castle of Oakham; that whereas the king had given in his wood of Stokewood thorns and underwood to his brother the lord king of Germany for inclosing his town of Oakham in the time of turbulence, and for this reason the wood was placed in defence for three years by the king's precept, Peter had kept the wood (wherein the neighbouring people have right of common herbage) in defence for five years, and had taken for beasts entering during that period the sum of 30s. in amounts varying from 2½d. to 6d. Almost every one of these and other charges against Peter were considered proved by the justices, the clauses on the rolls where they are stated ending for the most part with 'therefore to judgement with him' (*ideo ad iudicium de eo*).

At this same eyre the chief forester and two verderers presented that a doe, shot and dead, had been found in the wood of Hugh of Uppingham on 25 July 1256 (immediately after the last eyre); and Stephen of Uppingham, woodward of that wood, first found it, and showed it to one of the king's foresters. Stephen being suspected was delivered on the pledge of two men of Uppingham to appear at the next eyre; but he did not appear and his pledges were in mercy. An inquisition had been made by the foresters and verderers and the four townships of Uppingham, East Stoke, Wardley, and Ayston, who stated on oath that they thought the doe was shot in the liberty rather than in the forest, and nothing else could be ascertained. The sheriff was ordered to produce Stephen before the justices. Another presentment charged James de Panton with taking six does in the forests, when the king's licence only gave permission for taking two. 'And by reason of the noise which he made by beating drums, when he beat the drum any deer came out of the forest into the liberty and were taken, to the loss of the lord

king and the detriment of his forest.' James came before the court and, on conviction, was detained in prison. From the proceedings of this eyre we learn that the Rutland Forest was divided into two bailiwicks, namely those of Braunston and Beaumont, and that there were two foresters for each; there was also a fifth forester for Ridlington Park.

The following recital of the bounds of this forest was enrolled at this time (1269):—

The perambulation of the forest of Rutland begins from that place where the old course of the Little Eye flows into the Welland opposite Cotton; and from thence along the course of the water of the Welland up to the boundary between the counties of Lincoln and Rutland; by metes and bounds as far as Stumpsden; and from thence by metes and bounds as far as Great Casterton Bridge; and from that bridge along the course of the water of the Gwash as far as Empingham bridge; and from that bridge along the course of the water as far as Stanbridge; and from Stanbridge through the middle of the park of Barnsdale as far as Twyford; and from Twyford along the course of the water through the middle of the town of Langham; and from thence as far as the park of Overton, and from thence between Flitteris and the wood of Knossington as far as the water of the Gwash; and from thence along the boundaries between the open field of Braunston and Knossington as far as the Wisp; and from thence along the boundaries between the field of Owston and Withcote as far as the door of the castle of Sauvey; and from thence by the rivulet which runs down from Sauvey as far as Harewin's mill; and from thence to Coptre, and from Coptre as far as the boundaries of Finchford; and from thence by the old course of the Little Eye into the Welland opposite Cotton.¹²

Ralph Malore, king's serjeant, obtained from Edward I in 1280 the custody of the forest of Rutland, with the issues thereof, so that he answered, like other keepers, to appoint and remove foresters when necessary.¹³ In November 1282 acquittance was made to the executors of Luke de Tany, late justice of the forest this side Trent, for deliverance into the treasury at Westminster of a large number of forest rolls and documents of various counties, including two inquisitions made in the forest of Rutland, as well of malefactors in that forest, as of the death of Simon, sometime forester of the bailiwick of Beaumont.¹⁴ Pardon was granted to Reginald de Grey and John de Grey and their households, in 1286, for taking deer in the forest of Rutland during the late troubles in England, and also to Henry de Lascy, Earl of Lincoln, for taking a buck.¹⁵ William de Harcourt was pardoned of

¹² This translation is taken from Turner's *Select Pleas of the Forest* (43–53), where full details are given of the more salient points of the 1269 eyre, from Forest Proc. Exch. T.R. no. 140.

¹³ Pat. 7 Edw. 1, m. 3; 8 Edw. 1, m. 24.

¹⁴ Pat. 11 Edw. 1, m. 4.

¹⁵ Pat. 14 Edw. 1, m. 21, 17.

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his outlawry in 1293 for a trespass in Rutland Forest, provided that he surrendered at Oakham gaol within forty days.¹⁶ On 13 September 1300 grant was made to Theobald de Neville of the custody of this forest, at the same rent (40s.) at the Exchequer as Peter de Neville, long ago keeper thereof, paid at the Exchequer of Henry III, on condition that he satisfied Ralph Malore, to whom the king had granted the same for life; eventually Theobald covenanted to pay Ralph twelve marks a year for life.¹⁷

Various grants out of this forest were made during the reign of Edward I. In 1275 the prior of Launde obtained four oaks for his fuel, as a recompense for the charcoal and brushwood taken in his priory for the royal use when the king was last there.¹⁸ In 1278 Richard de Holebrok, the keeper, was directed to supply Peter de Montfort with bucks.¹⁹ William le Bland in the following year was granted ten oaks fit for timber out of this forest.²⁰ In 1280 Geoffrey de Hauville, the king's falconer, had a grant of six oaks and Peter de Montfort three bucks.²¹ In the following year Edward, Earl of Cornwall, obtained twelve bucks, and Peter de Montfort four bucks.²² Peter had two more bucks in 1282, and Luke de Tany, forest justice, four bucks.²³ Theobald de Neville, in 1283, had three timber oaks, Peter six bucks, and William de Odingeseles a like number.²⁴ The Bishop of Lincoln was granted, in March 1284, six live bucks and fourteen live does out of this forest, and William, Earl of Warwick, six bucks in June of the same year.²⁵ Ralph Malore, keeper of Rutland Forest, was ordered in 1285 to supply twelve oaks to repair a chamber and a chapel in Rockingham Castle, and in the same year Peter de Montfort received four bucks and William de Odingeseles eight bucks.²⁶

Ten timber trees were granted in 1290 to John de Holt, steward of Edward the king's brother in Leicester.²⁷ Ralph Malore the keeper was ordered in 1292 to supply John de Langton, king's clerk, with four bucks.²⁸ Six bucks were granted out of this forest in 1294 to Alice wife of John de Mortimer.²⁹ Nicholas de Misterton, king's clerk, obtained four oaks fit for timber as the king's gift in 1295.³⁰ On October 1299

the keeper was ordered to cause John de Langton, the chancellor, to have twelve good oaks, with their strippings, fit for timber, of the king's gift, in the place where the king's wood was then exposed for sale.³¹ Roger le Brabanzun obtained a grant in 1302 of ten timber oaks in the king's wood of Beaumont, within the bounds of the forest of Rutland.³²

Licence was obtained of the Crown in 1310, after inquisition by Hugh le Despenser, justice of the forest, by the abbot and convent of St. George, Boscherville (near Rouen), to assart and cultivate a part of their waste containing 100 acres, called 'Wychele' in Edith Weston, within the bounds of the forest of Rutland.³³

In June 1321 a commission was appointed on the complaint by John Haclut, keeper of Rutland Forest, that when he, in the execution of his office, lately approached Liddington within the forest metes he was assaulted by upwards of fifty men, whose names are set forth, who took and carried away his goods and also assaulted his servants.³⁴ William la Zouch, of Harringworth, in 1324 obtained grant during pleasure from Edward II to hunt the fox, hare, cat, badger, and other vermin (*verminam*) within the forests of the counties of Northampton and Rutland, provided he did no damage to the deer.³⁵

The accounts of John atte Halle of South Luffenham and John de Notyngham of Up-pingham for wood-sales in this forest during 1333 are extant. Robert de Ufford was then warden of the forest. This summary shows that £8 1s. 8d. was received for the sale of twenty acres of underwood at 8s. 1d. per acre at Haleweyes; £5 for 200 maples on the said twenty acres; and 20s. for thorns sold in two places 'in les Rodes.'³⁶

The king of his special grace in May 1348 pardoned John de Segrave and Joan his wife, of Cold Overton, Leicestershire, for default of proper inclosure of their park, whereby the king's deer of the forest of Rutland had frequently repaired there in large numbers and could not get out again by reason of the method of inclosure. They were not to be again disturbed by the ministers of the forest, provided the inclosures were amended after a proper fashion.³⁷

William Hunt was appointed in 1351 to survey this forest, as Edward III understood that it had for long been very ill kept by reason of the carelessness of the keepers, to the great destruction of both vert and venison, and to arrest all

¹⁶ Pat. 21 Edw. I, m. 12.

¹⁷ Pat. 28 Edw. I, m. 7; 29 Edw. I, m. 33.

¹⁸ Close, 3 Edw. I, m. 5.

¹⁹ Ibid. 6 Edw. I, m. 4.

²⁰ Ibid. 7 Edw. I, m. 9.

²¹ Ibid. 8 Edw. I, m. 4.

²² Ibid. 9 Edw. I, m. 5, 3.

²³ Ibid. 10 Edw. I, m. 1.

²⁴ Ibid. 11 Edw. I, m. 7, 6.

²⁵ Ibid. 12 Edw. I, m. 7, 4.

²⁶ Ibid. 13 Edw. I, m. 7, 4.

²⁷ Ibid. 18 Edw. I, m. 3.

²⁸ Ibid. 20 Edw. I, m. 4.

²⁹ Ibid. 22 Edw. I, m. 5.

³⁰ Ibid. 23 Edw. I, m. 10.

³¹ Close, 27 Edw. I, m. 4.

³² Ibid. 30 Edw. I, m. 6.

³³ Pat. 3 Edw. II, m. 23. This name still survives in a farm called Witchley Warren.

³⁴ Pat. 14 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 6d.; 15 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 23d.

³⁵ Pat. 18 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 39.

³⁶ Forest Proc. Exch. K.R. bdle. 145, no. 5.

³⁷ Pat. 22 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 34, 21.

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trespassers in alleviation of the labours of John Hakelut the warden or keeper.³⁸

During the reign of Edward I several inquisitions as to offences against the forest laws were gradually substituted for special inquisitions, and in the year 1306 this change of procedure was formally sanctioned under the name of 'swainmote' by the *Ordinatio Foreste*,³⁹ according to which general inquisitions were held as to all manner of forest trespasses against vert and venison, as presented by the foresters, before a court of local foresters and verderers, as well as of knights and of other good and loyal men of the neighbourhood. The justice of the forest or his lieutenant was also present. A large number of such inquisitions are extant for the latter years of the reign of Edward III.

One of these inquisitions for the forest of Rutland was held at Uppingham on 3 July 1309, before Peter atte Wode, lieutenant for John de Foxley (who was general warden or justice of the forests south of the Trent), on the sworn presentments of Henry Boyville lieutenant of John Wardeu, seneschal of Rutland forest, six foresters, two verderers, twelve regards, twelve free tenants within the forest, and twelve free tenants outside the bounds. These forty-five forest ministers and free tenants made five presentments. They said (1) that John Wardeu and William Wardeu, vicar of Bodiham, had occupied for six years a certain portion of land of the king's, about 30 acres, at 'Calkeleghe' in Leighfield, and received the profits to the annual value of 13s. 4d.; (2) that the same John had cut great boughs of the king's oaks, both within and without the park, during the like period, to the value of 60s.; (3) that the same John and Alice his wife were enfeofed of the bailiwick of the stewardship of Rutland Forest simply through the mere deed of Robert Wardeu and John Porte, without any writ or licence of the king; (4) that John Wardeu, the steward or warden of the forest, presented offenders at the swainmotes or courts of attachment by his own action without others assisting, and this at his own house outside the county, without the presence of the verderers, and had thus levied fines of 6s. 8d. on various men for his own use; (5) John Wardeu has also referred a certain Robert Brerlee to the office of a forester, who had been previously removed from that office in consequence of a venison trespass.⁴⁰ Mr. Turner also gives extracts from others of these Rutland inquisitions, including a charge of 1365 of killing a pricket (a buck in its second year) with bow and arrows in the bailiwick of Beaumont; and a statement of 1370 as to one L. H. riding through his bailiwick of Leighfield, with greyhounds in leash,

when the greyhounds broke the leash and killed a doe, though L. went to the deer's aid; and a charge in 1373 against the prior of Launde of having an uninclosed park near the forest.⁴¹ These various inquisitions, when they refer to venison offences, are exclusively concerned with fallow deer.

Richard II granted for life to the Earl of Oxford, in 1385, the castle and lordship of Oakham, together with the forest of Rutland.⁴² In 1387 Edmund, Duke of York, the king's uncle, obtained a life grant of the keepership of the forest of 'Roteland et la Leyfeld,' lately William de Burgh's, one of the king's justices, which had come into the king's hands in consequence of his forfeiture.⁴³ Henry IV in 1399 granted to Robert Bendowe the office of ranger of the forest of Rutland, with wages of 6d. daily, in succession to Thomas Whitherlee, deceased.⁴⁴ In the following year Henry IV granted to Hugh Norburgh the keepership of Rutland Forest and the manor of Leigh, of the yearly value of forty marks or more.⁴⁵ In 1405 the offices of steward and master forester of this forest were granted by the Crown, during pleasure, to the king's knight John Blount, with the accustomed wages, fees, and profits.⁴⁶ These last letters patent were revoked in the following year, on the complaint of William de Burgh and Marjory his wife, who successfully urged that they were in possession of the bailiwick, from which they had been unjustly removed in the previous reign.⁴⁷

The survey and governance of vert and venison in the forest of Rutland was granted by Henry VI, for life, in 1439, to Sir Ralph Cromwell;⁴⁸ but in January of the following year this office was transferred for life to Sir Robert Roos, to hold by himself or by deputy for life; it is remarked in the patent that the deer and game of the said forest had been much diminished for lack of proper survey.⁴⁹ Anne daughter and heir of William de Burgh and wife of Richard Chisulden died in 1444, and it was found that she was seised 'in her demean as of fee of the mannore of Lye, and of the custody of the forrest of Rutland, with wyndfallin wode, dere fallin wode, cabliciis, woodsylver, heggingsylver, attachiements of the forresters, with the issues and profits of the swainmots and chiminage, as also the power of making and removing all forresters of the said forrest at her will; and that the said forrest is held of the king in capite, the profits of which said forrest were then valued

³⁸ Pat. 25 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 25.

³⁹ *Stat. of Realm*, i, 148.

⁴⁰ Forest Proc. Exch. T.R. no. 307.

⁴¹ Turner, op. cit. xlix-l.

⁴² Pat. 9 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 37.

⁴³ Pat. 11 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 18.

⁴⁴ Pat. 1 Hen. IV, pt. iv, m. 15.

⁴⁵ Ibid. pt. viii, m. 10.

⁴⁶ Pat. 6 Hen. IV, pt. i, m. 3.

⁴⁷ Pat. 7 Hen. IV, pt. i, m. 13.

⁴⁸ Pat. 18 Hen. VI, pt. i, m. 1.

⁴⁹ Ibid. pt. iii, m. 29.

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at seventeen marks over and above all reprises.⁵⁰ Edward IV in the latter part of his reign granted the manor of Leigh and the chief forestership to William Lord Hastings; on his death in the reign of Richard III the estates were confiscated to the Crown. Henry VII on his accession granted the manor and office to Lord William's son and heir, Edward Lord Hastings.

Robert Rokely was granted the office of ranger of the forest of Lee, co. Rutland, in 1474, with wages of 1½*d.* daily and all customary profits; but in the following year, when he was about to cross the seas 'in the king's company to France for the recovery of that realm,' the office was transferred to his son William, and the daily wage raised to 2*d.*⁵¹

Towards the close of the 15th century Rutland Forest had become usually known as Leigh or Leighfield Forest, from the manor of that name, about the centre of the Leicestershire boundary of the forest, which was held with the wardenship. On the 10 September,⁵² 1490, Pleas of the Forest were heard at Uppingham by Sir John Ratcliffe Lord Fitzwalter and Sir Reynold Bray. Before them appeared Edward, Lord Hastings, as warden or master forester, Thomas Sapcote, the sheriff of the county, and apparently also Sir Maurice Berkeley as lieutenant to Lord Hastings. About this office, however, there was some dispute, as Everard Digby, esq., entered an appearance and claimed it as his right under letters patent from William, Lord Hastings, father of the actual warden. The forest justices accordingly fixed the morrow of Martinmas for the determination of the controversy at Westminster. Other officials present were Robert Rokely as ranger, and Christopher Parker as bowbearer, as well as the two foresters from each of the bailiwicks of Beaumont and Braunston, the forester of Ridlington Park, and the two verderers. The five woodwards who attended respectively represented the Prior of Brook, the Bishop of Lincoln, the Earl of Warwick, Everard Digby, and Robert Maners, whose woods they kept in different parts within the forest district. There were also present fourteen regarders, eleven free tenants, a jury-panel of the king, juries of the hundreds of Martinsley (Rutland) and Goscote (Leicestershire), and of the soke of Oakham, together with the reeve and four men from each of the townships of Ayston, Belton, Braunston, Brooke, Caldecott, Liddington, Ridlington, Stoke, Dry, Uppingham, and Wardley. The justice seat at the Pleas was at that time at Uppingham instead of at Oakham as formerly.

The claimants of forest liberties were the Bishop of Lincoln, the Abbot of Kenilworth, Sir

Edward Hastings, Everard Digby, Sir Maurice Berkeley, John Cheselden, and Robert Maners.

Among the presentments, it was stated that Thomas Parker, parker of Ridlington, and Robert Rokely, the sub-parker, had felled three lime trees (*Le lynerey trees*) worth 6*s.* 8*d.* each; they had also killed, since the last eyre, eight deer when training their dogs (*pro canibus suis ad arcum castigandis*). The master forester or keeper had distributed eight bucks and ten does among the gentlemen of the district. Eight bucks and twenty-four raskells had died of murrain.

There are a large number of verderers' certificates of Elizabeth's reign pertaining to the 'Forest of Lieghfeld in the countye of Rutland' at the Public Record Office. The verderers of 1567 returned 'that their is one Axe with a peculyer marke and a bagg provided for the same Axe sealyd with the Seales of the regarders according to the tenure of thartycles annexed to the said Comysion.' They had sealed and delivered ten dry maples and two dry oaks, viewed at five loads and four loads of windfalls to Thomas Overend, bowbearer of the forest; and to William Atkinges, one of the keepers, two 'vermyn trees,' viewed at six loads. Anthony Digby, esq., ranger, took nineteen trees as his fee, valued at £9 10*s.* The township of Braunston received from the keepers of Braunston bailiwick forty loads of Thorley thorns according to the ancient annual custom, also the township of Brooke thirty-five loads, Belton thirty loads, Ridlington twenty-eight loads, Ayston twenty-one loads, and Uppingham eighty loads. To the fencing of the forest ring of Leighfield and of Ridlington Park, the keepers delivered forty loads of thorns, and fifteen loads for the ring hedge of Beaumont. The verderers had also delivered to the bowbearer a tree for the repair of the bridge, six stubbs and five timber trees 'for the repayre of the raile in Lyeghfeld and plashing the hedge about Ridlington parke,' as well as another stubb for the repair of the pinfold. Further timber was supplied for repair of Ridlington Park lodge.

Some of the later annual certificates of the verderers supply certain curious entries, of which the following must suffice as examples. Foresters or keepers were entitled, in the later forest days, to claim as perquisites those trees in the hollows of which they tracked and killed vermin.⁵³

1568. John Dyve, gent. parker of Ridlington Parke did take and felled one tree wherein was traysed one Foxe and kylled the same in the tree, vewed at two loodes and praysed at iijs.

William Atkyns one of the kepars of Brawnston Bailwyke, did take and fell one tree wherein was traysed one Catte and the same put out of the tree and so kylled, vewed at v loodes and praysed at viijs. iiij*d.*

⁵³ In the accounts of the adjacent forest of Rockingham there are various references to fox trees and vermin trees; see Cox, *Royal Forests*, 251-2.

⁵⁰ Wright, *Hist. of Rut.* (1684), 77; citing from Inq. p.m. 15 Hen. VI, no. 14.

⁵¹ Pat. 14 Edw. IV, pt. i, m. 11; 15 Edw. IV, pt. ii, m. 24.

⁵² Duchy of Lanc. Forest Proc. bdle. 3, no. 33.

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Ther was taken fallen and sold by the Bowbearer within the sayd forest and parke hanging in the trees wood broysed (bruised) by the waight of Snowe vj^{xxij} lodes prayesd at viij^l.

1569. Fallen and taken by Thomas Holmes, Balyffe of the Quenes mat's mannor of Prestun and Uppingham two trees for the repair of her graces common hall in Uppingham.

William Atkyns and John Maydon, kepars of Braunston Balywyke did fell and take one tree wherin was trayesd one bagar and the same put out of the tree and kylled, vewed at iij lodes and valued at viij^s.

1574. Their was fallen and taken by John Gryffyn, servant to John Eyre gent one tree wherin was kylled a lytter of Cobbes vewed at iij lodes and preysed at viij^s. ; and their was fallen and taken by the said John two trees wherin was trayesd a catte and a bagger and killed in the same, vewed at ix lodes and preysed at viij^s.

1579. Fallen and taken by John Norris by the commaundement of the right honorable lorde Burghley highe Tresourer of Englande his master, seven score and tenne trees in the forest and prayesd to his lordships by vviewe of his owen warrant at xxij^l. xs.

1586. We are to enforme this honorable courte that the unlawfull selling and taking derebrowse wood in Ridlington park, and also the takyng of fyer and fuell wood by John Dyve gentleman in the said parke, and the carrying of grene wood by the corverders and others by the sufferance of the Kepers their, will destroy the said park within shorte tyme unless better order be taken.⁵⁴

In Wright's *History and Antiquities of the County of Rutland*, published in 1684, there is a short section as to the 'Forrest of Rutland, commonly call'd Lifeild.' He cites the perambulation of 29 Edward I, and also gives a much later English perambulation of 'the bounds and limits of Lifield and Beaumont Forrest' according to a survey in the possession of the late Lord Viscount Camden :—

Beginning at Fletterette Corner in the Field of Okeham, it goes westward, taking in all Braunston high meadow, the Wisp and Withcot sail, and so proceeds, taking in Bittlewell sail, and Cockly sale and so to Steerwood, and then taking in Twiford Bridge, it takes in Belton and Wardly towns, proceeds to Beaumont sale and Preston Underwoods, and so about to Long bridge by Caldecot, taking in Caldecot and Snelston Fields, and so up to Liddington, taking in all Uppingham Brand and the East Field, and so taking in all Ayston Common feilds it proceeds by Ridlington to Breok, and then up to Brook Mill and so to Flitterish where the circuit or perambulation began. Containing within the said limits the following Towns, viz. Brook, Braunston, Belton, Wardley, the Mannour of Leigh, Ridlington, Uppingham, Ayston, Stoke, Lidington, Snelston and Caldecot.

An account of Rutland of the year 1727 makes mention of 'Leigh or Lee, anciently a town and manor, but a lodge only at this time in the forest,

⁵⁴ Forest Proc. Exch. K.R. bdle. 141, no. 20, 9 to 31 Eliz.

which was named from it, called Lyfield Forest.'⁵⁵ It is also stated that the forest took up the greatest part of Oakham Hundred and part of Martinsley Hundred.⁵⁶

Mr. John Crutchley, of Burley, drew up a brief report in 1794 for the Board of Agriculture, entitled *General View of Agriculture in the County of Rutland*. He remarked that oak timber was not much raised in the county and that there was very little fit for navy purposes. The best sort was used for building, and recently for canals and navigation, the coarser sort, not required for local fences, was made into gates and hurdles and sold at Spalding and Peterborough fairs, to be carried into the fen country. But little attention was paid to planting of oak or other trees.

As to the parks of the county, Flitteris Park, on the northern confines of Rutland Forest, was inclosed by Richard, Earl of Cornwall, in 1250, by royal licence.⁵⁷ In Saxton's map it is marked as 'Flytterne Park.' It was no great distance from Oakham and was probably the same as 'Okeham' Park, named in 1374, when William Gambion was appointed keeper during pleasure.⁵⁸ Ridlington Park, named in forest accounts from Henry III to Henry VII, appears as a park in the maps of Saxton (1576) and Speed (1610). The Bishop of Lincoln's park at Liddington was enlarged by 60 acres in 1332, when it was also inclosed with a stone wall, in the place of the old fence and hedge.⁵⁹ In the centre of the county, south of Burley on the Hill, was Barnsdale Park, mentioned in the perambulation of 1269; it is shown as a park on Saxton's map. At Burley on the Hill there was, in 1684, 'a princely park and woods adjoining,' purchased from the Harringtons by the famed George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, 'who made it one of the finest seats in these parts of England.'⁶⁰ A royal warrant of 30 December, 1634, ordered the advance of £100 to one John Scandaren for bringing forty red deer alive from Hatfield Chase, Yorkshire, to this park as a present from the king to the duke.⁶¹ The park was enlarged and improved by the Duke of Buckingham, and it was further improved by Lord Nottingham when rebuilding the house and laying out the grounds between 1694 and 1708. An agreement as to setting up 'good substantial posts and pailles in ye park of Barleigh' is cited in the recent *History of Burley on the Hill*.⁶² The park was then tenanted by deer. In the accounts for 1708 are particulars as to making 'a rack for foddering the deer,' which was to be 238 ft. in length; also an entry

⁵⁵ Lysons, *Mag. Brit.* iv, 529.

⁵⁶ Ibid. 590.

⁵⁷ Pat. 36 Hen. III, m. 4.

⁵⁸ Pat. 47 Edw. III, m. 12.

⁵⁹ Pat. 5 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 2.

⁶⁰ Wright, *Rut.* 30.

⁶¹ Shirley, *Engl. Deer Parks*.

⁶² Miss Pearl Finch, op. cit. 118-19.

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of 2s. 6d. 'paid Thomas Ransom for a boy watching the gates in buck season.' In Lord Nottingham's will occurs this clause: 'I would have her (Lady Nottingham) have venison out of ye park as she has occasion . . . and though I intend to take ye whole park into my hands, yet I think it will be best yf you lett such parts of it as are now in tennants hands but grant no liberty of ploughing any part thereof.' The park-like grounds of over 1,000 acres have, however, since this date, been much more subdivided and in parts cultivated. The deer have long ago vanished.

There are at the present day two fine deer parks in the county, those of Exton and Normanton. Exton Park, the seat of the Earl of Gainsborough, was inclosed by licence of Charles I in 1639. The park has an area of 923 acres, including 69 acres of inclosed wood. It is now (1908) stocked with a large herd of about 450 fallow deer, 52 red deer, and 23 Japanese deer. The red deer were introduced in 1887 from Lowther Castle. The park of 923 acres is splendidly timbered with every variety of forest trees; some of the oaks are exceptionally fine. A plantation of 14 acres, chiefly birch, has been recently planted. A wood of 69 acres, chiefly oak, in the middle of the park, is sometimes called Bohemian Wood. The Queen of Bohemia,

sister of Charles I, at one time lived here, and used to walk round this wood through a path which still exists and is known as the Queen's Walk.⁶³ Normanton Park, the seat of the Earl of Ancaster, incloses 400 acres and is stocked with a herd of about 350 fallow deer.⁶⁴ It is well timbered in clumps; there are also some very fine single oaks and elms.

Rutland has not shared in the general rise throughout England in the amount of woodland due to the greater attention that has been given to modern and improved methods of arboriculture and forestry. Nevertheless the falling off has been but trifling. The total acreage in Rutland of woods and plantations in 1888 was 3921; this total had dropped in 1891 to 3,838. The latest woodland return was drawn up in June 1905, when the total was still further reduced to 3,819. The separate (unpublished) parochial returns of woods and plantations of 1905 show that eighteen out of fifty-seven parishes have no woodland. Exton has 680 acres, Burley 505, Empingham 398, whilst three other parishes exceed 300 acres.

⁶³ From information kindly supplied by Mr. Maurice Berkeley.

⁶⁴ These numbers are taken from Whitaker's *Deer Parks* of 1892.

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INTRODUCTION

AS might be expected in a county so small and so sparsely populated as Rutland, there are very few traces of pre-Reformation schools. Not that the institutions in connexion with which schools came into existence elsewhere were wanting there. Oakham had its castle, with chapel, chantry, and parson's house, from very early times.¹ The county towards the end of the 14th century could boast for a short period of two colleges, one at Manton, founded by Sir William Wade in 1356 in connexion with the altar of the Blessed Mary in the parish church, of a warden and three chaplains,² and another at Toleshorpe, a refoundation of the earlier hospital, for which licence was obtained from the pope by Sir William de Burton in 1359, on quite a large scale, with a master and six chaplains.³ Possibly both of these colleges supported schoolmasters so long as they flourished. The latter certainly could only have done so for a very short time; it soon dwindled away to a mere chantry, and even this was discontinued probably as early as 1410. The former's staff of chaplains was reduced to one at any rate from 1491, but apparently neither warden nor chaplain interested himself in the education of youth, and when the college was dissolved its property was granted away,⁴ and no school arose out of its ashes, although at the time of the Chantry Certificate (1548) there were as many as '100 house-lyng people' there.⁵ The priory of Brooke, tenanted by canons of the Augustinian order, which had controlled schools elsewhere, as at Gloucester, was never sufficiently well endowed to encourage settled work. Of the six gilds known to have existed in the county it is very likely that at least one of the three at Oakham, the chief town, and one at North Luffenham, may have provided a schoolmaster; if they did

we know nothing about them. The sole school existing in 1548 was one in connexion with the chantry in the Lady Chapel of the parish church of Whitwell.

This chantry was founded in accordance with a licence in mortmain of 20 February 1345, which empowered Richard de Whitwell, prebendary of Empingham, in the church of the Blessed Mary, Lincoln, otherwise Lincoln Cathedral, to grant two messuages and 2½ virgates of land in Great Hambleton, Little Hambleton, and Whitwell, for the benefit of a chaplain, 'to celebrate divine service daily in the church of Whitwell for the good estate of the said Richard while living, and for his soul after his departure from this world, and for the souls of his father and mother and the faithful dead.'⁶ Little is known about the founder's career. He was doubtless a native of the place. He may quite well have been the Richard de Whitwell, son of Elias, against whom, with a goodly company of fellow-raiders, a commission of *oyer* and *terminer* issued on 28 February 1318, for breaking the houses of Edmund de Passeleye in Empingham, Normanton, Horn, and Hardwyk, in the county of Rutland.⁷ But it was not only his native village that benefited by his piety. On 1 July 1348 he joined with two others in obtaining a licence in mortmain to grant property to the dean and chapter of St. Mary's, Lincoln, for the support of two chaplains to celebrate divine service there daily for the grantors in life and after death, and for the soul of Master Hugh de Walmesford.⁸ Before his death he obtained licence from Edward III to found certain chantries in the same church, maintain others, and support other charitable works, and to grant property up to the yearly value of £40 to the dean and chapter for the purpose. Masses were to be said for the souls of King Edward, of Henry de Burghersh, Bishop of Lincoln, of the donor, and of their kindred and friends. But he does not seem to have lived to carry out his intention, which was afterwards fulfilled in 1391-2 by his last surviving executor.⁹ Other incidents in his career

¹ See for example Chan. Inq. p.m. 14 Edw. III (2nd nos.), 67, and Linc. Epis. Reg. Instit. Dalderby, 111 d. (mention of the chantry in 1307).

² Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Gynwell, fol. 163.

³ *Cal. of Papal Pet.* 340.

⁴ P.R.O. Aug. Off. Partic. for Grants, 1559.

⁵ P.R.O. Chant. Cert. 39, no. 1. The master received a pension of £11 5s. 8d., and the brother £9 8s. after all deductions, at this time (1541).

⁶ Pat. 19 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 32.

⁷ Pat. 11 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 33 d.

⁸ Pat. 22 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 27.

⁹ Pat. 15 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 40; Pat. 16 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 12.

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of which we hear are the ratification of his claim, when parson of Brighthurst, to be freed from the burden, sought to be imposed on him in virtue of holding certain lands, of saying mass in the chapel of Drayton every week;¹⁰ his appointment by letters patent of 7 July 1345 to make a visitation of the Hospital of the Holy Innocents without Lincoln, a leper hospital, which had fallen into decay through neglect of previous wardens;¹¹ and his departure on a pilgrimage, for which he obtained letters of safe-conduct on 1 August 1350.¹²

The Whitwell chantry appears in two Chantry Certificates of Edward the Sixth's commissioners.¹³ They are in substantial agreement. Both give the 'clere yerly value' as 103s. 9d., the total income, without deduction of 'rente resolute' (3s. 4d.), being 107s. 1d. Since the priest had to pay a sum of 9s. 11d. annually as tenth to the king, his salary amounted to £4 13s. 10d. 'One Chales, poisant 20 ounces,' had been delivered into the 'Jwelhowse,' and the 'ornamentes belongynge to the sayd chauntry' were 'prayed' at 13s. 11d. The people of Hambleton claimed a contribution from the chantry lands in their parish of 3s. 4d. 'to the payment of theire 15th, when yt chaunseth.' The 'Chauntry preest,' 'Sir Robert Sucklynge, of thage of 46 yers,' is as well spoken of as his fellows throughout the county; he is said to be 'of honeste conversacon and good report amonge his neighbors,' 'albeyt unable to serve a cure because he is pore blynde.' The fact which distinguished him from them, namely, that he had 'alwayes heretofore been exercysed in the educacon of youthe in lernynge,' did not save his chantry from confiscation, though here, also like them, he had 'of other levyng besides this sayd chauntrye, none.' The need for his continuance was, however, emphasized by the words: 'Scole, preacher, or povertye ther relevyd and maytenyd, other than by the chauntrye preeste . . . none.' The school ceased, no doubt, because it was not a part of the original foundation of the chantry, but a voluntary work undertaken by the incumbent.

But so far as education is concerned, Rutland undoubtedly gained a good deal more than it lost through the Reformation. The county was lucky in possessing, in the rector of North Luffenham, not only an enlightened and generous enthusiast in the cause of local education, but one who through past associations was able to interest in his schemes some of the men most concerned in the work of transformation. The main lines of his scheme were certainly not original; and it was perhaps a pity that he

carried imitation so far as to throw upon the endowment the burden of supporting an almshouse. But although he did not strike out a new path, he should receive the credit of grasping so clearly and emphasizing so distinctly the importance of connecting grammar schools by means of scholarships with the universities. It is noteworthy that though both his grammar schools are described *ad nauseam* in various letters patent as 'libere schole Roberti Johnson clerici,' the freedom was limited by the statutes to poor children born and bred in the two towns; all others were required to pay fees. The schools were certainly never free in the sense of providing gratuitous instruction for all comers. Although Johnson was clearly mainly interested in higher education, and the provision which he made for it has proved sufficient for the county to this day, certain bequests in his will suggest that he had also supported during his life several schools of a humbler type in neighbouring towns and villages, and that he was anxious about the technical instruction of the children.¹⁴

It must not be supposed that Johnson's two schools attracted all the boys of the county who were likely to be sent later to the universities. The scions of the great families no doubt went elsewhere; and we find in the St. John's Admission Registers cases in which lads of humbler parentage had gone to Rugby,¹⁵ Westminster,¹⁶ and Charterhouse.¹⁷ Private schools in the district were sometimes preferred, and we hear of them at Wing,¹⁸ Ketton,¹⁹ and Tinwell.²⁰

Of the elementary schools it is possible that North Luffenham is the oldest, which may even date back to pre-Reformation days. In 1584 a school, elementary or catechetical in type, was held in the parish church of Pilton, and, according to records of the archdeaconry, the 'glasse windows' suffered in consequence. Braunston School, founded as early as 1587, probably started in similar quarters; at any rate the chaplain and curate were supposed to be the schoolmasters. So, too, in 1640, according to the archidiaconal records, a school was kept in 'the church of Langham by Mr. Boyd, and another in the chancel of the church at Stretton by Mr. Watkin,' about whose neglect of duty a churchwarden complains. Langham, together with Empingham, Exton, Greetham, and Thistleton,

¹⁴ See *infra*, p. 267.

¹⁵ Before 1712; *Admissions*, &c. ii, 192, l. 16.

¹⁶ Before 1705; loc. cit. 177, l. 11.

¹⁷ Before 1709; loc. cit. 195.

¹⁸ Francis Meers the elder is said in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.* to have been schoolmaster there from 1602.

¹⁹ Before 1611-12; J. Venn, *Biog. Hist. of Gonville and Caius Coll.* i, 215.

²⁰ Before 1665; *Admissions to St. John's*, i, 172. A boy from London and another from Leicester had attended a private school there kept by Mr. Rayner Herman.

¹⁰ Pat. 4 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 23.

¹¹ Pat. 19 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 23 d.

¹² Pat. 24 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 12.

¹³ Chant. Cert. 39 and 98, printed in A. F. Leach, *Engl. Schools at the Reformation*.

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received an endowment for a teacher of the Bible and Catechism in 1692. Empingham, as late as 1867, was taught by the vicar and an assistant, and was then in a flourishing state, with 50 boys and 13 girls.²¹ Liddington (1721), Glaston (1734), and Hambleton (1760) complete the list of elementary schools in existence before 1800. Belton and Ketton were founded very early in the 19th century. On 1 January 1906 there were 38 elementary schools in the county under the inspection of the Board of Education, all Church of England schools, with about 3,000 children in average attendance. Two council schools have since been established. There were no schools at Pilton or Glaston. Only two had an average roll of over 200—Oakham National with 447 and Uppingham National with 272. Next in order come Ketton with 184, Empingham with 120, and Langham with 112.

THE GRAMMAR SCHOOLS OF OAKHAM AND UPPINGHAM

(1) THEIR FOUNDATION

The two grammar schools in Rutland, situated at no greater distance than 6 miles from each other, owe their existence to one and the same founder, the Ven. Robert Johnson, Archdeacon of Leicester, and their foundation and incorporation to one and the same document, letters patent of Queen Elizabeth, bearing date 24 October 1587.¹ The founder, also, did not limit his generosity to providing means of education for the youth of Oakham and Uppingham through his schools established there, but at the same time, in imitation of more ambitious schemes,² built and endowed a hospital in each town for the aged and needy, and connected the schools by scholarships with the universities. The buildings of the schools and hospitals seem to have been erected about the year 1584. The Old School at Oakham was possibly already in existence, having served as a chapel.

The common charter of foundation is of the usual length and in the ordinary form. The preamble states that

our beloved subject, Robert Johnson, of North Luffenham, in the county of Rutland, clerk, because there is no free grammar school for instructing boys in sound learning in our county of Rutland, has begged us to think fit to erect, found, and establish one grammar school in the town of Okeham and another in the town of Uppingham for the better education, institution and instruction of boys and youths dwelling and residing in the aforesaid places

²¹ *Schools Inq. Rep.*

¹ Pat. 29 Eliz. pt. 16.

² Eton, for example. Johnson's immediate model was no doubt Wigston's Hospital and the Grammar School at Leicester. His elder brother was confrater of the hospital from 1569.

and the neighbourhood; and also, in order that some sufficient provision may be made for the relief and support of certain poor and indigent people, dwelling and residing in the county, to erect, found and establish one hospital in the town of Okeham for 24 poor people to be chosen from the 3 hundreds of Okeham Soken, of Alstoe and le Easte hundred in the same county, and also another hospital in the town of Uppingham for 24 poor people to be chosen from the 2 hundreds of Martinsley and Wrangdike in the same county; and also to make some suitable provision for the relief and support of certain poor and indigent scholars proceeding from the same schools to the universities of Cambridge and Oxford.

Accordingly the queen,

out of the singular solicitude which we have for the support and relief of the poor and needy aforesaid and for the pious and liberal education of the youth of our realm, and out of our very great good-will, because alms and other pious and charitable works of the sort, equally with sound learning and the study of the noblest arts studiously pursued, contribute very considerably to the acceptance and cultivation of virtue and religion, graciously acceding to this pious request,

ordains that there shall be one grammar school at Oakham and another at Uppingham, of a master (*magister seu pedagogus*) and usher (*sub-pedagogus seu hipodidasculus*), to continue for ever, and to be called 'the free grammar schools of Robert Johnson, clerk;' that the first master (*primus et modernus ludimagister seu pedagogus*) at Oakham shall be Robert Rushbrooke, and the first usher Abel Mellors, and the first master of Uppingham David Blacke, and the first usher Robert Fullarton; and that there shall be two hospitals also, to be called 'the hospital of Christ of Oakham' and 'the hospital of Christ of Uppingham.'

Then follows the appointment of the governing body. It is to consist of 24 'discreet and upright men' (*discreti et probi homines*), and to bear the official title of 'The Governors of the goodes possessions and revenewes of the free grammer Scholes of Robert Johnson, clarke, and of the twoe hospitalls of Christe in Okeham and Uppingham in the Countye of Rutland.' Seven are to serve *ex officio*, viz. the Bishops of London and Peterborough, the Deans of Westminster and Peterborough, the Archdeacon of Northampton, and the Masters of Trinity and St. John's Colleges, Cambridge. The remaining seventeen places, to be filled later by co-option, are assigned to the notables of the district,

our much beloved Edward Lord Zouche and Henry Lord Cromwell; our beloved and loyal Thomas Cecill, James Harrington and John Harrington, knights; our beloved Anthony Mildmay, Kenelm Digby, Edward Harrington, John Harrington, Andrew Noell, Roger Smyth, Thomas Pagitt, and Edward Heron, esquires; Robert Sheifeild, John Barton, Martin Burton and Abraham Johnson, gentlemen.

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They are to form 'one separate body corporate and politic for ever,' 'incorporated and erected' by the title already mentioned; to have perpetual succession, and a common seal 'for their business in accordance with the tenor and true intention' of the charter; to be persons able and fit and sufficient in law to receive property from Robert Johnson and others for the benefit of the schools, hospitals, and poor scholars, but not such as is held directly from the Crown in chief or by military service, and to sue and be sued. The co-opted members are for the future to be elected by the surviving governors resident within the diocese of Peterborough within six months of a vacancy, from among residents in the diocese seised of lands or tenements of the yearly value of 100s. at least, and of the full age of twenty-one years; and, in default of such appointment, by the Bishop, and, in vacancy of the see, by the Dean, of Peterborough. Next they are granted a dispensation from the Statute of Mortmain in receiving property for the purposes of the trust, so long as no part of it is held in chief or by military service and the whole does not exceed the clear annual value of 400 marks. Licence in mortmain to the same amount is also given to prospective donors. All such gifts are expressly required to be employed for the objects specified.

The next topic dealt with is the appointment of the teachers, almspeople, and poor scholars, and the framing of statutes. The masters are to be upright, religious, discreet, industrious, suitable, and learned, and able to compose Greek and Latin verse (*carmina tam Greca quam Latina condere*); and the ushers must have the same qualifications, except that they are excused the Greek versifying. The teachers, almspeople, and scholars are to be appointed by Robert Johnson during his life; subsequently by the governors residing in the diocese of Peterborough; and, in default of such appointment within two months of vacancy, by the Bishop of Peterborough, or, in vacancy of the see, by the Dean, with the consent of three other governors, of whom two must be the Archdeacon of Northampton or the Master of St. John's or the Master of Trinity. Power of dismissal and deprivation is granted to Johnson in the first instance, and to the governors resident in the diocese of Peterborough after his death. Johnson is further empowered to make suitable and wholesome statutes and orders in writing concerning the appointment, removal, government, and pay of teachers, poor scholars, and hospitaliers, the management of the schools and property. The same privilege is given to the Bishop of Peterborough and the governors after his death, with the limitation that their additions must not be in any way repugnant or derogatory to the letters patent, to the statutes, laws, and customs of the realm in force for the time being, or to statutes and orders framed by

Johnson or by previous governors. Such statutes and orders are to be observed inviolably for ever.

The last provision of importance grants to Johnson's schools, with a reservation, the educational monopoly of the neighbourhood.

There shall not be and there shall not be permitted to be any other public grammar school for reading and teaching Latin authors within 4 miles of the towns of Okeham and Uppingham or either of them except in the town of North Luffenham, unless for very grave reasons it be thought desirable, good and necessary by us and our successors, by Robert Johnson during his life, or by the governors and their successors after his death.

The founder, in accordance with these letters patent, built the schools and hospitals, and having 'procured for them . . . a mortmaine of fower hundred markes [$\pounds 266\ 13s.\ 4d.$] whereby well disposed people maie give unto them as god shall move their hartes,' 'bought landes of Quene Elizabeth towards the maintenance of them.'³ This endowment consisted of the inappropriate rectories of Leake, Barholm-cum-Stowe, and Whaplode, in the county of Lincoln, and of Bulkington with its hamlets in the county of Warwick, with the tithes belonging to these rectories, and a claim to a number of quarters of barley issuing out of the rectory of Edlington, in the county of Lincoln. These properties were granted by letters patent of Elizabeth of 11 February 1588-9 and 1 July 1591, for a sum of $\pounds 1,348\ 13s.\ 4d.$ therein stated to have been received from Robert Johnson, to the use of the governors of the schools and hospitals of Oakham and Uppingham, to hold as of her manor of East Greenwich by fealty only and in free and common socage, and not in chief or by military service.⁴ According to the Valor Ecclesiasticus of 1535, $\pounds 18$ yearly was paid from the rectory of Leake to William Morke and John Coke, 'fellows of the college or chantry of Sir Nicholas Cantelupe' (*socii collegii sive cantarie domini Nicholai de Canto Lupo*) in Lincoln Cathedral;⁵ the rectory of Barholm-cum-Stowe, of the value of $\pounds 14\ 5s.$, was reckoned among the spiritualities of the monastery of the Apostles Peter and Paul of Bourne;⁶ the rectory of Whaplode, of the value of $\pounds 22\ 7s.\ 4d.$,

³ Johnson's epitaph in North Luffenham Church. See *infra*, p. 264.

⁴ Pat. 31 & 33 Eliz. pts. 8 and 5 respectively.

⁵ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 25. The chantry was founded by the third Baron Cantelupe, soldier and diplomat, who died in 1355.

⁶ *Ibid.* 103. The abbey of Bourne was founded in 1138 by Baldwin, a younger son of Gilbert de Clare, and brother of the first Earl of Pembroke. The church of Barholm-cum-Stowe was included in the original endowment (Dugdale, *Mon* vi, 370; Round, *Geoffrey of Mandeville*, 160, and *Peerage Studies*, 75).

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belonged to the monastery of Crowland;⁷ and the rectory of Edlington, of the value of £6, to the monastery of Bardney,⁸ while the monastery of St. Mary of Leicester received £17 from the rectory of Bulkington.⁹ Under leases granted by Elizabeth earlier in her reign and recited in the letters patent of 1588-9 and 1591, the various properties sold to Robert Johnson had been let as follows: Leake for 31 years at £16 a year; Barholm-cum-Stowe for terms of life at £6 4s. 2d. a year; Whaplode for terms of life at £22 7s. a year, together with an annual distribution of beans and peas to the poor of the parish in Lent; Bulkington for 21 years at £17 a year; and the quarters of barley at Edlington for terms of life at £9 5s. a year, and a fine of £3 6s. 8d. at each death. So that there seems to have been little change in their value between 1535 and 1590. All these endowments must have passed to the Crown at the time of the suppression of the monasteries or under the Chantries Acts of Henry VIII and Edward VI. The advowsons of the churches of Leake and Barholm also formed part of the endowment of Johnson's schools and hospitals, and were held by masters or ushers during office or on retirement until the middle of the 19th century.

The founder, Robert Johnson, was a pluralist cleric, and in establishing schools and hospitals for the poor, endowed with the cheaply purchased spoils of the monasteries, was merely acting in accordance with the traditions of his class. Some part of his fortune may have been inherited, seeing that 'he was borne of worshipfull parentes,'¹⁰ his father, Maurice Johnson, a merchant of the staple and a dyer, having thrice held the highest civic office at Stamford, viz. that of alderman,¹¹ as well as having represented the borough in Parliament in 1529-36¹² with David Cecil, grandfather of Lord Burghley, while his mother's family claimed descent from the de Lacys, Earls of Lincoln. Nichols¹³ states that by the custom of borough-English, which obtained at Stamford, Robert, the younger son, succeeded to his father's property there, while his elder brother¹⁴ inherited his mother's

estates at Clun in Shropshire. According to report also Robert Johnson was not unfortunate, from the pecuniary point of view, in his marriages.¹⁵ Born in 1540, his father died while he was quite a boy, and he was brought up under the care of an uncle at Stanground, who sent him to the neighbouring grammar school at Peterborough. Here he must have been a pupil of Thomas Hare, the second master of the school after its refoundation.¹⁶ Thence he proceeded, like most boys from the East Midlands, to Cambridge, matriculating on 18 March 1557-8 as a sizar at Clare Hall,¹⁷ but soon migrating to Trinity. On 1 October 1563 he was admitted a junior fellow (*socius minor*) of the college, and on 3 May 1564 a full fellow (*socius major*), subsequently acting as steward (*senescallus*). He 'commenced' M.A. in 1564, and on 20 February 1564-5 was incorporated at Oxford. In 1571 he proceeded to the degree of 'Bachelor of Divinitie.' According to his son's account,¹⁸ 'by leave of this [Trinity] Colledge, and by licence under Queen Elizabeths owne hand, for three yeares absence [probably 1564-8] abroad for studie and licence to cary 20 marks over with him in monie, [he] travelled into Fraunce,¹⁹ and studied at Paris and other places in that famous kingdome.' Some time before 1571 he became chaplain-examiner to the lord keeper, Sir Nicholas Bacon,²⁰ acting as his secretary for church patronage: 'where hee to his uttermost promoted religion and learning, and learned and godly men, giving some in the universities, that he knew to be learned, pious, grave men, notice when a good or competent living was falne void, that they might come and gett it as freely as might be.'²¹ This influential connexion was doubtless the secret of his own ecclesiastical appointments, which included a

¹⁵ He married three times: first, Susanna, only sister and heiress of Jeremy Davers, fellow of Clare Hall, Cambridge; secondly, Mary Head, of the Heads of Hillington and Wootton—her son Abraham was baptized 7 July 1577; thirdly, a widow, Margaret Wheler, sister of Dr. Lilly (Nichols, *Lit. Anec.* vi, 167).

¹⁶ *V.C.H. Northants*, ii, 207.

¹⁷ The statement of his son, that he was 'fellow first of Clare Hall, and after of Trinity College,' is untrustworthy.

¹⁸ MS. account of Abraham Johnson's family, prepared by him in 1637, with the object of obtaining for himself 'as fair and noble a coat of arms as possible.' The document is in the possession of Mr. A. C. Johnson, the hereditary trustee of the 'foundation.'

¹⁹ His future patron had also studied at Paris.

²⁰ The identification of the chaplain of the lord keeper with the founder is a matter of dispute. For a discussion of the point see C. R. Bingham, *Our Founder, being some account of Archdeacon Johnson*, App. B.

²¹ Abraham Johnson's MS. account.

⁷ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 85. The manor of Whaplode is included among the possessions of Crowland Abbey in Domesday Book (fol. 346b).

⁸ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 81. The rectory of Edlington was given to Bardney Abbey some time during the 12th century (*V.C.H. Lincs.* ii, 102).

⁹ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 146. The rectory of Bulkington was given to St. Mary's Abbey by Roger de Watervill at or near the time of its foundation (1143).

¹⁰ Johnson's epitaph; see *infra*, p. 264.

¹¹ Under Edward the Fourth's charter of incorporation.

¹² *Parliaments of Engl.* i, 309.

¹³ *Lit. Anec.* vi, 163.

¹⁴ Geoffrey, fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1562, minister of Leicester and confrater of Wigston's Hospital from 1569, in the chapel of which he was buried.

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canonry of Peterborough (1570), vacated about 1575, a canonry of Norwich (1570), vacated in 1576, a prebend at Rochester (1570), a canonry of Windsor (1572), the rectory of North Luffenham (1574), 'where he . . . preached painfully and kept good hospitality . . . some 50 yerres,'²² and the archdeaconry of Leicester (1591). About this time he was elected to an honorary fellowship at Jesus College, Oxford.²³ Curiously enough, though his father was a Roman Catholic,²⁴ the son was in his early days a strong evangelical. Summoned to Lambeth in 1571 and refusing to sign the Three Articles, he was suspended; but he surrendered within a few weeks,²⁵ and this temporary lapse does not seem to have been remembered against him. The emoluments reaped in the course of his subsequent successful career provided him, no doubt, with ample means for immortalizing his name through charitable works in his native countryside.

The extent to which the buildings and endowments of the schools and hospitals were due to Johnson is a matter of dispute. Wright,²⁶ in 1684, just a century after their inception, says that they were built and endowed by 'his charitable collections, or, as Cambden calls it, *e stirpe collaticia*;²⁷ and, more especially, out of certain concealed lands, which he begg'd of Queen Elizabeth for this purpose.' The first edition of Camden was published in 1586 and the enlarged edition in 1607, and the testimony of such a careful writer cannot be lightly disregarded. It is also to be observed that the founder's epitaph does not distinctly claim him to have been the sole founder.²⁸ Fuller,²⁹ writing in 1662, amplifies Camden's statement: Johnson, he says, 'effectually moved those of the vicinage to contribute to the building and endowing of the schools money or money worth; stones, timber, carriage, &c.; not slighting the smallest gift, especially if proportionable to the giver's estate. Hereby finding none, he left as many Free Schools in Rutland as there were market towns therein; one at Oakeham, another at Uppingham, well faced with buildings and lined with endowments.' He goes on to state that Johnson, having been so far only 'a nurse to the charity of others,' 'afterwards proved a fruitful

parent in his own person, becoming a considerable benefactor to Emmanuel and Sidney Colledges in Cambridge.' In spite then of Abraham Johnson's express claim that his father was 'sole founder and endower with foure hundred markes hereditaments for ever,'³⁰ it is probable that interested friends and neighbours contributed money or material. Wright's own addition to Camden's statement, however, may be due to a confusion of what Robert Johnson did in preserving William Dalby's hospital³¹ at Oakham from confiscation, with the separate establishment of his own hospital. Tipper, the notorious 'fishing grantee,'³² sought to obtain for himself a grant of the property of the former hospital, the hospital of St. John the Evangelist and St. Anne, on the ground that it was confiscate under the Chantry Acts, because of 'some superstitious additions of *obits* and lamps to the service of God there established,' but had been concealed. Johnson prevented this attempt at robbing the town by persuading the trustees to surrender the hospital to Queen Elizabeth's commissioners, appointed 13 September 1593 to inquire concerning colleges, hospitals, and almshouses in Rutland,³³ and by securing its refoundation four years later, 3 May 1597.³⁴ The latter part of Fuller's statement is due to the same confusion, and is also incomplete, in mentioning two only, instead of four,³⁵ colleges at Cambridge at which Johnson established scholarships. There can be no doubt that if Johnson was not actually sole founder, he was certainly chief founder of the schools and hospitals at Oakham and Uppingham.

The epitaph on Johnson in North Luffenham Church deserves to be reproduced at length, as well for its literary as for its historic interest.

Robert Jhonson Bachelor of Divinitie a painfull
preacher Parson of Northluffenham
Had a Godlie care of Religion and a Charitable
minde to the poore.

He erected a faire free Gramar schoole in Okeham.
He erected a faire free Gramar schoole in Uppingham.
He appointed to each of his schooles a schoolemaster
and an ussher.

He erected the hospitalle of Christe in Okeham.
He erected the hospitalle of Christe in Uppingham.
He procured for them a corporation and a mortmaine
of fower hundred markes

whereby well disposed people maie give unto them
as god shall move their hartes.

He bought landes of Quene Elizabeth towards the
maintenance of them.

He provided place in eache of the hospitalles for xxiiii
poore people.

²⁹ Abraham Johnson's MS. Account.

³¹ See *ante*, 'Religious Houses.'

³² Abraham Johnson's Account.

³³ Referred to in Pat. 39 Eliz. pt. xi, m. 20.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ The colleges omitted are St. John's and Clare; see *infra*, p. 267.

²² Abraham Johnson's MS. account.

²³ Wood, *Fasti Oxon.* i, 165.

²⁴ Maurice Johnson's will.

²⁵ Strype, *Life of Archbp. Parker*, ii, 70, 71. The surrender was probably formal and he did not change his principles, as is shown by his appointment of pronounced Puritans like Robert Rushbrooke and Jeremy Whitaker, as masters of his schools.

²⁶ *Hist. of Rutland*, 103, 132.

²⁷ 'from contributory sources,' i.e. by subscription; Camden, *Brit.* 'Rutland.'

²⁸ See *infra*.

²⁹ *Worthies*, ii, 23, 24. So in 1573 and 1574 the Grammar School at Leicester had been built with material taken from the decayed church of St. Peter.

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He Recovered bought and procured the olde hospitalle of William Dalby in Okeham and caused it to be renewed established and confirmed which before was found to be Confiscate and consealed wherein divers poore people bee releaved.

He was also beneficiall to the towne of Northluffenham

And also to the towne of Stamford where he was borne of worshipfull parentes.

It is the grace of god to give a man a wise harte to laie up his treisure in heaven.

Theis be good fruites and effectes of a Justifieing faith and of a trew profession of religion

And a good example to all others to be benefactors to theise and suche like good workes

That so they maie glorifie god and leave a blessed remembrance behinde them

To the comfort and profite of all posteritie.

All the glorie honor praise and thanckes be unto god for evermore amen.

Sic luceat lux vestra. Let youre light so shine.

Archdeacon Johnson's ideas with regard to the scope of a liberal education may be gathered from the curriculum which he provided for his own son. He was—

in his young yeres brought up carefully and chargeably by his father, for his Latine, Greek and Hebrew, by choice schoolmasters, from time to time, that he was able to understand this last, and make a short Hebrew speech, and hath readd over the whole Bible in Hebrew, and understood it reasonably well, but was well able both to understand and write and speak the Latine perfectly, and in choice phrase, and with variety; and to understand and write Greek and to speak it too prettily, and hath read over the Greek Testament very many times reading therein daily. Also he had a speciall good instructor that taught him the Frenche, Italian, and Spanish languages, reading many severall authors in each tongue, that he could understand and write and speak everyone of them. He was also trained up in Rhetorick, and in Logick, and in Arithmetick and Geometry and Naturall Philosophy, and in Musick both to play and sing. And had one of the best writing Mrs that those times had, or he thinks any since, for teaching, who taught him to write faire the secretary, romaine, court hand, or chancery hand, text hand, bastard hand, all these both in the small letters and the great or capitall. Also he learned to write fairly the Greek and Hebrew, so as when he was about 13, his father having him to his honoured friend Sir Walter Mildmayes, to Apethorpe, who examined him in his Latin, and took delight to hear how elegantly and Ciceronian-like he could vary phrases and sentences; and his father desiring his honour his said sonne might have his leave to be of his colledge, namely Emmanuel, which he had built then lately: 'Yes, Mr. Johnson,' said he, 'I give you leave, and I give you thanks that you will grace my colledge with so well profited and towardly a young student.' And so about 13 years of age, or something better, he was of the said Emmanuel Colledge under an excellent tutor, Mr. Gilby, in the famous University of Cambridge; and after some four years spent sometime there and sometime at home,

as his father thought good to dispose of him, he became a gentleman of . . . that honorable society of Lincolnes Inne, and studied the law for many years together.³⁶

Truly a scheme Miltonian in comprehensiveness, and, in the aims of its language-teaching, worthy of the most direct of modern methods.

The privilege of making statutes for the schools and hospitals granted to the founder by the foundation charter was not exercised by him until 7 June 1625, not two months before his death. Then he drew up in Latin a comprehensive scheme for the management of the foundation in nine chapters, headed respectively, 'Of the Governors,' 'Of the schoolmasters,' 'Of the ushers,' 'Of the poor people,' 'Of the scholars,' 'Of the receiver,' 'Of letting the land,' 'Of the treasury,' 'Of accompts.' The original of these statutes has disappeared; we have to depend on a transcript contained in an ancient register of the foundation.³⁷

The first chapter repeats and confirms the provisions contained in the letters patent with regard to the constitution of the governing body. It also states that only two of the original 17 elective governors were still living, and nominates 15 others, among them 'John Clarke, my schoolmaster of Uppingham,' and 'Jeremy Whitaker, my schoolmaster of Oakham,' for appointment by the survivors—an indication that the directions in the foundation charter with regard to such vacancies had not been observed. The founder also ordains that—

after my decease my right heir male from time to time, if he be of full age when his next ancestor died, and that there be a governorship void, shall be then actually a governor . . . and shall then be nominated, chosen and confirmed one by the governors.

For the future, in case of vacancy among the elective governors, the governors are instructed to—

choose either a knight, esquire or gentleman, well known and reputed of by them who dwell in the diocese of Peterborough, or some minister whom they know to be a learned and pious man, a Master of Arts at least, and a parson or vicar within the diocese of Peterborough, in Rutland, or of my schoolmasters of Oakham and Uppingham.

The schoolmasters are to be honest and discreet men, Masters of Arts, and diligent in their place, 'painful in the educating of children in good learning and religion, such as can make a Greek and Latin verse.' In case of neglect of

³⁶ Abraham Johnson's MS. Account. Although the statement is part of a piece of special pleading, it may be accepted with regard to the scope and aim of the education.

³⁷ The English version of the statutes is given at length in Carlisle, *End. Gram. Schools*, ii, 323-32, and in C. R. Bingham, *Our Founder*, Appendix.

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duty or moral lapse they may be dismissed by a majority of the governors after three warnings by word or writing. 'Otherwise . . . I desire and hope that the Governors will encourage them, and mend their stipends, if they can conveniently.' Their stipend was fixed at £24 a year. They were also to act as wardens of the hospitals established by the founder in Oakham and Uppingham, and for their care and pains in this connexion they were to have lodgings in the hospitals and receive an additional stipend of £6 a year. The schools were to be free to children born and bred up in the two towns, whose parents could not afford to 'keep them constantly to school'; others were to pay according to their means, such fees being subject to revision by the governors resident in the diocese of Peterborough. The holidays were to be from 10 December until the Monday after Twelfth Day, and from Thursday before Easter and Whitsunday until the following Monday week. No 'plays' were to be given on any Monday, Wednesday, or Friday, 'unless they be holyday evens'—for any breach of this regulation the master was to forfeit 3s. 4d. to the hospital poor-box. The masters were to pay to the ushers one-half of the scholars' fees so long as that proportion did not exceed 5 marks, and one-half of the entrance fees, fixed at 12d. The rest of the chapter gives somewhat elaborate instructions for the appointment of the schoolmasters. Governors resident within the diocese of Peterborough were to be served with notices to attend the meeting for the election.

The parties or party that stand for the place shall be opposed in Greek and in Latin by any of the Governors, or any of them whom the major part shall appoint, and after that the major part of them present shall appoint two to take the voices, and then shall every governor present write whom he will choose.

The elective governors and the patron may 'send their voices and consent under their hands and seals.' The competitor receiving the most 'voices' is to be declared elected.

Each school is to have an usher, who is to be a—

godly, learned and discreet man, one that can make true Latin, both in prose and verse. He shall carry himself reverently towards the schoolmaster, and be ruled by him in his discipline, and for matter and manner of teaching whom and when. He shall not disgrace the schoolmaster or animate the scholars in undutifulness towards him, or seek to withdraw their or their parents' affections from him, but shall be diligent in his school.

The ushers are to be appointed by the governors resident in the diocese of Peterborough, the schoolmasters being allowed to suggest two names from which they must select. The ushers may be dismissed by the governors on their own initiative, or on complaint of the schoolmaster, who

must first give to the ushers concerned two admonitions in the presence of two governors. The ushers were to receive £12 a year, in addition to their share of tuition and entrance fees, and to act as sub-wardens and confraters³⁸ of the hospitals, receiving free quarters in them and £3 a year for reading prayers with the poor people at least twice a week.

The contents of the fourth chapter, 'Of the poor people,' only concerns us in so far as it throws light upon the value of the trust property. Besides the wardens and sub-wardens, there were to be in each hospital 15 poor people, one of them able to read prayers in the sub-warden's absence, receiving £4 a year, 13 receiving £3 a year, and 'one woman to wash their buck clothes, they finding her things necessary thereunto,' receiving £3 a year. If it should be found necessary to increase the number of hospitalers to 24, the annual allowance might be reduced to £2, if the funds would not allow a payment of £3 apiece.

The fifth chapter, entitled 'Of the Scholars,' establishes scholarships from the schools to the universities, of the value of forty shillings per annum, 'till the number of seven at least be filled up in each place.' *Cæteris paribus*, poor candidates were to be preferred, and the scholarships were to be tenable for seven years, so long as the holders did not absent themselves for more than ten weeks in the year. The scholars were to be chosen by the governors resident in the diocese of Peterborough, and might also be deprived by them for unsatisfactory behaviour in case of non-amendment after two warnings conveyed to them through the receiver. In absence of satisfactory candidates the money set apart for scholarships might be devoted to providing books and other necessary things for the schools or expended on the hospital premises.

The salary of the receiver, who was to collect the rents, pay the salaries and allowances, and keep the accounts, was fixed at £5 a year.

In the seventh chapter, 'Of letting the land,' long leases and sub-letting, within certain limits, are forbidden. The property is always to be let 'to the best and safest advantage of these my schools and hospitals.' Bribery employed to influence the letting of the property is to disqualify the governor receiving the bribe from voting concerning the particular lease and the would-be tenants from holding the land.

The funds and evidences of the foundation are to be kept in five chests—two chests, one containing the funds, the other the documents concerning that hospital, are to be kept in each hospital; and one other chest, containing the documents common to both places, is to be deposited in one of the two.

³⁸ Archdeacon Johnson's elder brother Geoffrey was confrater or sub-warden of Wigston's Hospital, Leicester, from 1569.

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There were to be two account or audit days each year, one at Oakham about Easter, and another at Uppingham about Michaelmas. The presence of the governors was encouraged by allowing out of surplus to each attending 'twelve pence for his dinner, and three shillings and four pence to buy him a pair of gloves.' Every half year £6 at least from the overplus was to be put into the treasury of both hospitals,

for the increase of each house's stock towards the repairs, for law suits, for the bettering and buying of such things as are needful and convenient and other necessary uses, and towards the increase of the mortmain and purchasing more lands for the same.

Any residue was to be divided between the schoolmaster, usher, poor people, and scholars, proportionably to the stipends fixed by the founder. The half-yearly audit days were also to be employed, if time permitted, in taking stock of the teaching. The governors were 'to oppose, or cause to be opposed, the scholars, and see how they profit, that the schoolmaster and scholars may have due encouragement, or otherwise such censure as is meet.' For their pains and care each governor was to be allowed to have one son freely educated at one of the schools of the foundation.

In the last sentence of these statutes the author reserved to himself a right to modify them.

Archdeacon Johnson conferred on his schools of Oakham and Uppingham a further benefit in establishing by his will at each of the colleges of St. John's, Sidney-Sussex, Clare, and Emmanuel³⁹ four scholarships, to which scholars of these schools of one year's standing at least, 'good schollers, of honest conversation' and 'in need of assistance,' had a preference, if otherwise qualified. 'And I will that all the said students shall be only such which study Divinity, dilligent learners of sermons and skilfull in the Hebrew, Greek, and Lattin tongues, that soe they may serve God in church and commonwealth.' An annuity of £100 was to be equally divided among the 16 scholars. Other educational provisions of his will may be quoted :—

Item to three-score of my poore Schollers I give twelve pence apeece to buy them paper.

Item I give further towards the teaching of poore children five poundes to be imployed by the discrecon of my Execto^{rs}.

Item I give to two poore women to teach poore children to knitt kersey tenn shillings apeece.

Item to buy Bybles with the Psalmes in Meeter for poor religious men I give tenn poundes.

³⁹ Clare was Johnson's own college for a short time, St. John's was his brother's, Emmanuel was his son's, Sidney-Sussex was Jeremiah Whitaker's. Abraham Johnson married as his second wife the only daughter of Lawrence Chaderton, first master of Emmanuel, and three of his sons had graduated from this college before the founder's death.

Item to the Governor^s of my Schools in Rutland and thereabouts I give twenty shillings apeece.

Item I give to young Seaton which is now at Cambridge there a student twenty shillings.

Item I give to such w^{ch} now teach at my charge in Stamford, Ketton, and South Luffenham tenn shillings apeece.

Item to the inhabitants of Crowland⁴⁰ towards the trayning upp of their poore children in learning I give thirty poundes and my cronacle of Ingulfus.

The annual expenditure required under the statutes falls very little short of £250, consisting of the following items :—

	£	s.	d.
Salary of the schoolmaster at Oakham	24	0	0
Salary of the schoolmaster at Uppingham	24	0	0
Salary of the warden of Christ's Hospital, Oakham	6	0	0
Salary of the warden of Christ's Hospital, Uppingham	6	0	0
Salary of the usher at Oakham	12	0	0
" " " Uppingham	12	0	0
Salary of the sub-warden of Christ's Hospital, Oakham	3	0	0
Salary of the sub-warden of Christ's Hospital, Uppingham	3	0	0
Allowance to hospitallers at Oakham (£3 each to 13, £4 to 1)	43	0	0
Allowance to hospitallers at Uppingham (£3 each to 13, £4 to 1)	43	0	0
7 scholarships at Oakham	14	0	0
" " " Uppingham	14	0	0
Salary of receiver	5	0	0
Allowance to (say) 20 governors for attending the half-yearly audits, for dinners and gloves	8	13	4
Reserve and extension fund at Oakham	12	0	0
Reserve and extension fund at Uppingham	12	0	0
	£241	13	4

This expenditure, with the cost of maintenance and repairs, practically swallows up the whole income from endowment.

The subsequent history of the endowment illustrates the superiority of a gift of land over a gift of a fixed charge upon land or other property.

In 1660 an inventory of the property of the foundation was compiled by one of the trustees, Dr. Clement Breton, and entered in the Book of the Evidences.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Johnson's schools and hospitals were endowed with some of the spoil of Crowland. See *supra*. The founder seems to have been making some attempt at restitution. The extracts from the will are taken from a copy of the original in the possession of Mr. A. C. Johnson.

⁴¹ W. L. Sargent, *The Book of Oakham School*, 6. There are extracts from the Book of the Evidences—the letters patent of 1587 and the English version of the statutes—in B.M. Lansdowne MS. 991, but the inventory of Dr. Breton has disappeared.

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In 1665, according to a statement signed by two of the governors, the Rev. Thomas Frere, rector of Whitwell, and the Rev. Thomas Halford, rector of Edith Weston, the revenues were £374 7s. 8d., and after settling accounts at the half-yearly meeting there was 'sometimes something, sometimes nothing, remaining of the revenues.'⁴² The fines for the previous forty years had not amounted to above £50.

The income in 1815, according to Nicholas Carlisle,⁴³ amounted to £3,165 from real property and £84 os. 11d. from dividends on £2,801 12s. 5d. three per cent. consols. But at the time of writing (1818) he says that it had been reduced to about £2,700 a year through fall in rents. According to the report of the Commissioners for inquiring concerning Charities and Education,⁴⁴ the trustees had sold out about £2,500 worth of stock in 1813-14 to provide funds for improving the property at Leake; consequently the amount of stock had been reduced to £301 12s. 5d. The income at the time (1820) from real property consisted of the following rents:—from Leake, £850; from Bartholm-cum-Stowe, £310 12s.; from Whaplode, £752; from Edlington with Poollam, £180; from Bulkington, £540; from land at Uppingham, 10s.; and from houses and land at Oakham, £26 3s. It was also stated that in a recent suit with reference to certain tithes at Bulkington the trustees had recovered arrears to the amount of £1,864, and that these tithes would for the future probably bring in £250 a year. Besides the income from real property amounting to about £2,660, soon likely to increase to over £2,900, there were certain rent-charges, of £7 a year in all, originally given for the benefit of the masters and ushers. The expenditure at the same time totalled £2,650, i.e. £2,210 for salaries and allowances to the masters (£105 each), the ushers (£120 each), the receiver (£120), the exhibitioners (£640 for sixteen at £40 each), and the almsfolk (100 at £10 apiece), and £440 for rates and taxes and repairs of the school and hospital premises. £492 11s. 2d. had also been spent in the preceding three years in repairing the churches and buildings on the estates. From the foundation, then, up to 1820, the value of the endowment had increased about tenfold.

In 1864⁴⁵ the rents received totalled £4,178 os. 1d., and there was also a sum of £49 7s. 9d., being dividend on £1,688 10s. 9d. stock. These amounts, with a balance from the previous year of £1,730 and some £110 returned on account of income tax, brought up the in-

come to just over £6,066 for the year. The expenditure, on the other hand, was £3,623 9s. 10d., leaving a balance to be carried on to the next year's account of £2,442 19s. 7d. The bill for salaries and allowances amounted to £2,693 10s., distributed as follows:—£300 for the masters, £250 for the ushers, £200 for the receiver, £760 for the exhibitioners, and £1,183 10s. for the hospitallers. Rates, taxes, and repairs accounted for over £770; and £4 5s. was paid out as 'glove-money to petitioners on audit-day.' If we neglect the balance from the previous year, it will be seen that in the course of about 280 years the original endowment had increased in value about sixteenfold.

The nett income of the foundation, according to the latest return (1907), was £2,279 17s. 5d., of which £604 went to Uppingham School, £614 (£604 and £10 from Timothy Helmsley's gift⁴⁶) to Oakham School, and £906 to the almspeople.

Archdeacon Johnson's two schools continued to be managed in accordance with his statutes until 1874. In that year the Endowed Schools Commissioners, who, as a result of the report of the Schools Inquiry Commission of 1867, had been appointed under the Act of 1869, with power to remodel old foundations, after draft schemes for both schools had been withdrawn and Oakham had been ruined by the uncertainty as to its future position, formulated the schemes which, with slight subsequent changes, are still in force. The school and hospital branches of the trust were separated. The hospitals, and the management of the property, apart from the school buildings, were left in the hands of the old governors. The two schools were placed each under a separate managing body, consisting of one hereditary member, and of *ex officio*, representative and co-optative members. In the case of Uppingham, 11 out of 19 members were representatives elected by the members of Parliament for Rutland and Leicestershire, and parts of Northamptonshire and Lincolnshire, while at Oakham 9 out of 15 members were representative, five being elected by the governors and one each by the vestries and boards of guardians of the two towns. In addition to the Bishop and Dean of Peterborough, who were *ex officio* members of both managing bodies, there were added in the same capacity at Uppingham the Lord Lieutenant and the Chairman of Quarter Sessions for the county. No master might sit on the managing body of either school. The governors were required to pay to each managing body yearly two-sevenths of the income of the foundation after management expenses had been deducted, and to Oakham a further sum of £10 a year in consideration of Timothy Helmsley's gift. Both schools were to be boarding

⁴² B.M. Lansdowne MS. 991, a copy of the original document.

⁴³ *End. Grammar Schools*, ii, 335.

⁴⁴ *Char. Com. Rep.*

⁴⁵ Information supplied to the Schools Inquiry Commission; *Schools Inq. Rep.*

⁴⁶ See *infra*, p. 276.

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and day schools. There was a similar distribution of functions between the managing body and the head master in both schemes, the former deciding such matters as the length of term and vacation, the number of holidays and assistant masters, exercising a general control over the curriculum, and managing the finance; the latter being responsible for appointing and dismissing the assistant staff, for determining the details of method, and for the discipline. Both head masters were to be dismissible without cause shown by six months' notice, or more speedily in case of urgency. There was a slight difference in the provisions with regard to religious beliefs and instruction. No master in either school was required to be in holy orders; but while at Uppingham the head master must be a member of the Church of England, and the religious teaching in accordance with its principles, at Oakham no test was imposed on the head master, and undenominational religious instruction was apparently enjoined, with special church teaching on application from parents. There were differences equally important between the two schools with regard to the age of the scholars (from eight to seventeen, or nineteen in special cases, at Oakham; from ten to nineteen at Uppingham), the scale of fees (entrance fee up to £1, tuition £4 to £8—from 1881, £6 to £13 10s., boarding in a master's house £50, and in a hostel £30, at Oakham; entrance fee up to £5, tuition £20 to £30—in 1879, to £40, boarding £70—in 1879 the amount was allowed to be fixed by the head master, with approval of the managing body, at Uppingham), and the curriculum (semi-classical, Greek being allowed only with special permission of the managing body, at Oakham; fully classical, at Uppingham). Quite naturally a larger sum was set apart for school exhibitions and university scholarships in the larger school—for the latter purpose £300 a year was allowed at Uppingham and £200 at Oakham. A definite attempt to encourage elementary schoolboys by limiting certain exhibitions to them in the first instance is noticeable at the smaller school. The salary of the head master at Oakham was £150 fixed, with a capitation fee of from £2 to £4; while Thring at Uppingham was to get £200 a year fixed and from one-sixth to one-fourth of the tuition fees—altered in 1888 to a capitation allowance of from £4 to £7. The assistants at each school were to be paid from a sum set apart by the managing body such salaries as the head master recommended. The connexion of the Lower School⁴⁷ with the Upper at Uppingham was recognized, but not made permanent; it might be determined either by the principal master of that school or by the managing body. At Oakham schoolroom accommodation for 150 boys was to

be provided on the existing or some fresh site, and a hostel was to be erected; permission to establish a science department, and to conduct evening classes in connexion with the Department of Science and Art was also granted; and after a retiring allowance of £275 to the Rev. William Spicer Wood, payable out of the annual income of the school, had ceased, an expenditure of £200 a year was sanctioned for furthering the education of girls within the county. Power was given to grant retiring allowances to Thring and W. J. Earle, the usher, at Uppingham.

(2) SUBSEQUENT HISTORY OF OAKHAM GRAMMAR SCHOOL

From its foundation until 1880, Oakham Grammar School was carried on in what is known as the 'Old School,' which possibly existed previously to 1584 as the chapel of St. Mary.¹ If so, the building must have been restored when it was converted to an educational use, since it is described in 1584, by Commissioners for Inquiry into Concealed Lands, as much decayed.² The building still exists, but has been considerably transformed by successive restorations. Originally it was an oblong structure of stone, with a wooden roof and without chimneys. In 1723 'the roof was removed and the walls rebuilt probably from the tops of the windows. The timbers of the roof, which had evidently formed part of a different building, may have been brought there then, or they may have formed part of the original chapel.'³ Of the existing two chimneys that at the east end is earliest in date; that at the west end was added in 1830. In 1880 the 'Old School' was superseded by the new class-rooms. In the final restoration five years back the interior was considerably improved by the removal of a plaster

¹ P.R.O. Exch. K.R., Sp. Com. 1867. The dimensions given of its site (66 ft. by 30 ft.) closely correspond to those of the Old School (66 ft. by 26 ft. external measurement).

² Ibid. The Commissioners mention two chapels, situated on the north side of the parish churchyard, known respectively as the chapel of St. Mary and the chapel of St. Michael, doubtless the chapels of St. Mary's and St. Michael's guilds. The site of St. Michael's chapel is given as 60 ft. by 30 ft. In each, 'within 5 years of the passing of a certain Act of Parliament [i.e. the Chantries Act of Edward VI] a priest had been maintained, who had regularly chanted and recited masses and other superstitious services, and was called *Chauntree preeste* or *Guild preeste*. The two chapels are now wasted and in decay . . . they are worth 2d. a year. Thos. Thickpenny, clerk, late vicar of Okeham, and his predecessors have had possession of them for the last 36 years.'

³ W. L. Sargent, *The Bk. of Oakham Sch.* 6, 7. Cuts of the old schoolroom are given on pp. 6 (exterior) and 16 (interior).

⁴⁷ Established in 1868. See *infra*, p. 291.

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ceiling which had previously hidden the timbered roof, and by opening the windows on the north side, which had been blocked. The complete scheme for the internal decoration includes a series of frescoes representing the story of Gareth. Over the fireplace at the east end is a fresco representing the founder, with lists of the exhibitioners since 1710 on either side.⁴ The stone over the school door, removed from the west end in 1830, bearing inscriptions in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, probably dates from the foundation, as the date on it, 1584, seems to indicate. The selection of texts from the three languages is symptomatic of the pedantry of those days, and may also have served to suggest the scope of the teaching given within. The Hebrew quotations are from Psalm cxxvii, 1, with the last word omitted, possibly for want of space, possibly as unimportant: 'Unless the Lord build the house, their labour is but lost that build it'; and from Proverbs xxii, 6: 'Train up a child in the way he should go: and when he is old, he will not depart from it.' Of the texts in Greek, one is Ephesians vi, 4, with a slight alteration: 'Bring up your children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.' The other is a sentence made up of certain words taken from Roger Ascham's *Scholmaster*, Book I, expressing 'the true notes of the best wits for learning in a child,' and by him culled from Plato's *Republic*, Book vii, 535: 'He will have good abilities, a strong memory, industry, ambition, and be teachable, inquisitive, and fond of learning.' The Latin inscription runs: 'Learning gives sobriety to the young, solace to the aged, riches to the poor, and distinction to the rich.' A similar tablet, also bearing inscriptions in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, was affixed to the wall of the Old School at Uppingham.

The earliest incidents to be recorded in connexion with the school as a separate institution are the gifts of two endowments,⁵ one of 40s. a year out of the manor of Nether Broughton in Leicestershire, by Sir Andrew Noel, M.P., and Sheriff of Rutland, on 23 April 1588, for the better support and maintenance of the master and usher, and another of 20s. a year, out of the manor of Martinthorpe, in the county of Rutland, by William and Basil Fielding, on 29 April, for the same purpose. The former rent-charge seems to have been lost some time before 1784.

Very little can be told of the early history of the school. It is true that the names of the head masters are known from the beginning, with perhaps one exception,⁶ and that a study of the admission registers of St. John's College, Cam-

bridge,⁷ shows that, at any rate after 1630, there was a steady influx of boys from the school to that university. Between 1630 and 1715 as many as fifty-five old Oakhamians entered this one college alone; and there is no reason why at least three other colleges, Clare, Sidney, and Emmanuel, should not have exercised an equally potent attractive force, since at these also the founder established scholarships to which the alumni of his schools had a preference. Unfortunately the registers of these three colleges have not yet been published, so that we must rest content with probabilities. It is not until 1710 that the school records become of much use; from that date the decrees and accounts of the governors throw light on the internal life of the school.

The first master, according to *The Book of Oakham School*, was James Madson or Watson,⁸ to whom references are said to occur in 1585, 1591, and 1597. This statement is not very probable, seeing that the letters patent of 1587, as we have seen, distinctly appointed Robert Rushbrooke as first master, and Abel Mellors as first usher. Watson was succeeded by Abraham Greene, M.A., who on 11 June 1611 was licensed by the Bishop of Peterborough to teach at Oakham.⁹ In 1613 and 1614 a Mr. Leacocke occurs as master in the records of the diocese; no doubt the same person as John Lacock, mentioned as usher from 1589. Next came Mr. Wallis (Wallace), whose mastership must have begun as early as 1613; for John Jessup, from Oakham School, who had been under Mr. Wallis, was admitted to Gonville and Caius College on 23 October in that year.¹⁰ *The Book of Oakham School*¹¹

⁷ *Admissions to the Coll. of St. John the Evangelist*, pts. i and ii, by J. E. B. Mayor; pt. iii, by R. F. Scott. The identifications and notes, especially in pt. iii, are most useful.

⁸ W. L. Sargent, op. cit. 21, from Peterborough Registers. James Watson is mentioned as 'ludimagister' in 1588, 1597, 1607, and 1608, and James Madson, also called Thomas, in 1585, 1589, 1591, and 1597. Madson may be wrongly given for Watson, or he may have been usher or assistant, and not master. From these registers we gather that 'Robarte Caudrye' was 'scholemaister' at Oakham in 1570 (Epis. Visit.), and that in 1577 Francis Clements was presented for teaching during the last one and three-quarter years without licence (Archid. Visit.). Thomas Ashbrooke, mentioned in an Episcopal Visitation of 1585, is probably given by mistake for Robert Rushbrooke, who also occurs as Thomas Rushbrooke.

⁹ W. L. Sargent, loc. cit. from the Peterborough Registers.

¹⁰ J. Venn, *Biog. Hist. of G. and C. Coll.* i, 223.

¹¹ W. L. Sargent, op. cit. 21. L. M. = 'ludimagister.' In the registers of Sidney-Sussex College, under the year 1624, there is the following entry: 'William Wallace, son of John Wallace, *artium magister et medicus*, born at Melton Mowbray in Leicestershire, educated at Oakham School, which his father con-

⁴ W. L. Sargent, loc. cit. and private information.

⁵ *Char. Com. Rep.*

⁶ i.e. between 1642-4, according to W. L. Sargent, op. cit.; but see *infra*.

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gives the name and date of appointment as 'Waller, L.M., 1616.' Wallis is no doubt the correct form; it occurs again in the Gonville and Caius Register, under date 27 January 1615-16, in the entry of the admission of William Sherarde son of William Sherarde, kt.,¹² who had been under Mr. Wallis two years. During his period of office the school received a further gift from the Noel family towards increasing the master's stipend—a yearly rent-charge of 40s. on property at Langham. The donor in this instance was Sir Edward Noel, who in 1629 succeeded his father-in-law as second Viscount Campden, and in making the gift he was carrying out the wishes of his father, Sir Andrew Noel, who had in 1588 already made a grant for the same object.

From 1623 the school was under the régime of Jeremiah Whitaker, described by the founder, in the first chapter of the statutes, as 'Jeremy Whitaker, my schoolmaster of Oakham,' and appointed a member of the governing body with his contemporary at Uppingham. Whitaker was of Sidney-Sussex College, Cambridge, where he entered the same year as Oliver Cromwell, 1616; he took his B.A. degree in 1619. He combined clerical with scholastic work, being rector of Stretton from 1627. After leaving Oakham he became rector of St. Mary Magdalen, Bermondsey, in 1644. He was a member of the Westminster Assembly of Divines in 1643 and Moderator in 1647. His rule at Oakham seems to have ended in 1629, when he was succeeded by Mr. James Stackhouse, whose name appears in various disguises in *St. John's Admission Registers*—Stackhouse, Stackouse, Stackhurst, and Stakkers. A pupil of his, Robert Smyth, legitimate son of [William] Rudkyn, smith (*ferarius*), was admitted at St. John's on 11 November 1630.¹³ The name of the next head master, who held office from 1642 to 1644, is doubtful; he was probably a Dr. Gill. At any rate, Thomas Meakins, who had been at Oakham six years under Mr. Stackhouse and Dr. Gill, was admitted at St. John's on 21 October 1643.¹⁴ Dr. Alexander Gill, who, as under usher at St. Paul's School, London, had Milton for a pupil, and who, in 1635, succeeded his father as high master, was dismissed in 1639¹⁵ for excessive severity. He may have found refuge

at Oakham. According to the *Book of Oakham School*¹⁶ R. Swan was appointed master on 30 April 1644, but it is difficult to reconcile this statement with the Gonville and Caius Register,¹⁷ where William Adamson, who had been a year and a half at Oakham under Mr. Swan, is said to have been admitted a sizar on 24 June 1644. Adamson subsequently became scholar and fellow of his college. This seems to reduce Dr. Gill's reign to something less than a year. The new head master may have been the 'Mr. Swanne, jun.,' who is mentioned in the Peterborough diocesan records as usher of Uppingham in 1641. Two pupils of Swan entered St. John's, both in 1647,¹⁸ the latter entrant having also been at Uppingham; in neither case is the name of the master given. Michael Freere was appointed to succeed Swan in 1649—'Mr. Freere, Frear, Fryer,' and 'Dr. Frier,' as he appears in the St. John's Registers—where a pupil of his was admitted as early as 28 July 1650-1.¹⁹ In 1653 he sent to St. John's William Cave and William Beveridge, both sons of Leicestershire parsons, and distinguished writers on early church history. Cave was chaplain to Charles II and canon of Windsor; Beveridge chaplain to William and Mary and Bishop of St. Asaph.

Richard Watts was head master for a few months in 1661, and for an equally short space Mr. Brooks, whose pupil, John Greene, who had been under him at 'Oukham' for one year, was admitted at St. John's on 29 April 1662.²⁰ John Love (also Low and Lowe in the St. John's Registers) was appointed the same year, and atoned for the brief stay of his immediate predecessors by an exceptionally long reign of forty years. During his time he sent 22 pupils to St. John's, the earliest being Joshua Westland, a farmer's (*firmarius*) son, entered on 23 May 1663, who had been under him one year,²¹ and the latest, Thomas Mason, son of Francis, grazier (*pecuarius*), on 14 February 1697-8.²² Love may have been the John Love of the parish of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, son of a cooper (*doliarius*), who was admitted sizar of St. John's on 8 November 1645,²³ but more probably the person of that name of Stanesby, Leicestershire, son of Robert, yeoman, who

ducted for 12 years with the greatest praise, and afterwards under Jeremiah Whitaker.' A boy who had been under Mr. 'Wallys' four years at Melton Mowbray entered at Gonville and Caius College 25 Sept. 1609 (J. Venn, op. cit. i, 204).

¹² J. Venn, op. cit. i, 231.

¹³ *Admissions to St. John's*, pt. i, 2.

¹⁴ Ibid. pt. i, 67.

¹⁵ R. B. Gardiner, *Admission Registers of St. Paul's School*, 38. The *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, following Wood, says that he was a private tutor in London after his dismissal. He died in 1643, and was buried in St. Botolph's, Aldersgate.

¹⁶ W. L. Sargant, op. cit. 21, from the School records.

¹⁷ J. Venn, op. cit. i, 352.

¹⁸ *St. John's Admissions*, pt. i, 85, 86.

¹⁹ Ibid. 98.

²⁰ Ibid. 154.

²¹ Ibid. 159. The precariousness of strict inferences from the statements in the registers is illustrated by another entry (pt. i, 164): 'William Smith, of Oakeham . . . bred at Oakeham (Mr. Love) for 7 years, admitted sizar . . . 25 May [1664], *aet.* 20.' This, if literally understood, would bring Love's appointment to 1657 instead of 1662.

²² Ibid. pt. ii, 146.

²³ Ibid. pt. i, 74.

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entered the same college from Grantham School on 19 June 1655.²⁴ A John Love, of St. John's, took his M.A. degree in 1662, and he, with whichever of the two he is to be identified, was doubtless the master appointed to Oakham in that year; he must have taken his degree of Master of Arts to qualify for the post. Of his pupils who entered St. John's, besides the two already mentioned, two were brothers Wingfield, sons of Sir Richard Wingfield, of Ticken-cote, one was the son of a 'gentleman,' six were sons of 'clerks,' one of a grazier (*pecuarius*), one of a shepherd (*pastor*), one of a husbandman (*agricola*), one of a carpenter (*faber lignarius*), and six nondescript, showing that at Oakham at the latter end of the 17th century there was an admixture of the masses with the classes which would satisfy the most radical of modern educationists. The destination of almost all of them, as probable holders of Archdeacon Johnson's scholarships at St. John's, must have been the church.

In addition to Abel Mellors, John Lacock, and Madson, the names of the following ushers or assistants, who held office before 1700, are known:—Thomas Griffin (1607–15); John Haycocke, who, on 25 February 1613, received licence from the Bishop of Peterborough to teach boys at Oakham 'in lingua vernacula'; Mr. White (1617–20), perhaps more correctly Wright, since a Mr. Wright held the curacy of Egleton, which at this period was regularly given to ushers of the school, from 1620 to 1622; Mr. Seaton (1726–29); Francis Clapham, M.A., who, on 8 April 1630, received licence to teach boys and adults in the art of grammar in the Free School of Oakham; Vincent Alsop,²⁵ an old Uppingham boy, and a pupil of Francis Meres, who was admitted to St. John's on 13 September 1647, and probably came to Oakham immediately after taking his B.A. degree; Thomas Sumpter (1663–7), of Gonville and Caius College, B.A. 1661, M.A. 1665; and a Mr. Choice,²⁶ who may have been the John 'Choyse' who took his B.A. degree from Lincoln College, Oxford, on 12 November 1633, and subsequently became vicar of Bisbrooke, or the John Choice of Kirp (?), Leicestershire, whose entry at St. John's is recorded on 7 July 1697, and who took his B.A. degree in 1700.

Henry Wright, who was schoolmaster from 1702 to 1724, must have been a man of exceptional power judging from the number of distinguished men who were his pupils. He was probably an Oxford man, who had matriculated at New College as *pauper puer* on 21 March 1697–8, graduated B.A. from the same college

in 1702, and later, in 1711, had been incorporated at Christ's College, Cambridge, when taking his M.A. degree.²⁷ To him, as to another Oxford man, whose invasion in more recent times of one of the Rutland grammar schools, the strict preserves of graduates of the sister university, was a less daring achievement, Oakham no doubt owes a great deal. In his first year the school received a gift of classical books from the vicar of the town, the Rev. John Warburton, who was one of the governors. His son, William Warburton, was a scholar of the school, and in 1703 passed on to St. John's (7 October).²⁸ His name heads the list of holders of the school exhibitions in *The Book of Oakham School*,²⁹ under date 1706; but the reference must be to a renewal rather than to an original award. Next year he took his B.A. degree and his M.A. in 1711. He became a fellow of his college. While still a school exhibitioner, he accepted the ushership at Uppingham,³⁰ but soon resigned it for the post of assistant under his old head master, Mr. Wright, succeeding a Mr. Weston,³¹ probably an old boy, Nathaniel by name, who was admitted at St. John's on 26 May 1702,³² and graduated B.A. in 1705, and M.A. in 1715. The mention of an assistant master in addition to the usher suggests that the school had now grown to a considerable size. In 1714 Warburton was appointed to the mastership of Newark Grammar School, possibly through a judicious use of family influence, where he remained until his death in 1729. A much more famous namesake, his cousin, the celebrated Bishop Warburton, of Durham and Gloucester, son of the town clerk of Newark, was at first a scholar at Oakham, but probably followed his cousin back to his native town and became his pupil, both at the school and after leaving it. He acknowledged that he had gained considerably from the association.³³ An earlier teacher—Weston, it is said—described him as 'the dullest of dull boys,' a verdict which he lived to stultify. Other pupils of Wright were Thomas Lovett, of Sidney-Sussex College, B.A. 1717, M.A. 1721, who, in 1766, founded two exhibitions at Sidney-Sussex College, tenable by sons of graduate clergymen, who themselves intended to take orders, with a preference for scholars of Oakham and Grantham who had spent three years at these schools before proceed-

²⁷ Foster, *Alumni Oxon.*

²⁸ *Admissions to St. John's*, pt. ii, 169.

²⁹ *Op. cit.* 22.

³⁰ See *infra*, p. 284.

³¹ W. L. Sargant, *op. cit.* 21, from Decrees of the Governors, 1710.

³² *Admissions to St. John's*, pt. ii, 162. Nathaniel Weston sent his son to Oakham School, whence he proceeded in due course to St. John's, 26 April 1728 (*op. cit.* pt. iii, 56).

³³ He wrote the epitaph for the tomb of his namesake, the master of Newark School.

²⁴ *Admissions to St. John's*, pt. i, 122.

²⁵ *Ibid.* pt. i, n. xxiii; also 86; and *infra*, p. 282.

²⁶ W. L. Sargant, *op. cit.* 21; *Admissions to St. John's*, pt. ii, 144.

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ing to the university; John Henley, better known as 'Orator Henley,' mountebank parson, chastised by Pope in his *Dunciad*, and caricatured by Hogarth, who entered St. John's 15 June 1709,³⁴ and took his B.A. degree in 1712, and his M.A. in 1716; Caleb Parnham, the antiquary, who first entered at Clare Hall, 12 July 1710, and migrated to St. John's a year later (17 July 1711),³⁵ of which college he was subsequently a fellow; John Adcock, *agricolae filius*, as he appears in the St. John's Register,³⁶ also a fellow of that college, who after twelve years' absence returned to Oakham as successor to his own head master; Thomas Harrison, fellow of Sidney-Sussex College, B.A. 1714, M.A. 1718, B.D. 1725; Robert Seagrave, of Clare Hall, B.A. 1714, M.A. 1718, a Methodist preacher and disciple of George Whitefield; William Hodgson, fellow of Clare from 1721 to 1730, B.A. 1719, M.A. 1723; William Richardson, an antiquary, Master of Emmanuel College from 1736 to 1775; Christopher Hand, fellow of the same college, B.A. 1720, M.A. 1724, B.D. 1731; Thomas Negus, fellow of Clare, B.A. 1723, M.A. 1727, D.D. 1763; and Richard Philpot, fellow of Christ's, B.A. 1726, M.A. 1730. Of the 22 pupils sent by Wright to St. John's, 12 were sons of 'clerks,' 3 of 'gentlemen,' 1 was son of a squire, 1 of an attorney (*attornatus*), 1 of a bailiff (*villicus*) to the Earl of Nottingham, 1 of a farmer (*firmarius*), 1 of a husbandman (*agricola*), 1 of a grocer (*aromatarius*), and 1 of a plumber (*plumbarius*).

Besides Mr. Weston already mentioned, we know the names of three ushers under Wright, two of them old boys—John Bass, in 1716 and 1717, a fellow of Clare, B.A. 1710, M.A. 1715; and John Gooddall, between 1717 and 1719, admitted at St. John's 13 June 1713,³⁷ B.A. 1716, M.A. 1721. The third was William Hubbard, of Clare Hall, B.A. 1718, M.A. 1722, who came in 1719, and after fifteen years' service was transferred by the trustees to Uppingham, as head master, doubtless in the hope that he would breathe fresh life into that moribund institution.

In 1716, during Wright's mastership, a decree of the governors forbade the teaching of English in the school, 'ye Institution being ordered by ye Founder for Latin, Greek, and Hebrew.'³⁸

³⁴ *Admissions to St. John's*, pt. ii, 194. The *Dict. Nat. Biog.* says Henley was educated privately at Oakham; the St. John's register, however, says he was at 'Occham' under Mr. Wright. Henley was an industrious author, and probably deserved more credit than he got for insisting that sermons were none the worse for good elocution and dramatic delivery.

³⁵ *Op. cit.* pt. ii, 202.

³⁶ *Ibid.* 204.

³⁷ *Admissions to St. John's*, pt. ii, 209.

³⁸ There is no reference to the teaching of Hebrew either in the foundation charter or in the school statutes; but the language was commonly taught in

The occasion of this prohibition must be a matter of speculation. But one conjecture may have more probability than another. It is much more likely that the usher was attempting to convert his section of the school into an English department, with the object of attracting a goodly number of scholars from the town and immediate neighbourhood, than that we have here traces of a disciple of Mulcaster or of a forerunner of Thring, who believed that a thorough knowledge of the mother tongue should form the foundation on which the superstructure of foreign languages, ancient and modern, should be raised. Once established within the walls of a grammar school, an English department, teaching the merest rudiments of an elementary education, in natural course destroyed the higher work. The local gentry and clergy, who willingly sent their sons to the nearest grammar school, so long as they had merely to associate with their intellectual equals, if social inferiors, the clever sons of the shepherd or plumber, or grocer, or farmer, developed symptoms of class prejudice when the crowd of elementary scholars deprived the more capable boys in their early years at school of the attention which was their due, and possibly lowered the standard of manners. Many signs of this process of degradation are to be found in the history of schools in the neighbouring counties. Archdeacon Johnson's schools escaped this particular disease.

Wright was succeeded by his old pupil, John Adcock, whose régime extended over twenty-nine years, from 1724 to 1753. Under him the school maintained its reputation. Twenty-six of his pupils, almost one a year, entered at St. John's College between 19 April 1726, and 5 November 1754. With regard to their parentage, 13 were sons of 'clerks,' 2 of 'gentlemen,' 2 of squires, 2 of lawyers (a '*juris consultus*' and an '*attornatus ad legem*'), 1 of an army captain (*centurio*), 1 of the master of a merchant vessel (*navis onerariae praefectus*) with a very Welsh name (Hopkin Thomas), 1 of the town gaoler (*carceris apud Oakham praefectus*), 2 of tradesmen (a druggist, *pharmacopola*, and a wineseller, *oenopola*), 2 of agriculturists (a farmer, *agricola*, and a grazier, *pecuarius*). The school, it

good schools. See the account of Abraham Johnson's education; and Hoole's *New Discovery* (published 1660), pt. iii, chap. 3. 'Though it be found a thing very rare, and is by some adjudged to be of little use, for school boys to make exercises in Hebrew, yet it is no small ornament and commendation of a school (as Westminster School at present can evidence) that scholars are able to make orations and verses in Hebrew, Arabic, or other oriental tongues, to the amazement of most of their hearers, who are angry at their own ignorance, because they know not well what is then "said or written." The *New Discovery* is largely a description with comment of Hoole's own practice while head master of Rotherham Grammar School (1633-42).

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is clear, still drew its pupils from all classes. The majority of the 26, as no doubt holders of Johnson scholarships at the college, naturally entered the church; one became a physician, one a barrister, one died at Cambridge soon after taking his B.A. degree, and the after careers of three are unknown. The gaoler's son, John Oliver, who took orders, afterwards became master of Barrow School, Leicestershire. Adcock's mastership was an era of expansion. At the time of his appointment the restoration of the Old School and of the hospital buildings, commenced under his predecessor, was still in progress, and in his first year a Mr. Samuel Adcock received a gratuity of £5 from the governors, 'for his trouble in looking after the rebuilding of Oakham School,' and in the following year an additional sum of 3 guineas. Between 1725 and 1731 the head master took over certain houses adjoining the hospital, and the property of the trustees, which had previously been let as shops,³⁹ no doubt for the accommodation of boarders. The presence of boarders is implied in a decree made by the governing body in 1726⁴⁰ :—

Whereas three boys have lately run away from Oakham School, so many of them be expelled out of the said school as Mr. Adcock does not think convenient to admit again into it at their return.

Probably at about this time the hospital buildings, at Oakham as at Uppingham, were converted into a boarding house for the head master, the poor people being allowed to receive their allowances while living at home. The exact date when this change was made cannot be fixed. The Commissioners appointed to inquire concerning Charities and Education found in 1820 no reference in the Governors' minute books to the residence of any poor people at either of the hospitals during nearly the whole of the previous century,⁴¹ and the time at which such references cease probably marks the date of the conversion of the hospitals to scholastic uses. Mr. W. L. Sargent, the present head master, suggests⁴² that the absorption of the hospital buildings at Oakham by the school probably took place during the Civil War—a most unlikely event, since the

Civil War, though it does not seem to have much decreased the entries from Oakham or Uppingham at St. John's College, must have certainly been a time of depression here as elsewhere. It is much more likely to have happened in Wright's or Adcock's time, when Oakham was in a most flourishing condition. The hospital subsequently became known by another name also, the Old Schoolhouse, and remained in use in that capacity until the middle of the 19th century, when it was demolished to make way for the present modern building. An excellent drawing of the old hospital is reproduced as frontispiece to *The Book of Oakham School*.

In the same year, 1726, a decree was passed with reference to the founder's exhibitions at the university :—⁴³

That whereas several of our Founder's Exhibitions in the University have lately been given to lads of other schools for want of scholars from either of our schools to take them, in order to prevent such practice for the future and that the scholars from our schools may receive all the advantages designed for them by the founder and enjoy the exhibitions they are entitled to both from the school and College, it is decreed that if there be a vacancy in the exhibitions of either of our schools, and no scholar in the said school qualified for the University to fill up the said vacancy, it be filled up by a scholar in the other school that appears to be duly qualify'd. Provided always that amends be made to the school where the deficiency was by giving the preference to a scholar or scholars of the said school, if qualify'd for the University (till the number of seven appointed by the founder be compleated) at the next vacancy in the exhibitions. And that letters be wrote to the Masters of the four colleges to desire them to send notice to the schools, whenever an exhibition appropriated to the said schools becomes vacant in their respective colleges.

The ground of complaint seems to have been twofold. First, that the fourteen scholarships to either university from the two schools, established by the statutes, were not always filled up by Oakham and Uppingham boys, because there were not always suitable candidates forthcoming from both schools. The scholarships being ordinarily tenable for a period of seven years, there would be a vacant scholarship for each school every year.⁴⁴ The decree made it possible, if there should be two suitable candidates in one school in any year, and no suitable candidate in the other school, for both scholarships to be awarded to the one school; but in subsequent years every attempt was to be made to redress the balance. Secondly, that as a consequence of not sending two school exhibitioners each year to the university, the schools did not get their fair

³⁹ W. L. Sargent, op. cit. 9. Two houses adjoining the hospital, built in the same style, were in 1820 let to tenants other than the head master at rents of £15 and £8 respectively, the former on a twenty-one years' lease from Lady day 1808. Three small ground rooms in the hospital itself were also sub-let as shops by the master (*Char. Com. Rep.*).

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ *Char. Com. Rep.*

⁴² Op. cit. 5. The statement by the two governors already referred to (*supra*, p. 268) says that in 1665 'there are two Schoole Houses, two Hospitalls, two fayre houses for the Schoole Masters.' The hospitals at that time were clearly not used as boarding-houses.

⁴³ W. L. Sargent, op. cit. 10.

⁴⁴ Between 1706 and 1726 inclusive forty exhibitions were awarded, i.e. about two a year. This seems to indicate that in most cases they were relinquished by the holders after taking the bachelor's degree.

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share of the sixteen scholarships founded by Archdeacon Johnson at the four colleges, St. John's, Sidney-Sussex, Clare, and Emmanuel. Apparently the school exhibitioners were as a matter of course elected to one of these scholarships. With regard to the justice of both these grounds of complaint the St. John's College registers afford striking evidence, showing between 1630 and 1726 only 65 entrants from Oakham and only 57 from Uppingham, of whom again only about two-thirds⁴⁵ were likely to have held school exhibitions and, consequently, college scholarships. From 1700 to 1726 the entries from Oakham almost average one a year (24), but there are only 15 from Uppingham in the same period. The effect of this decision was fatal to Uppingham, which had fallen on evil days, confiscating as it did in effect its chief attraction, though, no doubt, with the patriotic intention of safeguarding the interests of the foundation and the locality as a whole. The superiority of Oakham over Uppingham towards the middle of the 18th century is shown by the fact that in the course of the next twenty-five years Adcock's pupils appropriated no less than twenty-two Uppingham exhibitions.⁴⁶ Between 1733 and 1767 as many as 28 Oakham boys entered at St. John's and 18 at Emmanuel,⁴⁷ while the numbers from Uppingham were but 8 and 2. From 1750 it is more difficult to apportion the division of the spoil; 'for the next 20 years the schools of the exhibitioners are more difficult to trace, and soon after this the custom seems to have died out.'⁴⁸

Another decree of the governors⁴⁹ made in the following year suggests that some previous appointments to school exhibitions had proved very unsatisfactory, or had laboured under a suspicion of favouritism:—

That for the future all candidates for exhibitions be lockt up in the school to make a theme or copy of verses upon any subject which shall be given them by the governors before they be chosen into the said exhibitions, and be further examined by the governors as they shall think fit.

Among John Adcock's pupils were William Weston, the son of the usher, Nathaniel Weston, who entered at St. John's 26 April 1728, B.A. 1731, M.A. 1735, B.D. 1742, a fellow of his college, and a Prebendary of Lincoln Cathedral;⁵⁰ William Ridlington of Trinity Hall, B.A. 1739, M.A. 1743, LL.D. 1751, Regius Professor of Civil Law in the University of Cambridge; William Talbott, fellow of Clare Hall, B.A.

1742, M.A. 1746; Noah Thomas, son of Hopkin already mentioned, who entered at St. John's 18 July 1738, B.A. 1742, M.A. 1746, M.D. 1753, F.R.S. 1757, censor of the Royal College of Physicians, and physician in ordinary to George III, by whom he was knighted in 1775;⁵¹ John Cranwell, the poet, second wrangler in 1747, fellow of Sidney-Sussex, B.A. 1747, and M.A. 1751; William Dodd of Clare Hall, B.A. 1750, LL.D. 1766, of ambiguous memory, author of *The Beauties of Shakspeare*, and executed for forgery in 1777; and Seth Thompson, of the same college, B.A. 1756, M.A. 1759, and fellow from 1759 to 1768. The earliest usher under Adcock was William Hubbard, who stayed till 1734. In 1725 a resolution was passed 'that Mr. Hubbard be acquainted that the Governours require that the usher sit in his proper place with the scholars in their scaffold, as often as he is at church with them and not officiating in the said church.' Hubbard was succeeded by an old boy, Culpepper Tanner, of Emmanuel College, B.A. 1723. He was followed in 1745 by Thomas Ball, who after leaving Winchester, matriculated at Hertford College, Oxford, on 18 March 1740-1, but graduated B.A. from New College in 1744. Nichols⁵² says that he came to Oakham in 1751. He was a candidate for the mastership on Adcock's death; in 1756 he was appointed master of Melton Mowbray Grammar School, in 1766 prebendary of the Collegiate Church of Brecon, and in 1771 lecturer at St. George's, Bloomsbury.

When John Adcock died in 1753, William Powell of Magdalene College, Cambridge, B.A. in 1743, succeeded to the mastership. His most distinguished pupils in the five years of his rule were John Lettice, poet and divine, afterwards of Sidney-Sussex College, Cambridge, B.A. 1761, M.A. 1764, B.D. 1771, and D.D. 1797, Seatonian prizeman in 1764; and Baptist Noel Turner, seventh wrangler in 1762, fellow of Emmanuel, who returned to his old school as head master in 1769. A new usher was appointed under Powell in 1756, Mr. Parsons.

In 1758, on Powell's death, an Oxford man, Enoch Markham, of Christ Church, B.A. 1752, M.A. 1756, took over the reins. He has the credit of reckoning among his pupils two successive head masters of the rival school of the foundation—John Fancourt (1771-7), and Jeremiah Jackson (1777-93). The former, after entering St. John's College, Cambridge, on 1 July 1760, migrated to Hertford College, Oxford in 1762, whence he graduated B.A. in 1766, returning to Cambridge in 1769 to take his M.A. degree. He was usher at Oakham at the time of his appointment to Uppingham, having been elected to the post as early as 1762,

⁴⁵ Of 20 entrants between 1706 and 1726 all but six held school exhibitions.

⁴⁶ W. L. Sargent, *op. cit.* 10.

⁴⁷ E. S. Shuckburgh, *Emmanuel Coll.* 141-2.

⁴⁸ W. L. Sargent, *loc. cit.*

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ *Admissions to St. John's*, pt. iii, 56, 415.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* 92, 497.

⁵² *Illus. of Lit. Hist. of xviiith Cent.* vi, 258.

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in succession to Parsons, according to *The Book of Oakham School*.⁵³ The latter was sixth wrangler in 1771, and subsequently a fellow of St. John's. Another distinguished scholar under Markham was James Oldershaw of Emmanuel College, B.A. 1770, M.A. 1773, M.D. 1780, sixth wrangler and junior Smith's prizeman in 1770, and a fellow of his college. In Markham's time the school received another legacy for the benefit of the usher. Timothy Helmsley,⁵⁴ by his will of 24 April 1764, gave a sum of £300 to be invested in government or real securities, the interest on which was to be paid to the usher on condition of his teaching, free from all demands, four poor children of the parish appointed by the governors. The money was invested in £349 19s. 8d. three per cent. consols, and the dividends were regularly paid to the usher until 1816, when the usher's salary was raised to £100. From that time the dividends were paid into the general fund.

Markham was followed by Baptist Noel Turner, already referred to, his appointment being made on 1 July 1769.⁵⁵ He is better known as a littérateur than as a schoolmaster. A somewhat lengthy account is given of him, together with a portrait, by Nichols.⁵⁶ He combined, probably with the usual amount of success, clerical work with scholastic duty. On 19 December 1769 he was instituted rector of Denton, Lincolnshire, and on 17 June 1771 of Wing, receiving a special dispensation from the Archbishop of Canterbury to hold the two livings together. Schoolmastering, according to Nichols, was 'not congenial to his habits and disposition,' and nine years of it were enough for him. He retired on his livings in 1778. He held the rectory of Denton until 1816, and of Wing until his death in 1826. He was also chaplain to Henry Lord Ravensworth.⁵⁷ Henry Freeman of Clare College, probably a pupil of his at Oakham, was 10th wrangler in 1776.

Turner was succeeded by his usher, Thomas Orme, in June 1778. An old Reptonian, son of a farmer (*agricola*), as he is described in the St. John's Registers on admission,⁵⁸ senior optime in 1767 and M.A. in 1770, he had come to Oakham when Fancourt was promoted to Uppingham. Both these ushers seem to have given great satisfaction to the governing body, who, probably rather in acknowledgement than as an act of justice, in 1771 granted to the usher a yearly allowance of £10 in consideration of his right under the statutes to be provided

with accommodation in the hospital.⁵⁹ While still usher Orme had been presented by the trustees to their living of Barholm-cum-Stowe, which he held until his death 20 October 1814. Before leaving Oakham in 1793 he took his D.D. degree. His reign lasted until July 1796, when he withdrew to take up the mastership of Louth Grammar School. Here in sixteen years he was unfortunate enough to reduce the numbers from 70 to something infinitesimal. His best claim to remembrance is that he was master of John Franklin, the arctic explorer.⁶⁰ From 1802 he was Prebendary of Louth in Lincoln Cathedral. The first usher under him at Oakham was Mr. Tremenheere, probably the William Tremenheere who took his B.A. degree from Pembroke College, Cambridge, in 1779. George Osborne, who succeeded him in 1785, had gone with a school exhibition to Merton College, Oxford, where he matriculated on 13 July 1782, and took his B.A. degree in 1786. On his departure in 1791 another old boy, Edward Twentyman, fellow of Clare, junior optime in 1790, came in. The most famous head master of Oakham, Dr. Doncaster, was a pupil of Orme, as well as his brother William, who matriculated at University College, Oxford, 21 October 1794, and was subsequently a fellow of Magdalen, B.D. in 1807, vicar of Normanton 1804, and rector of Winterbourne 1818-47.⁶¹ Two other head masters also received their early training under him—Paul Belcher, of St. John's College, B.A. 1793, M.A. 1796, who ruled Ashbourne from 1796 to 1836;⁶² and Thomas Stevenson of Christ's, B.A. 1797, M.A. 1806, who was appointed to Loughborough in 1813.

The last head master appointed in the 18th century, who brought up the total for the last half of it to 5, was John Bradford, who matriculated at Christ Church, Oxford, as 'plebeian' on 27 January 1784, and took his B.A. degree in 1787 and his M.A. in 1790.⁶³ His mastership lasted until 1808. In 1802 Twentyman, his usher, resigned, and was succeeded by another old boy, the third in succession to hold the office, Richard Williams, who had just graduated B.A. at St. John's College, Cambridge, whither he had gone with a school exhibition. He took his M.A. degree in 1806, while still at Oakham. Bradford's régime does not seem to have been prosperous, though judging by the programme for speech day in 1803, printed in *The Book of Oakham School*,⁶⁴ there was life still in the school. Selections were rendered from Greek (Tyrtæus, Τερτιάμεναι γὰρ καλὸν ἐπὶ προμάχοισι πεσόντα), Latin (Virgil, *Aeneid* iv—*Dido irata*, and Quintus Cur-

⁵³ p. 21. It is difficult to reconcile this date with the details of his Oxford career as given by Foster, *Alumni Oxon.*

⁵⁴ *Char. Com. Rep.*

⁵⁵ *Admissions to St. John's*, part iii, 652.

⁵⁶ *Illus. of Lit. Hist. of the xviiith cent.* vi, 140-94.

⁵⁷ *Admissions to St. John's*, loc. cit.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* 165.

⁵⁹ *Char. Com. Rep.* The usher at Uppingham benefited at the same time.

⁶⁰ At Louth, *V.C.H. Lincs.* ii, 467.

⁶¹ Foster, *Alumni Oxon.*

⁶² *V.C.H. Derb.* ii, 264.

⁶³ Foster, op. cit.

⁶⁴ p. 12.

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tius, viii, c. 5—Callisthenes' reproof of Cleon), French (Béranger—On the Birthday of Shakespeare), and English authors (including a scene from Shakespeare's *Henry IV*, pt. ii); while the performance concluded, no doubt impressively, with what was probably an original oratorical effort by the school Demosthenes, in which 'England bids defiance to France.' It is noteworthy that the school authorities did not, as in some places,⁶⁵ show their patriotism by interdicting the study of French.

In 1808, the year of Bradford's resignation, probably as a result of the Napoleonic Wars, the fortunes of the school were at a low ebb. In that year there is a note in the school register to the effect that there were 'but three exhibitioners at the University and not one boarder.' Bradford's successor, the Rev. John Doncaster, who ruled for thirty-eight years, soon re-established the reputation of the school. An old boy, pupil of Dr. Orme, he had gone with a school exhibition to Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1790, where he was admitted a sizar. From Trinity he migrated to Christ's College in 1791, being elected scholar. In 1794 he was thirteenth wrangler and first chancellor's medallist. He was ordained deacon in the same year, and in 1796 was elected a fellow of his college, in which he held various offices. He retained his fellowship after his election at Oakham until 1814, when his college presented him to the living of Navenby in Lincolnshire, which he held together with the mastership. On his return to Oakham he at once persuaded the governors to make the schoolhouse more habitable, although after the improvements were effected, it still remained, according to the report of old boys who suffered there, miserably cold, with the bedrooms opening on to an outside gallery, after the fashion of the inns of that time, and a floor of concrete. Nicholas Carlisle, who made his inquiries in 1815, says, however, that there was a good house for seventy boarders, the boarding fee being 50 guineas a year; so that Oakham was, perhaps, not more uncomfortable than other schools. To Dr. Doncaster's energy, at a later period, the school was also indebted for its cricket ground, and when presenting an adjoining meadow, now used as the school football ground, to the local infirmary, he inserted in the deed of gift the condition that the head master should always be allowed to occupy it at a fair rent. His methods of instruction in matters intellectual and moral were of a rough and ready type. He apparently utilized a public execution as a solemn object lesson,⁶⁶ demonstrating in an impressive way the natural consequences of vice. On such occasions not only was a whole holiday given, but special places were reserved for the scholars. The

late Bishop of Gloucester, Dr. Ellicott, used to tell how as a boy he was actually taken on to the scaffold by him. To each boy on leaving the school he was accustomed to present a seal, representing the Powers of Good watering a fruitful tree and driving back the devil, suitably portrayed in black, with cloven hoofs and ass's ears, carrying in both hands an uplifted axe ready to strike at the roots.

In 1810 Richard Williams, who had been Vicar of Oakham from 18 January 1806,⁶⁷ was succeeded in the ushership by William Cooper Taylor, of St. Edmund Hall, Oxford, who matriculated 3 May 1792, took his B.A. degree in 1796, and his M.A. in 1799. He remained until 1815, when Anthony Gordon, of Trinity College, Cambridge, B.A. 1816, was appointed. He, in 1819, made way for an old boy, Zachariah Shrapnell Warren, of Sidney-Sussex College, senior optime in 1818, who stayed for ten years, resigning on his election to the head-mastership of Beverley Grammar School.

The Commissioners appointed to inquire concerning Charities and Education,⁶⁸ found, in 1820, from twenty-eight to thirty boarders, but apparently only one day boy, a free scholar, at Oakham Grammar School. The townspeople seem to have had no need for the classical education which the school afforded. Yet more generous terms were offered them than the statutes required. All children of the town were instructed free of charge, without reference to the ability of their parents to pay. There was, it is true, an entrance fee of one guinea and a quarterly charge of 4s. for firing, and of half a guinea, payable to the assistant, for instruction in reading and writing, as well as the cost of books and stationery. The head master occupied the hospital premises free of rent and taxes, except that he paid 3 guineas a year for three ground-floor rooms which he sublet as shops. No distinction was made between boarders and day scholars with regard either to the place or course of instruction; all were taught together in one room in classics and mathematics, and the school aimed at preparing its scholars for the universities. The head master's salary since 1816 had been £105, and the usher's £100. Three years later, the usher was allowed an increment of £20. In addition to his salary he received one-half of the admission fees, £3 6s. 8d. from the head master, being the equivalent of the 5 marks provided for in the statutes, and £10 a year in lieu of quarters in the hospital. The school exhibitions to the universities now numbered eight, and were of the annual value of £40; they were assigned by the governors on the recommendation of the masters, children of poorer parents, *caeteris paribus*, receiving preference. All scholars of the school were eligible, but during Dr. Doncaster's head-mastership they

⁶⁵ At Birmingham, for instance; *V.C.H. Warw.* ii, 354.

⁶⁶ This was somewhat unnecessary. The school was not likely to forget the fate of Dodd in 1777.

⁶⁷ Foster, *Index Eccl.*

⁶⁸ *Char. Com. Rep.*

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had never been held or applied for by free or day scholars.

Not a little of the success of the school under Dr. Doncaster was due to the ability of his subordinates. Four of them, Frederick Edward Gretton (1829-33), who followed Warren, a scholar and fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, seventh classic and a senior optime in 1826; James Ind Welldon (1834-5), also a scholar and fellow of St. John's, twenty-ninth wrangler and fifth classic in 1834; Alfred Leeman (1839-41), a scholar of the same college, a second-class man both in the classical and mathematical triposes in 1839; and Charles Thomas Penrose (1841-3), scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge, second classic and senior optime in 1839, subsequently became head masters of important schools—Gretton of Stamford in 1833, Welldon of Tonbridge in 1843, Leeman of Aldenham in 1844, and Penrose of Sherborne in 1845. Welldon left Oakham to take up the position of second master at Shrewsbury School, where he served under Samuel Butler and Benjamin Hall Kennedy. He was uncle of the present Dean of Manchester, late head master of Harrow. William Bunting Tate, of Trinity College, Cambridge, who filled the interval between Gretton and Welldon, was twenty-third wrangler and a second class man in classics in 1830; he was appointed vicar of Nether Wallop, Hampshire, on 6 July 1834.⁶⁹ Richard Wilson, of St. John's, who stayed four years between Welldon and Leeman, was fifth classic and a senior optime in 1833. Leeman was succeeded by Charles Thomas Penrose, and he in 1843 by John Bicknell, also of Trinity, a second-class man in classics and a junior optime in 1843, who stayed only a year. Timothy Byers, of Christ's, the next usher, remained in office twenty years, until 1864. He had taken second-class honours both in the classical and the mathematical tripos in 1844.

Gretton, according to the testimony of Robert Noble, the Indian missionary, writing in 1829, was responsible for stiffening up the discipline and introducing an improved system of instruction :—⁷⁰

Since I was with you we have had three new masters, two classical ones and a writing master. The two first are clever judicious men, one of whom [Dr. Gretton] was a pupil of Dr. Butler, of Shrewsbury. We are now proceeding very much on the system of that excellent man, and it is no small recommendation to the school, for the old method was extremely defective, and from this grand fault arose the circumstance that Dr. Doncaster has sent so few clever men to the University. And now the idler boys are more under the necessity of studying their lessons, though it is not absolutely necessary (I speak very plainly).

He remarks on the religious and moral tone of the school :—

Our school now consists of about thirty boys, the greater part of whom are, I fear, quite ignorant of true religion, but there are one or two among them whom I esteem very highly. I do not think our school is worse than any other of its size, though I am afraid, were I to describe it to you, you would not entertain a very high opinion of us. Wickedness prevails according to the number of persons collected in any body, so that a larger school would, in my opinion, afford a still worse picture.

After all, if so severe a critic had nothing worse to say, things could not have been so very bad. The 'old, extremely defective' method was apparently that followed at Eton; for Carlisle,⁷¹ in 1815, writes: 'The Eton plan of classical education is pursued at each school' (i.e. both at Oakham and Uppingham). Even under this unreformed system Oakham had produced useful men, such as Warren, the usher from 1819 to 1829, subsequently head master of Beverley Grammar School; James Moffat Harrington, of Exeter College, Oxford, B.A. 1823, M.A. 1826, afterwards Q.C. and sometime M.P. for Whitehaven; William Newland Welsby, of St. John's College, Cambridge, B.A. 1823, M.A. 1827, a well known legal writer and a junior counsel to the Treasury; Thomas Sheldon Green, of Christ's College, Cambridge, nineteenth wrangler and a second-class classic in 1826, B.A. 1826, M.A. 1829, fellow of his college and head master successively of Maidstone and Ashby-de-la-Zouch Grammar Schools; William Henry Hanson, fellow of Clare, Trinity Hall, and Caius, fourth wrangler and second Smith's prizeman in 1826. But between 1829 and 1846 Oakham was remarkable not only for its university successes, but for the number of its scholars who attained distinction in after life. Francis Hildyard, of Clare Hall, was twenty-seventh wrangler in 1831. Thomas Ludlam, of Peterhouse, was twelfth classic in 1832, and a senior optime. John Henry Pratt of Caius College in 1833, and Richard Stevenson of Trinity College in 1834, were third wranglers. The latter also gained a second class in classics. Joseph Woolley of Emmanuel College was twenty-first wrangler in 1838, and Thomas

⁷¹ *End. Grammar Schools*, ii, 334. The exact connotation of the term, 'the Eton plan of classical education,' is matter for speculation. The reader may be referred to the history of that school in *V.C.H. Bucks.* for suggestions. There is less doubt as to what the Shrewsbury system was under Samuel Butler. Benjamin Hall Kennedy said that it was his system of examinations which made his school great; but his recent biographer considers that even more was due to his plan of constantly changing the position of the boys in a form according to the varying merit of their work; S. Butler, *Life and Letters of Samuel Butler*, ii, 366 ff.

⁶⁹ Foster, *Index Eccl.*

⁷⁰ W. L. Sargant, *op. cit.* 14.

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Crosse Peake of Sidney-Sussex College twentieth in 1839. Percival Frost of St. John's College was second wrangler and first Smith's prizeman in the same year. William Arrow-smith of Trinity College in 1833, James Atlay of St. John's College in 1837, Charles John Ellicott⁷² of St. John's and Thomas Robinson of Trinity in 1838, Thomas Field of St. John's in 1841, and Edward John Selwyn of Trinity in 1843, were Bell University scholars. Sidney Lidderdale Smith of St. John's was equal to Atlay in the examination, but did not in other respects so fully satisfy the statutory requirements. Atlay was sixth classic and a senior optime in 1840; Ellicott gained a second class in classics and was a senior optime in 1841, and won the Members' prize for a Latin essay in 1842, and the Hulsean prize in 1843; and Field was fourth classic and a senior optime in 1844. Francis Roughton of St. John's was third wrangler in 1846, and Samuel Cheetham of Christ's eighth classic in 1850. Hildyard, Ludlam, Pratt, Stevenson, Woolley, Peake, Frost, Atlay, Ellicott, Field, and Cheetham were elected fellows of their colleges, and Roughton of Jesus. Frost at a later date became fellow of King's. Edward Boucher James was the only old Oakhamian who achieved equivalent success at the sister university; he gained a second class in classics in 1842, and became fellow of Queen's. Atlay and Ellicott, who were almost exact contemporaries at school, were later on both raised to the episcopate, the former being appointed Bishop of Hereford in 1868, and the latter Bishop of Gloucester in 1863. Ellicott also held the Hulsean Professorship of Divinity at Cambridge in 1860 and 1861. Woolley became a Canon of Norwich and Archdeacon of Suffolk, and Cheetham Archdeacon and Canon of Rochester, and Hulsean Lecturer at Cambridge. Pratt and Frost were both well-known writers on mathematical subjects; the former became Archdeacon of Calcutta.

With Dr. Doncaster's resignation in 1846 the palmy days of Oakham came to an end. His successor, William Spicer Wood, was, from the academical point of view, even a more distinguished man. A scholar of St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1838 he was Chancellor's English medallist, in 1839 Browne medallist, and in 1840, the year in which he took his B.A. degree, he was again Chancellor's medallist and also seventh wrangler and fourth classic. From 1840 to 1846 he was a fellow of his college. But during his mastership the summit of the school achievement was two fellowships, one at Sidney-Sussex, gained by George Hanslip Hopkins, who was fifteenth wrangler in 1853, and one at St. John's, gained by the head master's son and namesake, who was twenty-second wrangler and

eleventh classic in 1871, as well as winner of various university prizes and scholarships. We must add, however, that two boys who had used Oakham as a preparatory school achieved a like success, one carrying off a fellowship at St. John's, and the other at King's. An old boy of this period, a distinguished Indian civilian, formerly Secretary of Revenue and Agriculture to the Government of India, Sir Edward Charles Buck, C.B., K.C.S.I., who took his B.A. degree in 1862, was later elected an honorary fellow of Clare College. Dr. Wood's most successful years from the point of view of university distinctions were from 1855 to 1865, when eighteen scholarships at Cambridge, one exhibition at Cambridge and another at Oxford, two first classes in the mathematical tripos (a fifteenth and thirty-third wranglership) and two in the classical tripos, four places in the Indian Civil Service, and eight second-class honours in various triposes at Cambridge were placed to the credit of this school. In the next decade only the head master's son, a brilliant exception, managed to secure first-class honours, while eleven second-class honours seem to suggest that Oakham was now being supplied and was supplying the university with inferior material—doubtless a result of the superior attractiveness of Uppingham under Edward Thring. Two scholars of this period, Charles Edward Cooper of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, who gained a second class in classics in 1873, and Reginald Murray Sampson of St. John's, who gained a third class in classics in 1876, subsequently became head masters of Hurstpierpoint and Hawkshead Schools respectively.

During Dr. Wood's term of office the school-house was rebuilt. In 1853 the trustees appointed a committee to consider the question of a suitable site, and it was at first proposed to re-erect the building on Cutt's Close. This proposal was, however, abandoned, and the new house was erected on the site of the old one in 1858 after the designs of Sir Sidney Smirke. The suggestion that Oakham was favoured by the governing body at the expense of Uppingham, because of their jealousy of the independent growth of the latter school under Thring and his colleagues,⁷³ is probably not without some truth in fact, though it is true that the new buildings at Oakham were under consideration before Thring's appointment. In 1870 the freehold of the old vicarage, after 1880 occupied as a sanatorium, was also acquired for the benefit of the school.

In 1864 a new usher, the last assistant to bear that title, was appointed in Patricius Grey Skipworth, of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, who gained a second class in the mathematical and a third in the classical tripos in 1858.

⁷² Ellicott accompanied Dr. Gretton to Stamford in 1833; *V.C.H. Lincs.* ii, 477, where an account is given of Gretton's work there.

⁷³ Parkin, *Life of E. Thring*, i, 82, and W. L. Sargent, *op. cit.* 15. A photograph of the new school-house is to be found in the latter work, opposite p. 15.

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Oakham School was visited by Mr. Henry Weston Eve for the Schools Inquiry Commission.⁷⁴ He reported that although the numbers were so small as to give rise to difficulties in teaching they were on the increase. In the latter half of 1864 there were 34 boarders, all in the head master's house, and 18 day boys, most of them from the town; and between that time and the Assistant Commissioner's visit the numbers had increased twenty-five per cent. The townspeople were well satisfied with the curriculum, although there was some desire for a more modern form of education. The popularity of the school was largely due to the tact of the head master, who 'appears to have won, to a remarkable degree, the confidence and goodwill of everyone connected with the school, whether trustees, parents, or old pupils.' Thring, at Uppingham, seems to have been less fortunate in this respect. The performance of the scholars in the classical test was tolerable, but in mathematics 'the general standard was not high.' But in recent years an Oakham boy had usually come out top in the joint examination for exhibitions to the University. On the average three or four boys each year left for the universities. It was agreed that there had been a distinct improvement in the tone of the school under Dr. Wood. The trustees had assisted in the development of the school; they had lately built a new house for the head master and proposed to erect a new schoolroom on the site of the vicarage. The head master's salary was £153 in 1864, and the usher's £130, both paid from the endowment. The master also received the profits of boarders, of whom he might take an unlimited number, and shared the fees with the usher. Day boys, natives of Oakham, paid six guineas without, and ten guineas with, French; others twelve guineas. There was an additional charge of four guineas for drawing. Four boys were admitted at a reduced fee of two guineas, possibly in consideration of Timothy Helmsley's legacy. The Commissioners of 1820 had suggested that the payment to the usher in accordance with it should be renewed, adding that if this were done 'we may hope the governors will not overlook the conditions annexed to the bequest.' The terms for boarders were forty to sixty guineas, with twelve guineas tuition fee, and an extra charge of two guineas for share of a study, if desired. The average cost of boarding was £82.

In 1884 the tercentenary of the foundation was celebrated, naturally on a smaller scale at Oakham, where less had been achieved, than at the sister school.

When in 1875 Dr. Wood resigned there were only two boys in the school.⁷⁵ The numbers had

been reduced, partly through a recent outbreak of typhoid, slightly in advance of the epidemic which stimulated such heroic efforts at the sister school, partly through uncertainty as to the position of the school under the new scheme which was being drawn up by the Endowed Schools Commissioners. Their proposals seem to have wrought as much real damage at Oakham as they produced irritation at Uppingham. Oakham was in the weaker position, and naturally suffered most. The Commissioners, in accordance with Thring's views,⁷⁶

prepared a scheme which would have reduced Oakham to what they called a second-grade school—although there was very little demand for such a school in the neighbourhood. They laid down that boys were to leave at 17, and that Greek was not to be taught. The Governors fought the scheme with great determination, and it was not until 1874, a month before the scheme was to have passed into law, that a change of Ministry occurred, and the obnoxious clauses were modified. Boys might stay until 19, and Greek might be taught.⁷⁷

Dr. Wood⁷⁸ was followed by Robert Tabraham, a graduate of Dublin University, B.A. 1870, M.A. 1873, who came from an assistant-mastership at Malvern College, and stayed only four years. His successor, the Rev. Edward Vere Hodge of Balliol College, Oxford, who took second-class honours in classics both in Moderations (1868) and in the Final Schools (1871), had been second master at Gloucester Cathedral School, and senior classical master at Bradford Grammar School since 1875. His reign was a period of strenuous achievement, and he almost brought back the golden age.⁷⁹ During the twenty-three years of his régime the new classrooms were built (1880) and a sanatorium established (1880), a swimming-bath was provided by subscription, science rooms and a workshop were

Book of Oakham School. In 1836, at the beginning of Dr. Doncaster's last decade, there were 35 boarders in the schoolhouse, 8 boarders in town, and 4 day boys, making a total of 47, increased to 51 before the year was out. During the next five years the average number admitted was about 12; and during the next four years the admissions were 8, 8, 4, 1. In Dr. Wood's third year the number had risen to 12; then for nine years it only once rose to 10; between 1858 and 1871, inclusive, it averaged 15; and in his last four years the admissions fell to 9, 5, 12, and 0.

⁷⁶ Parkin, *Life of E. Thring*, i, 82-3, 259.

⁷⁷ W. L. Sargant, *op. cit.* 17.

⁷⁸ Dr. Wood had been curate of Brooke (1853-65), and after his retirement was vicar of Higham (1875-97) and Rural Dean of Gravesend (1877-87). He died in 1902.

⁷⁹ The increase in numbers was remarkable. The number of admissions in any year between 1879 and 1902 only once fell as low as 18, and once was as high as 40; the average for twenty-four years was about 30. Naturally there was some falling off when he left.

⁷⁴ *Schools Inq. Rep.*

⁷⁵ A good idea of the varying popularity of the school since 1886 can be obtained from a study of the Admission Register, which is printed at length in *The*

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taken in hand, the schoolhouse hall was enlarged, and a new boarding-house, Bank House, was erected (1884). Apart from these improvements in the material equipment, the school practically recovered the proud position in the sphere of university distinctions which it held under Dr. Doncaster. Against 1902, when he left, fourteen first classes in various triposes at Cambridge were gained by old pupils, one place in the Indian Civil Service, and five in various services in the colonies and dependencies, as well as an inspectorship of schools under the Board of Education. Four of the first classes were secured in the Natural Science Tripos at Cambridge, a fact which shows that the school has kept pace with modern requirements. On his retirement Mr. Hodge was appointed rector of Normanton and Pilton. Under the present head master, Mr. Walter Lee Sargant, of Trinity College, Cambridge, twenty-ninth wrangler in 1888, M.A. 1892, who had been an assistant master at Brighton and Fettes Colleges, it is to be hoped that the same high standard may be maintained. Since his advent considerable progress in buildings has already been made. The Old School has been restored, five courts have been built by subscription, the new gymnasium has been opened, and the science rooms and workshops finished. Important additions have also been made to the schoolhouse. The school at present numbers 82 boys, of whom 58 are boarders, and there is a staff of 7 masters.

(3) SUBSEQUENT HISTORY OF UPPINGHAM GRAMMAR SCHOOL

From the beginning until the spacious days of Edward Thring, the old schoolroom, which still exists as the studio, affording accommodation for one of the most recent additions to a Public School curriculum, housed the boys of Uppingham during the hours of instruction. The building bore a close resemblance to that at Oakham, being a structure of stone with a high roof, oblong in shape, with a door surmounted by a big window at the west end and a chimney at the east, a series of small-paned windows along the south side, and a blind wall on the north. The date of its erection, 1584, was carved on a stone let into the outside of the east wall, while over the door was a tablet, similar to that at Oakham, bearing inscriptions in the three languages then taught in an ambitious school, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. In selecting the texts, suggesting and consecrating the work within, the founder or whoever is to be adjudged responsible for them took some little trouble; while repeating one of the Hebrew quotations used at Oakham, Proverbs xxii, 6: 'Train up a child in the way he should go: and when he is old he will not depart from it,' he varied the Greek and the Latin, the former being Mark x,

14: 'Suffer the little children to come unto Me,' and the latter Ecclesiastes xii, 1: 'Remember now thy Creator in the days of thy youth.' Bordering the churchyard on its eastern side, the schoolroom was some distance from the 'habitations and lodgings' which the founder had provided for master and usher in his hospital higher up in the town, where, in addition to their scholastic duties, the one was enjoined to 'have an eye to the behaviour and disorders' of the inmates, and the other to 'read prayers with them at least twice in the week.'¹

The first distinguished person we hear of in connexion with the school was a pupil, Henry Ferne, son of Sir John Ferne of York, who was author of an early book on heraldry, *The Blazon of Gentrie*, published in 1586. Born in 1602, the son proceeded from Uppingham to St. Mary Hall, Oxford, where he matriculated in 1618; but two years later he migrated to Trinity College, Cambridge. He was subsequently a fellow of Trinity, Archdeacon of Leicester 1641, and D.D. both of Oxford and Cambridge in 1642 and 1643. As chaplain to Charles I and a stout supporter of the Royalist cause, he suffered during 'the troubles,' but received his reward in subsequent preferment, being appointed Master of Trinity in 1660, holding the office for two years, Dean of Ely 1661, and Bishop of Chester next year, the year of his death. His master at Uppingham must have been Ismael Burrowes, the third there² whose name is recorded, who seems to have held sway from *circa* 1606³ until 1618, being succeeded in that year by John Clarke (Clerke in St. John's College registers), affectionately referred to by the founder in his statutes of 1625 as 'my schoolmaster of Upping-

¹ The schoolroom, except for the addition of a classroom for the usher joined by a passage to the north-east corner, remained practically untouched when Thring was appointed. There is a vivid description of it in *Early Days at Uppingham under Edward Thring*, by an Old Boy, p. 17.

² The *Uppingham Sch. Roll* gives William Pickering as master in 1605. The master appointed by the letters patent of 1587 was David Blacke, and the usher Robert Fullarton (*supra*, p. 261). Ismael Burrowes was a Leicester boy, who had gone to Lincoln College with one of the Earl of Huntingdon's scholarships and took his B.A. degree on 29 January 1585-6 and his M.A. in 1589. A Mr. 'Fullerton' was master of Ashby-de-la-Zouch Grammar School from 1594 to 1597. Mr. Millers is mentioned as usher in the Peterborough diocesan records in 1591, and Mr. Pye in 1600. Possibly Mr. Millers is the same person as Abel Mellors, the first usher at Oakham, who may have changed schools.

³ Edward Shield, aged sixteen, son of Thomas Shield, husbandman (*agricola*), who had been four years at Uppingham under Mr. Burrowes, was admitted a sizar at Gonville and Caius College 26 June 1610 (J. Venn, *Biog. Hist. of G. and C. Coll.* i, 208). The *Uppingham Sch. Roll* gives 1612 as the date of Burrowes's accession.

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ham,'⁴ and appointed a member of the governing body of the school. Two of his pupils entered at St. John's in 1630, one the son of a lawyer (*juris peritus*) and the other of a farmer (*agricola*). Clarke was succeeded at latest in 1628 by Ezechiel Johnson, M.A., for on 12 June 1633, Peter Sheeld, son of Robert Sheeld, gent., who had been five years at Uppingham under him, was admitted a sizar at Gonville and Caius College.⁵ Peter Sheeld was unlucky enough to be killed by some sailors, possibly in a tavern brawl or in some town and gown encounter, in 1639, and was buried in Great St. Mary's Church. An usher under Johnson was John Chun, who, judging from a testimonial⁶ presented by an old boy at St. John's on 9 September 1637, was proud of knowing some Greek in addition to the 'true Latin, both in prose and verse,' required of him by the school statutes:

James Dunkyn was admitted intoe the schoole of Uppingham in Rutland August 25^o anno Domini 1637. *Sic testamur* Eze. Johnson, John Chun ἑρμαιοῦν.

i.e. co-educator or usher. Between 1633 and 1646 as many as five of his pupils entered at Gonville and Caius, four of them also having been under his successor. Of these three are described as sons of gentlemen, one of a minister, and one of a mason (*caementarius*). The last-mentioned, who entered 30 April 1646, was the most distinguished of the lot—John Burton,⁷ subsequently fellow of his college and head master in succession of Ely (1650–3), to which he was appointed four years after his admission, of Scarning (1653–7), where he had 50 pupils, 20 being boarders, and of Norwich Grammar Schools (1677–99). In 1660 he published an educational romance entitled *Eriander*; and a *History of Norwich School*, which he composed during his mastership, was published in a volume of posthumous works of Sir Thomas Browne. John Berry,⁸ another of the list, who was also at Repton Grammar School, took his B.A. degree in 1650–1, his M.A. in 1655, and was incorporated at Oxford 13 July 1658. He became

head master of Market Harborough. He discovered at Oundle a Greek MS. of St. Ignatius's Epistles. Three other pupils of Johnson entered at St. John's, one the son of a gentleman, whose testimonial has been given, another of a merchant (*mercator*), and another of an attorney (*attur-natus*).

In 1641 Francis Meres succeeded Johnson. The indifference as to spelling on the part of the college authorities, or the ignorance of the schoolboys, as well as the elasticity of the English notation, is illustrated by the fact that Meres's name appears in five different forms in the Registers. Meres was no doubt a native of the shire, son of Francis Meres, the divine and author, M.A. of Pembroke College, Cambridge, who was in 1602 appointed rector and schoolmaster of Wing, where he remained till his death (29 January 1646–7). A son, probably his namesake, took his B.A. degree from Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1628.⁹ Meres sent 19 pupils to St. John's between 1642 and 1668, of whom some must also have been under his predecessor, 10 of them being described as sons of 'clerks,' one of a 'minister of God's word' (*verbi dei minister*), two of gentlemen, and two of yeomen; and seven to Gonville and Caius between 1648 and 1655, four of them also pupils of Johnson; of the remaining three one was entered as 'son of a coachman of London.'¹⁰ Of the St. John's men the earliest was admitted 4 October 1642, having been under 'Mr. Francis Meeres' at Uppingham a year and a half.¹¹ Another Johnian, Vincent Alsop, admitted 13 September 1647,¹² school exhibitor the same year, became usher at Oakham. In 1662 he was ejected from the living of Wilby, Northamptonshire, for Nonconformity. Later, in the reign of James II, he became a person of considerable influence, and, after the Declaration of Indulgence in 1687, 'the chief agent who was employed by the government to manage the Presbyterians.' Macaulay describes him as 'a divine of some note, both as a preacher and as a writer.' But he had accepted a task beyond his powers, and he 'who had flattered himself that he should be able to bring over a great body of his disciples to the royal side, found himself on a sudden an object of contempt and abhorrence to those who had lately revered him as their spiritual guide, sank into a deep melancholy, and hid himself from the public eye.'¹³ A few years earlier two other Johnians, pupils of Meres, the brothers Edward and Anthony Turner, who entered on 4 October 1642 and on 6 May 1645 respectively, met with a more tragic fate. Both had become Jesuits, and, as a result of the papist

⁴ *Supra*, p. 265. The ushers under Clarke were John Harper, B.A., and Nicholas Bilbie, who were licensed to teach on 20 Oct. 1618 and 12 Oct. 1621 respectively.

⁵ J. Venn, *op. cit.* i, 309. Ezechiel Johnson was no doubt the second son of Abraham Johnson and Elizabeth Chaderton, and therefore the founder's grandson. He was born in 1607 and took his B.A. degree from Emmanuel College, Cambridge, in 1625 and his M.A. in 1629. His brother Samuel and his stepbrother, Isaac, also of Emmanuel, were appointed governors by the school statutes of 1625.

⁶ *Admissions to St. John's*, i, 36. John Chun was licensed to teach at Uppingham on 28 May 1629, and resigned on 12 July 1640.

⁷ J. Venn, *op. cit.* i, 363.

⁸ *Ibid.* i, 365.

⁹ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

¹⁰ J. Venn, *op. cit.* i, 394.

¹¹ *Admissions to St. John's*, i, 65.

¹² *Ibid.* 86.

¹³ Macaulay, *Hist. of Engl.* ii, 221, 348; Calamy, *An Account*, &c. (ed. 2), ii, 487–9.

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scare engineered by Titus Oates, the elder brother was executed in 1679, and the younger died in prison in the following year.¹⁴ Another Johnian, John Wright, who entered 19 February 1667–8, after graduating in arts (B.A. 1671, M.A. 1675), studied medicine. He took his M.D. degree in 1684, and on 22 March 1702–3 was elected a Fellow of the College of Physicians.¹⁵ John Lucas, son of John, yeoman, who entered St. John's 21 October 1657 with a school exhibition gained the preceding year, is probably the fellow of St. John's who took his M.A. in 1662. Clement Breton, school exhibitor in 1659, was elected a fellow of Trinity. He must have been the son of the energetic governor of the same name who compiled the inventory of the property of the foundation in 1660. Besides John Burton, already referred to, only one of his pupils who went on to Gonville and Caius attained to any distinction. This was John Ruddie, admitted 19 October 1654, school exhibitor in 1655, B.A. 1658–9, M.A. 1662, who, while vicar of Mary Magdalen, Launceston, for many years acted as master of the free school of the town. He was a prebendary of Exeter Cathedral from 1680 to 1698. He is accredited with having laid a ghost at Botathan, Cornwall, in 1665, and was probably author of *Duncan Campbell's Adventures*, published by Defoe.¹⁶ A contemporary of his at Uppingham must have been Edward Ward, a Whig lawyer, counsel for William Lord Russell when tried for complicity in the Rye House Plot in 1683, who had the temerity to resist the flouts of 'bloody' Jeffreys, rewarded later on by being appointed Attorney General (1693) and Chief Baron of the Exchequer (1695). There is a curious entry in the Gonville and Caius Register in 1646, during Meres' head-mastership: Thomas Jenkynson being admitted on 27 November, after having been five years under Mr. Marshall of 'Collyweston,' and two years at Uppingham under Mr. Alson.¹⁷ Possibly Alson had filled up a gap between Johnson and Meres; or he may have been usher. The earliest usher under Meres seems to have been a Mr. Swanne, jun., perhaps Richard Swan, who was appointed head master of Oakham in 1644. *The Uppingham School Roll* gives Mr. Halles as usher in 1646; Purbeck Halles of Emmanuel College, B.A. 1667, M.A. 1689, school exhibitor in 1663, was probably his son.^{17a} Other

ushers under Meres were Thomas Childeston, M.A., appointed in 1646; John Armstrong,¹⁸ B.A. in 1649, the person, no doubt, who became rector of Aunsby, Lincolnshire; and William Levin, in 1653, possibly the William Levin who took his B.A. degree from Lincoln College, Oxford, on 17 July 1652.¹⁹

Francis Meres's mastership extended over twenty-six years, from 1641 to 1666. Thomas Stockman followed. Originally of Magdalen College, Oxford, where he matriculated as 'servitor' 15 June 1657, and graduated in arts (B.A. 1661, M.A. 1664), he was not content with the education which one university could afford; entering Queens' College in the sister university, he took his B.A. in 1666 and his M.A. in 1670, and became a fellow. He combined clerical work with teaching, being rector of Wardley with Belton from 1666, and of Uppingham from 1682.²⁰ He sent nine pupils to St. John's—only five of them actually described as his pupils—the earliest, the son of a vintner (*oenopolus*), who had been under him three years, entering on 9 June 1669, and the last on 9 June 1682. Among them was Edward 'Meers,' son of his predecessor, school exhibitor in 1676. George Stanhope, one of the Uppingham worthies, must have attended the school in Stockman's time, having been born in 1660. He spent some time at Eton before proceeding in the ordinary course to King's, Cambridge. He took his M.A. degree in 1685 and his D.D. in 1697. He was court chaplain under William and Mary and Queen Anne, eventually losing the position through an indiscretion, Dean of Canterbury from 1704 till his death in 1728, Boyle lecturer, and vicar of Deptford. He was an eminent preacher and an indefatigable author, publishing translations of Epictetus, Charron's *Book of Wisdom*, Marcus Aurelius, *The Imitation of Christ*, as well as a paraphrase and commentary on the Epistles and Gospels. At least two pupils of Stockman's

where he hath continued about three years; one well-affected to the Parliament, and such an one as, we doubt not, may make a fruitful instrument for the Publicke if employed as formerly' (minister in the church *erased*). If the date of Childeston's appointment is correct, the mention of about three years' service fixes Halles' advent *circa* 1644.

¹⁸ *Admissions to St. John's*, pt. i, 74 and pt. ii, 16. A John Armstrong, son of William, clerk, of South 'Louthnam' (Luffenham), entered St. John's from Uppingham on 7 July 1652 (*Admissions*, &c. pt. i, 107), in which year he was awarded a school exhibition. He afterwards became a fellow of his college. The father's name seems to have been John, and not William; he was curate of South Luffenham from 1623 to 1633 and rector from 1633 to 1675. The usher was probably a relative.

¹⁹ Foster, *Alumni Oxon.* References to him are found in the Peterborough diocesan records between 1663 and 1667.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Admissions to St. John's*, i, 65, 71, with notes.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* ii, 13 and note.

¹⁶ J. Venn, *op. cit.* i, 390.

¹⁷ *Loc. cit.* 367. William Marshall was rector of Colly Weston, *circa* 1535–56.

^{17a} A testimonial to Edward Halles, bearing the signatures of 77 inhabitants of Uppingham (*Rutland erased*), among them that of 'Fran: Meres, school-master,' is quoted in *The Rutland Magazine*, i, 101 (1904). He is said to be 'of an unquestioned life and conversation; diligent and painfull in his place,

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became fellows of Cambridge colleges,²¹ Samuel Richardson (B.A. 1676, M.A. 1680), of Sidney-Sussex; and Matthew Mason (B.A. 1677, M.A. 1681) of St. John's.

Stockman was succeeded in 1684 by John Savage, a fellow of Sidney-Sussex College, Cambridge, where he took his B.A. degree in 1663 and his M.A. in 1667. Twenty-one of his pupils entered St. John's College, the earliest on 16 February 1684-5, and the latest, one who had been at Uppingham five years 'under Mr. Savage and Mr. Reddall,' on 9 May 1723. Most of them are described in the registers as sons of 'clerks' and 'gentlemen'; but in the remaining cases there is the greatest variety in the occupation of the parent; one is a doctor of medicine, another a chemist (*pharmacopola*), another a tradesman (*mercator*), two husbandmen (*agricolae*), one a carpenter (*faber lignarius*), one a farmer and grazier (*firmarius et pecudum saginator*), one a grazier merely (*pecudum saginator*), another the schoolmaster himself, whose son Culpepper, admitted 14 May 1706, B.A. 1709, M.A. 1713, returned to Uppingham in 1710 as usher under him. Culpepper's immediate predecessors in the ushership were Edmund Salter, appointed in 1700, probably the person of that name who took his B.A. degree from Emmanuel College in 1694 and his M.A. in 1716, and William Warburton, the old Oakham boy already referred to, who became head master of Newark Grammar School.²² Culpepper Savage only stayed 2 years, being succeeded by Ambrose Reddall in 1712. The prohibition of the teaching of English by the governors in 1716, already referred to under Oakham School, applied equally to Uppingham.

Savage's long reign of thirty-seven years was undoubtedly a very successful time for the school. Of the 45 school exhibitioners during the period, 38 appear to have graduated at Cambridge: 15 from Emmanuel, 11 from St. John's, 9 from Sidney-Sussex, and 3 from Clare. There is doubt whether one was at St. John's or Emmanuel. Eight fellowships at least were gained by them. John Savage, exhibitioner in 1686, described on admission at St. John's on 7 April 1686 as son of John Savage, rector of Morcott,²³ who was B.A. 1689, M.A. 1693, B.D. 1701, was elected a fellow of his own college. William Savage, exhibitioner in the following year, B.A. 1689, M.A. 1693, B.D. 1700, D.D. 1717, became a fellow of Emmanuel. Richard Whitworth, exhibitioner in 1690, B.A. 1693, M.A. 1697, was elected by his own college, Clare Hall; Abel Bunning, exhibitioner in 1694, B.A. 1698, M.A. 1702, B.D. 1709, and John Chapman,^{23a}

exhibitioner in 1700, B.A. 1701, M.A. 1705, B.D. 1712, became fellows of Emmanuel; Robert Palmer, exhibitioner in 1703, admitted to St. John's from Emmanuel in his third year 9 December 1706,²⁴ B.A. 1707, M.A. 1711, B.D. 1718, D.D. 1725, was a fellow of St. John's; so too was John Peake, exhibitioner in 1708, admitted on 9 July 1709,²⁵ B.A. 1713, M.A. 1717, B.D. 1725, D.D. 1730. Robert Smith, exhibitioner in 1719 of Sidney-Sussex College, B.A. 1721 M.A. 1725, was also elected fellow on that foundation. One of Savage's pupils was of founder's kin, Woolsey Johnson, elected to an exhibition in 1713; he graduated at Clare Hall (B.A. 1717, M.A. 1721), and in 1729 became patron.

In 1721 Ambrose Reddall, who had been usher since 1712, succeeded to the mastership. He was a Balliol man, who had matriculated there on 11 April 1695 at the age of 16, and took his B.A. degree on 17 January 1698-9.²⁶ He was subsequently incorporated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and his graduation there as M.A. in 1720 was not unconnected with the prospect of an early vacancy at Uppingham. His assumption of office marks the beginning of the decline of the school, which, if we are to draw inferences from the St. John's admission registers, probably extended over 40 years, practically until 1760, though signs of recovery were then apparent. The wise change in the administration of the hospital part of the foundation²⁷ made by the governing body probably at some time between 1720 and 1730, by which the almsfolk were permitted to receive their allowances in their own homes, where they could be better cared for—most opportune at Oakham, where the innovation coincided with the spreading fame of the school under John Adcock—availed nothing at Uppingham. The more doubtful step of throwing the exhibitions at either school open to the pupils of both—²⁸ intended to safeguard for the district unimpaired the avenues to the universities—worked positive harm. With Oakham admittedly the better school, and Uppingham shorn of its private attraction, the best material from the neighbourhood drifted steadily towards the institution which offered the greatest advantages. During the period referred to six old boys only entered at St. John's, of whom three were already in the school in Savage's time, as against 34 from Oakham. During the same time 21 exhibitioners were selected from Uppingham, of whom about 17 went on to Cambridge, reducing the annual average to less than one-half of that which had obtained under Savage. The ushers

²¹ *The Uppingham School Roll* gives no assistance until the beginning of the 19th century.

²² *Supra*, p. 272.

²³ *Admissions to St. John's*, ii, 105.

^{23a} Possibly Thomas Chapman, of Emmanuel, B.A. 1703. The uncertainty is due to the omission of the

Christian name in the list of exhibitioners printed in *The Uppingham School Roll*.

²⁴ *Admissions to St. John's*, ii, 182.

²⁵ *Ibid.* 195.

²⁷ *Supra*, p. 274.

²⁶ Foster, *Alumni Oxon.*

²⁸ *Ibid.*

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under Reddall were the Rev. William Standish, an old Uppinghamite, school exhibitor in 1712, B.A. of Sidney-Sussex College in 1716, who was appointed in 1721; and John Bunning, one of Wright's pupils at Oakham, admitted to St. John's 4 July 1719,²⁹ B.A. 1722, who succeeded Standish in 1725.

At the next vacancy in the mastership in 1734, the trustees went to Oakham for a successor, choosing William Hubbard (also Hubbert in St. John's registers) of Clare Hall, B.A. 1718, M.A. 1722, whose fifteen years' experience under Wright and Adcock was a sufficient guarantee that he understood the secret of their success, and with its help could restore the prosperity of Uppingham. If this was the expectation it was doomed to disappointment; the fortunes of the school sank to a lower and lower ebb both under Hubbard and under Henry Leybourn, the next master, appointed in 1747. It transpires, from a decree of the governors made soon after Hubbard's election, that it was customary for a newly-appointed master to provide an entertainment at his own expense. In this instance, by special favour, Hubbard received assistance from the trust to the extent of £4, but only in 'consideration of his allowing the widow of Mr. Reddall [his predecessor] the quarter's salary from Lady day to Midsummer 1734.' Henry Leybourn was probably the person of that name who on 24 March 1714-15 was admitted to St. John's College from Pocklington School, and took his B.A. degree in 1718 and his M.A. in 1722, and who later on, as vicar of Everingham, Yorkshire, in succession to his father, sent another Henry to St. John's on 13 October 1744.³⁰ Two pupils of Hubbard entered at St. John's College, one in 1739, and in 1746 Henry Green,³¹ who had also been at Leicester Grammar School, afterwards a Prebendary of St. Paul's (1772-97). Another pupil of his, John Willey of Christ's College, school exhibitor in 1737, B.A. 1740, M.A. 1744, became a fellow on that foundation.³² No Uppingham boy entered St. John's in Leybourn's time, and it is doubtful whether more than one of the four exhibitors educated in his time went to the university. We know the names of two ushers

under Hubbard, Francis Drake,³³ who succeeded Bunning in 1737, probably the person who took his B.A. from St. John's in 1717, and his M.A. in 1722; and William Belgrave, who followed next year, an old boy, school exhibitor in 1731, B.A. of Clare Hall in 1735, and M.A. in 1757, who, if he took his master's degree to improve his chance of succeeding Leybourn, must have been disappointed.

The choice of the governors fell upon Henry Knapp, fellow of King's College, B.A. 1753, M.A. 1757. No doubt an Etonian, he must have been responsible for introducing the 'Eton plan of Classical Education'³⁴ at Uppingham, which Carlisle found in force in 1815 in both schools, though perhaps this may have meant little more than the use of the Eton Latin and Greek grammars. In Knapp there is no doubt that the trustees had made an excellent appointment. During his stay of fourteen years 18 school exhibitions were gained, and of the holders eight secured fellowships at Cambridge. William Becher, school exhibitor in 1760, and George Belgrave in 1766, became fellows of St. John's. Becher was forced to resign his fellowship in 1767, on marriage, after successfully concealing the happy event for six weeks; afterwards he held various livings in the Midlands, and was a prebendary at Southwell from 1778.³⁵ Belgrave, in 1788, also forfeited his fellowship through marriage, and like Becher, took up clerical work, as vicar of Cockfield from 1788 and of Stebbing from 1802 till his death in 1831.³⁶ No fewer than five were elected fellows of Clare. The earliest, John Torkington, exhibitor in 1763, junior optime in 1766, B.A. 1766, M.A. 1769, B.D. 1778, D.D. by royal licence 1785, was master of his college from 1781 to 1815. Charles Woolsey Johnson, B.A. 1770, M.A. 1773, fellow of the same college, must have been — Johnson, who appears in the list as school exhibitor in 1766, and was most certainly of founder's kin.³⁷ The other fellows of Clare were John Hopkinson, exhibitor in 1769, John Mirehouse, exhibitor in 1770, and Robert Middleton, exhibitor in 1771. William Pochin, exhibitor in 1769, became a fellow of Emmanuel. A new usher was appointed towards the end of Knapp's reign, a Mr. Parker, whose provenance remains to be determined.

Knapp, after ruling Uppingham for fourteen years (1757-71), resigned on accepting the headmastership of Stamford School, which he retained until his death in 1780.³⁸ The governors again

²⁹ *Admissions to St. John's*, pt. iii, 20.

³⁰ *Ibid.* pt. ii, 217, and pt. iii, 114.

³¹ *Ibid.* pt. iii, 120 and note.

³² — Kerchevall and — Pomfret are given as school exhibitors in *The Uppingham School Roll* in 1737 and 1747. A John Kerchevall, from Oakham, entered St. John's on 5 May 1737, and a Robert Pomfret, son of Benjamin, *juris consultus*, from the same school on 4 Nov. 1745 (*Admissions*, &c. iii, 86, 117). These two Oakhamians must have been awarded Uppingham exhibitions under the decree of the governors of 1726 (*supra*, p. 274). So also John Lettice is given as an Uppingham exhibitor under Leybourn (see *supra*, p. 275).

³³ *Admissions*, &c. pt. ii, 213. ³⁴ See *supra*, p. 278.

³⁵ *Admissions to St. John's*, pt. iii, 158 and 669.

³⁶ *Ibid.* 171 and 710.

³⁷ The Rev. Woolsey Johnson was patron from 1729 to 1756.

³⁸ This may be added to the account of Stamford School in *V.C.H. Lincs.* ii, 477.

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filled the vacancy by promoting an usher from Oakham. The new comer was John Fancourt, a pupil of Enoch Markham, who after leaving school had graduated at both Oxford and Cambridge, and carried off a fellowship at St. John's.³⁹ It must have been just about the time of his arrival at Uppingham that an allowance of £10 a year, in lieu of quarters in the hospital, long since the schoolhouse, was granted to the ushers of both schools.⁴⁰ Uppingham under him entertained its two most distinguished *alumni*, the brothers Charles and Thomas Manners Sutton, grandsons of the third Duke of Rutland, the former Archbishop of Canterbury from 1805 to 1828, the latter first Baron Manners (1807) and Lord Chancellor of Ireland from 1807 to 1827. Both brothers entered Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Charles was fifteenth wrangler in 1777, D.D. in 1792, and had held the deanery of Peterborough and of Windsor and the bishopric of Norwich before being advanced to the primacy. Thomas, the younger, was fifth wrangler in the same year with his brother, and afterwards a barrister of Lincoln's Inn, M.P. for Newark, solicitor-general, and baron of the Exchequer. He played a prominent part in the proceedings instituted in 1820 with the object of dissolving Queen Caroline's marriage with George IV. Fancourt's régime lasted only six years.

In 1777 he was succeeded by another old Oakham boy and pupil of Markham's, Jeremiah Jackson, school exhibitor in 1767, sixth wrangler in 1771, and a fellow of St. John's two years later (30 March 1773).⁴¹ He combined clerical appointments, some of them no doubt sinecures, with his school work. He had been vicar of Manton in the county since 1 November 1774 and vicar of Ospringe, Kent, for just over a month when appointed to Uppingham at Midsummer 1777. The latter living he resigned for that of Swaffham Bulbeck, in Cambridgeshire, on 11 August 1814, a month later adding the rectory of Offord Darcy, Huntingdonshire, which, with Manton, he retained until his death in 1828.⁴² The fact that 31 school exhibitors were elected in his reign of sixteen years seems to show that it was not the school which suffered from his divided interests. Five of them carried off fellowships at Cambridge (Robert Boon, exhibitor in 1780 at St. John's; John Dudley, exhibitor in 1782, Thomas Hurst, exhibitor in 1788, and Henry Trollope, exhibitor in 1792 at Clare; and George Haggitt, exhibitor in 1785 at Pembroke). — Wilson, exhibitor in 1780 may have been either Matthew, fellow of Trinity, or, more probably, William, fellow of St. John's. If this latter identification is correct, Upping-

ham gained a second wranglership and a second Smith's prize in 1785 (Dudley), a third (Wilson) and an eighth (Boon) wranglership in 1784, and a thirteenth (Haggitt) in 1789—a very fine record. Mr. Parker, the usher appointed in 1758, seems to have continued until 1781,⁴³ when the Rev. Henry Shield, of St. John's College, B.A. 1780 and M.A. 1788, first senior optime in 1780, came for two years, being succeeded by the Rev. Richard Holgate, of the same college, who only resigned in 1802 on his appointment to the vicarage of Loddington, Leicestershire.⁴⁴

Jackson's successor, John Butt, was also a Johnian and high wrangler (twelfth in 1780). His tenure of the mastership extended from 1793 till 1811. Judging the condition of the school, as we are still forced to do, by the somewhat external standard of university achievement, probably a fairer test in those days, when scholarships, wranglerships, and fellowships were much more the be-all and end-all of education to the schoolmaster than they have been since Thring insisted upon higher interests and truer criteria, we must say that the progress made under Jackson was well maintained. Thirty-two school exhibitors won seven fellowships at Cambridge and one at Oxford—five at St. John's (Jeremiah Jackson, exhibitor 1795, Arthur Judd Carrighan Gosli, exhibitor 1799, Thomas Belgrave, exhibitor 1806, Richard Wager Allix, exhibitor in 1807, and John Graham, exhibitor in 1811), one at Peterhouse (if — Haggitt, exhibitor in 1794, was D'Arcy Haggitt), and one at Lincoln College, Oxford (Charles Belgrave, exhibitor in 1808). Five of them were wranglers, — Jackson ninth (1797), Gosli twelfth in 1803, as also Allix in 1811, Haggitt sixteenth in 1796, and Graham twentieth in 1815—again an excellent record. A boy who used Uppingham as a preparatory school during Butt's last three years must not be forgotten, Thomas Kerchever Arnold, one of several able brothers connected with the school, sons of Dr. T. G. Arnold of Stamford. He was a scholar and fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and author of a variety of elementary books in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, some of which in revised editions still hold their own. Butt retired on the two rectories of Leake and of St. Michael's, Stamford, to which he was appointed on 13 and 16 December 1811. In addition to Holgate, three other ushers served under him; the Rev. Charles Child for a year; then in 1803 the Rev. Charles Saunders, of Queens' College, Cambridge, senior optime in 1794, vicar of Ketton with Tixover from 14 June 1813;⁴⁵ and during the last two or three years of his mastership, his own son, John William Butt, of Sidney-Sussex College,

³⁹ *Supra*, p. 275.

⁴⁰ *Supra*, p. 276.

⁴¹ *Supra*, p. 276.

⁴² *Admissions to St John's*, pt. iii, 176 and 718; Foster, *Index Eccl*

⁴³ *The Uppingham School Roll*.

⁴⁴ Foster, op. cit.

⁴⁵ *Ibid*.

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B.A. 1809, M.A. 1825, who afterwards was vicar of Lakenheath, Suffolk, from 30 December 1819, and of King's Langley, Hertfordshire, from 12 February 1836.⁴⁶ A scholar, Henry Barfoot, is said to have acted as usher from Christmas 1807 until April 1808.

Butt's successor was a Welshman, the Rev. Thomas Roberts. When matriculating as 'plebeian' at Hertford College, Oxford, on 26 May 1800, he is described as of Llandyrnog, county Denbigh. No doubt from partiality for the society of his fellow Celts he migrated to the Welsh college, Jesus, some time before he took his B.A. degree (14 February 1804).⁴⁷ His most distinguished pupils at Uppingham were Charles Ingle, fellow of Peterhouse, school exhibitioner in 1814; William King, exhibitioner in 1815, of Corpus Christi, Oxford, who graduated with a first-class in classics and a third in mathematics in 1819; William Pakenham Maxwell Spencer, exhibitioner in the following year, eighth wrangler in 1821 and a fellow of St. John's; two brothers Arnold from Stamford,—William Langton, who died prematurely in 1822, the year in which he gained an eleventh wranglership and a fellowship of Caius, and Charles, also a wrangler (twenty-fifth in 1824) and fellow of Caius, father of Nelson Henry and Charles William, both later on pupils of Holden, the former recommended for the Victoria Cross during the Indian Mutiny and dying in Lucknow in 1857, the latter a wrangler in 1854;⁴⁸ and Edward Swann, of St. John's, thirty-second wrangler and a third-class man in classics in 1828. The Rev. Henry Barfoot, who had tried his hand while still a scholar, and had since graduated as junior optime (1812) from Clare Hall, returned to Uppingham as usher early in Roberts' reign and stayed till 1822. On the presentation of the Governors he succeeded John Butt as vicar of Leake on 12 May 1831.⁴⁹ He was followed at Uppingham by the Rev. William Turner, of St. John's College, Cambridge, eighteenth wrangler in 1822, who served under four head masters, and finally retired in 1850 on the vicarage of Barholm-cum-Stowe, with which he had been rewarded three years previously, in succession to Roberts.⁵⁰

It was during Roberts' mastership that Carlisle and the Commissioners for inquiry concerning Charities and Education made their reports. Carlisle⁵¹ in 1815 tells us that the master's salary was £105 and the usher's £100; that the seven school exhibitions were worth £30 a year each; and the scholarships connected with the four colleges, St. John's, Sidney-Sussex, Clare and Emmanuel, four with each college, £14 a year each.

The later⁵² (1820) and more detailed report says that there were between 28 and 30 boarders at the school, a few day boys, but no free scholars. The head master had during his term of office received one application for free education, which he had been obliged to refuse, as coming from a doctor in good practice in the town. The fees for day boys were 3 guineas on admission, with half a guinea to the usher, liable to reduction according to the means of parents, and a charge for tuition of 5 guineas for boys from Uppingham and of 8 guineas for boys of the adjoining towns. There was an additional charge by the writing master of 5s. entrance fee, and 2 guineas yearly, for instruction in his own subjects, writing and arithmetic. The absence of free scholars was attributed partly to the unwillingness of parents to give their children a classical education, partly to uncertainty among the poorer class of tradesmen of the town as to their right to demand gratuitous instruction. The small number of day boys was also ascribed in part to the unpopularity of classics, and also to the high fees demanded, which were considerably higher than those in force at Oakham. A room for the usher is said to have been added by the Governors to the old schoolroom some years previously. The old hospital, with an adjoining yard and garden, was occupied by the master rent free. Boarders and day boys were educated together, no distinction being made between them, and the curriculum in mathematics and classics was held to be sufficient preparation for the universities. The usher's salary was now £120, while the head master's was still £105, to which it had been raised in 1816, having previously from 1772 been £80. The usher received a rent-charge of 40s., settled by an exchange on land at Weston in the parish of Bulkington at the time of the inclosure (1770), the original donor of which was unknown. The school exhibitions had been increased in number to eight, and in value to £40 a year each. During Roberts' mastership they had never been held or applied for either by free or day scholars.

Roberts retired in 1824 on the livings of Barholm-cum-Stowe and Deeping St. James, which since 2 March 1815 he had held with the mastership. To these he added the rectory of Stamford St. Mary on 25 November 1828.⁵³ He remained in possession of them all until his death twenty years later. His successor at Uppingham, Josiah Rowles Buckland, a Johnian, had been fifth wrangler in 1807 and a fellow and mathematical lecturer of Sidney-Sussex. In 1817 he took his B.D. degree, and in the year after his appointment as head master, his D.D. From the date of his accession *The Uppingham School Roll* forms a continuous record, giving the lists of admissions year by year, with short notes

⁴⁶ Foster, *op. cit.*

⁴⁷ Foster, *Alumni Oxon.*

⁴⁸ *Uppingham School Roll* (Stanford), 1906.

⁴⁹ Foster, *Index Eccl.*

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ *End. Gram. Schools*, ii, 323-39.

⁵² *Char. Com. Rep.*

⁵³ Foster, *Index Eccl.*

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on the after-careers of the entrants. In his first three years the average number admitted was 10; in his fourth year he reached high-water mark with 28; during the next six years the average was again 10, and in his last five years only five. That the boys had brains or were well taught, or both, is shown by the list of university distinctions, a fifth, ninth, seventeenth, twenty-eighth, and forty-fifth wranglership, a first class in the classical tripos (eighth), two Bell scholarships, and the Tyrwhitt Hebrew scholarship, three fellowships at St. John's and one at Caius at Cambridge, and the Craven scholarship at Oxford, as well as many minor successes. The school in Buckland's time or a little later followed a well-known Eton custom, the letting down of beds, by which, at the older school, the election of the captain of 'Montem' was made known as far as Windsor Castle. According to the report of an old lady who worked in the hospital, 'there was rough doings then, to be sure. On the last night of the half they used to let down the beds; that's what they used to call it . . . lift 'em up, and let 'em all go at once; they used to make a noise like thunder. You see, they was those great old heavy oak bedsteads, big ones too, they slep' three in a bed; and they used to lift 'em at the foot and then let 'em all fall together, on purpose to make a noise.'⁵⁴ To these rough days may fitly be allocated the story of the head master who, after paying a business call at a neighbouring inn, was surprised to learn that the youths whom he had seen drinking at the bar were his own scholars! Buckland was presented by his own college to the vicarage of Peasmarsh, Sussex, on 16 January 1833,⁵⁵ and here he spent the rest of his life after resigning Uppingham in 1839.

The next master, the Rev. George Ash Butterson, B.D. 1838, D.D. 1843, was a very distinguished Cambridge graduate, having been eighth wrangler and third classic in 1827. From 1828 to 1837 he was a fellow of his college, St. John's. His stay at Uppingham lasted only seven years. He resigned in 1845 on appointment to the head-mastership of Giggleswick School, which he held until 1859.⁵⁶ As many as 43 boys were admitted in his second year, no doubt the year remembered afterwards as the first in which the school numbers reached 100; but the average in his last three years was only nine. The after-careers of his pupils show that the school was not only maintaining its position in the old fields, but that it was achieving success in new directions. Thus, in addition to three wranglerships, three first classes in the classical tripos, and five fellowships at Cambridge, pupils of Butterson also gained two fellowships at Oxford, the Boden Sanskrit scholarship, two

places in the Indian Civil Service, a place in the Cambridge University XI, and an F.R.S. Two became members of Parliament, two professors in India and Australia, two masters of secondary schools—one of them the Rev. Robert Edward Sanderson, D.D., head master in succession of Bradfield (1851-9) and of Lancing (1859-89), and now Canon of Chichester.

On Butterson's promotion to Giggleswick, the choice of the governors fell upon Henry Holden, the second Balliol man to hold the mastership. A Shrewsbury boy, pupil of Samuel Butler, and a scholar of his college, he was *proxime* for the Ireland scholarship in 1835, and took a first class in classics in 1837. The annual admissions under him remained fairly steady, showing no great fluctuations, the average working out at 18. The life-records of his pupils illustrate still further the widening influence of the school; one became a colonial bishop, another a major-general, two became professors of what would be regarded as distinctly modern subjects, of geology and agriculture. Oxford seems to have attracted most of the talent of the school, four fellowships being gained there as against one at Cambridge. The Cambridge fellowship was gained by Holden's most distinguished pupil, Thomas George Bonney, twelfth wrangler and a second class classic in 1856, fellow, lecturer, and tutor of St. John's, Professor of Geology in University College, London, B.D., D.Sc., F.S.A., F.R.S. The school again gained two places in the Indian Civil Service and produced a Cambridge cricket 'blue.' Holden left in 1853 on appointment to the mastership of Durham School, being preferred to his more famous successor at Uppingham, who was also a candidate. After twenty-four years' work he returned to the scene of his early labours as rector of South Luffenham, to which he was presented by his old college. In 1850 a new usher, the last assistant to bear the title, was appointed, the Rev. William James Earle, of St. John's College, Cambridge, bracketed eighteenth wrangler in 1849, and at the time curate of Lyndon, Rutland.

Before dealing with the refoundation of Uppingham by Thring, it will be useful to take stock of the school, especially of the material equipment, as it had taken shape against Holden's last years. The main part of the teaching was still done in the Old School, and in the more recent usher's room adjoining. The boys were divided into three classes, each containing two divisions, the head master being responsible for the two highest, the usher for the third and fourth, and an assistant for the first and second. A 'writing and accidence master,' a wonderful expert in the art of mending pens, did the odd jobs. The head master, with his class, sat at the east end, looking down the school, while the assistant master and writ-

⁵⁴ *Early Days at Uppingham under E. Thring*, by an Old Boy, 132.

⁵⁵ Foster, op. cit.

⁵⁶ *V.C.H. Yorks.* i, 462.

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ing master faced each other at the west end. There was early morning school at 7, morning school, and afternoon school from 2.30 to 4.30. The afternoon was devoted to mathematics, in which subject the writing master deputised for the head master. Evenings were spent at the Old Hospital, and, as far as work was concerned, in the studies, an addition of Holden's, of which there were twenty-three, four of more recent date than the others, forming two sides of the old rectangular school quad. They were heated by hot-water pipes, on which the inmates practised an ingenious system of telegraphy. In Holden's time, though 'no bigger than a double sentry box,' they no doubt often accommodated two boys. It was Thring who devised the formula, every boy one study. Considerable additions had been recently made to the Old Hospital. The original Elizabethan two-storied building, now the school library, running east and west, had been extended at the west end by the addition of a drawing-room with a bedroom over it, 'running up higher than the old roof, which only admitted very low rooms,' and at the east end by the addition of two square rooms, one above the other, the lower a library, the upper a dormitory, in the same style as the old building. Behind this on the north was the matron's sitting room and the kitchens, forming a single story to the west, then a dark sitting-room with the head master's nursery above, and lastly the dining hall with two dormitories over it, the line of buildings at the rear falling short of the length of the front at the east end. The ground floor of the Old Hospital, from west to east, comprised the master's dining room, a study, a pantry, a boy's study, and the music room; and the first floor the master's quarters, the matron's room, and three small dormitories. All these extensions seem to have been made in Holden's time. He also added stables, converted by Thring into a gymnasium.⁵⁷

This was the inheritance in the shape of material equipment to which Thring succeeded in 1853. The ideas, which acted as motive force in his work of transformation, had been developed partly as a result of the criticism of a peculiarly sincere intelligence upon a typical educational experience, partly through what was, for a man of his class, original experiment. A preparatory school of the good old-fashioned sort, where Solomon's precept was scrupulously carried out 'with a regular knotted dog-whip,'⁵⁸ set him in revolt once for all against harsh and repressive treatment of boys, though his adamant common sense never allowed him to drift into 'soft pedagogy.'⁵⁹ The 'barrack-system' of education

prevailing in college at Eton in Thring's day, which, if it produced fine character or good scholarship, did so, to his mind, not necessarily, but by lucky accident, opened his eyes to the importance of machinery and organization. At King's College, Cambridge, he doubtless witnessed the deadening effects of a privilege which claimed exemption from the common routine. Later, as a curate at Gloucester, where his teaching instinct sought satisfaction in the parish schools, he learnt the secret of true method and the importance and difficulty of laying the foundations truly, working out with his young pupils a new method of approaching English grammar. With regard to this period of his training he wrote in 1886: 'Everything I value of teaching thought and teaching practice and teaching experience came from that.'⁶⁰ A breakdown in health, which followed, gave him leisure to digest his views and to travel abroad, where he not only familiarized himself with German practice and German ideals but fell in love with a German girl; the desire to make her his wife was the immediate cause which brought him to Uppingham.

Thring's appointment as head master of the school is as important as any event in the history of the English Public Schools. Under him the system became fully self-conscious. Uppingham, as he refounded it, was the first Public School to be established on a plan, sketched out in its every detail in advance, and determined by the best and fullest thought and experience. His aim may be said to have been twofold: first, to train up upright Christian gentlemen, in a broad yet orthodox acceptance of the term, or, in his favourite phrase, to secure truth of life or character, 'setting the loving and hating on the right track'; and secondly, to discover the natural abilities or 'instrumental powers' of each boy and develop them to the utmost. For him these were two aspects of one aim rather than two separate and separable aims; 'the practice which separates brain-work from religion and morality, and calls it education, is simply the devil let loose.' The schoolmaster's occupation was eminently religious; it was labour for God or for Christ; only if animated with an evangelist's fervour and unselfishness could it hope to succeed. On the intellectual and practical sides he desired to produce power and flexibility rather than to impart information. He set to work 'to smash up the idolatry of knowledge.' Principle

the main discipline rules and deliberate idleness; he thought it unsuitable for moral offences—lying or 'sin against God.' It prevented the clogging of the machinery of discipline, affording a quick and effective way of clearing off scores in bad cases. 'In the administration of punishment passion and caprice should be eliminated.' Hence he had a fixed time for its infliction, mid-day.

⁶⁰ *Addresses by E. Thring*, 4-7.

⁵⁷ This account is based upon *Early Days at Uppingham under E. Thring*, 15-37.

⁵⁸ H. D. Rawnsley, *E. Thring, Teacher and Poet*, 59.

⁵⁹ Thring did not allow assistants to inflict corporal punishment. He reserved flogging for breaches of

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and readiness of wit were the qualities which he esteemed most highly.

The practical question which he set himself to solve was, how to realize these aims in a boarding school of the Public School type. He certainly did not look upon the boarding school as a necessary evil; he rather regarded it as offering better advantages for training character firmly and surely than the ordinary home. But only in so far as it offered ordinary home life, or 'something better, intelligently better' of the same kind, something truer, as being more carefully devised and selected for its purpose. 'To train life truly implies a thorough atmosphere of truth.' There must be the fullest recognition of responsibility and the most thoughtful adjustment of means for fulfilling them completely. Achievement must not fall behind profession, expressed or implicit. A 'barrack-system', such as prevailed in college at Eton in his day, would not do. Family life was impossible in a mob; limitations must be set upon numbers. A modification of the Eton house system might serve. Thirty was the maximum that could be properly cared for by a single master in a house specially planned to fulfil its object. With a small number of boarders in each house and the school of appropriate size, it would be possible to have several houses, each providing a sufficient income (about £1,000 a year) to attract and keep a good man. In this way the largest possible proportion of permanent masters, masters with wives and families, an absolute necessity, could be secured. Each master being rewarded by the profits of his house, he would have the very best motive for keeping it in a state of efficiency. The individuality of the houses should be encouraged in all legitimate ways, but not to such an extent as to convert them into so many separate schools. The house was never to be regarded as an unit for the purposes of instruction; the class was to be the unit, and the master attached to it was to be responsible for the more formal teaching in school and for the less formal tuition during hours of preparation.

In this way truth was to be attained in the domestic life of the school. Truth in instruction involved an effective acknowledgement that in intellectual matters every boy has a soul to be saved. Each case must be treated as unique. Individual attention in teaching is necessary because each pupil has special characteristics; it is the existence of such peculiarities which marks off teaching from such operations as hammering in nails or filling trucks with ballast ('truck-work'). Teaching is the awakening or the transference of vital power, a begetting of the mind and spirit complementary to the begetting of the body; hence the uselessness of cramming, rule-mongering, and lecturing. Such work makes heavy demands upon the teacher, and can only be carried on in a small group. Thriving thought

twenty-five a sufficiently large number for the chief subjects; and in order that the fullest advantage might be reaped from such an arrangement, he insisted that the form master should also act as tutor to his group; thus he could by concentration do justice to his boys, and also he would have no convenient person on whom he could throw his responsibility of neglect or failure. These main facts, all based upon and resulting from practical experience, being admitted, with the usual curriculum for such a school, he considered that the total numbers should never exceed or fall short of about 300 boys, for two reasons: (1) because unity in a school ultimately depends upon uniformity in the treatment of individuals, especially in the matter of punishment, and such uniformity could only be secured, so long as the head master knew each boy's character sufficiently well to enable him to check the reports of his assistants; immediately this became impossible he was reduced to the position of policeman of his assistants, and had to act in important matters merely in accordance with their directions,—thus the door was thrown open to inequality and capriciousness in the administration of the school code; (2) because the work of such a school as Uppingham naturally fell into about ten stages. With a total of 300, not only would it be possible for the head master to know each boy, but the school, if the classes were of proper size, would be subdivided into the right number of groups. With such limitations set upon numbers there would be least waste of teaching power and of schoolboy ability, if also buildings and equipment were of the right sort—if 'the almighty wall' was on the schoolmaster's side. Nothing should be demanded of human power which could be more certainly accomplished through machinery. Buildings should be planned with complete provision of the possibilities of school life, with the object of minimizing occasions of offence, and of conceding the maximum amount of personal freedom. 'Trust should be unlimited in action, suspicion unlimited in arrangement.' Bricks and mortar, however, were not merely to play the negative part of policemen; they were to be positively instructive, instilling the love of beauty by their external form and internal decoration, and by association suggesting 'honour to lessons.' They were also to provide that amount of privacy which was necessary for giving depth and refinement of character. Each boy was to have his own sleeping compartment and his own study. A still more potent instrument of prevention, a still more positive support of individuality was to be the curriculum, of work or play or recreation, offering such a variety of occupations that no boy could fail to find interest and display excellence in some one of them. These were to be so many nets for catching vagrant talent. So modern languages, science, singing, drawing,

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carpentry, gymnastics, swimming, book-keeping, and gardening, any worthy pursuit in fact, must be made to serve, in addition to the universally accepted subjects of classics, mathematics, and English, and the well-established games of cricket, football, and fives. 'Every boy is good for something. If he cannot write Iambics, or excel in Latin prose, he has at least eyes, and a hand, and ears. Turn him into a carpenter's shop, make him a botanist or a chemist, encourage him to express himself in music; and if he fails all round here, at least he shall learn to read in public clearly his mother-tongue, and write thoughtfully an English essay.' A school offering a wide curriculum was also most likely to turn out the well-educated man, 'the Jack of all trades, and master of one.' In spite of this negative and opportunist estimate of the value of the subjects of education, Thring believed that there was an ideal course of study. 'A literary education, as it contains the best thoughts of the best thinkers in the best shape, is the most perfect training for man, the thinker, whatever he may be obliged to do later in life.'

The truest unity of a school must be secured by promoting the richest individuality among its constituent elements—the single boy, or the single house. But this is not enough; the unity must be seen and felt, and it must express itself in common action. Suitable buildings and suitable occasions, secular and religious, must be provided for these purposes. The school must have its assembly-room and its chapel. Thring no doubt thought that a school was never so completely conscious of its unity as in the moments when the religious emotions of its members flowed together to form a single stream in acts of common worship. At such times the schoolmaster must be the high priest and lead the way.

A good school will take a lively interest in its dependants and neighbours, and will be ready to share with them, so far as possible, its own advantages. It will do something to provide for their recreation and enlightenment. A Christian school will extend a helping hand to more distant parts; it will support with money and men some missionary enterprise in a dark spot of the home country, and perhaps also in some distant land among heathen peoples.⁶¹

With such a scheme in his mind almost from the very first, Thring commenced work at Up-tingham on 10 September 1853. If it is true that in the matter of buildings he had the advantage of a clean slate, the existing schoolroom and schoolhouse being negligible quantities in comparison with his design, yet it is also true that he

had no wealthy foundation to draw upon. 'The endowment, about £1,000 per annum, furnished a small stipend (£150) to the head master, and another (£130) to his principal assistant, and kept the schoolroom in repair, but it was chiefly devoted to the payment of scholars' exhibitions to the universities.'⁶² Even boys were very scarce, Holden having left behind only 25 boarders (out of 36), and the discipline of these had sadly deteriorated under an inexperienced stop-gap.

The first need was a sufficient number of good boarding-houses. Thring's method of obtaining them was to appoint assistants, otherwise suitable, who could afford to build for themselves, on the prospect of being recouped by subsequent profits from boarders' fees, which he allowed them to receive, surrendering the monopoly which he had enjoyed as head master. In 1854 the Lodge was taken by the Rev. J. R. Blakiston, who two years later transferred to Lorne House, previously a girls' school. The Rev. R. J. Hodgkinson, who came in 1855, succeeded him at the Lodge, and added a hall and dormitories. The Rev. J. Baverstock, an old Eton friend, in 1858 opened Red House (closed since 1894). The usher, the Rev. W. J. Earle, who had hitherto stood aloof, took Bank House in 1858 (closed since 1872), and, no longer incredulous, soon set to work to build a house of his own, Brooklands, opened in 1861. The Rev. T. H. Stokoe came in 1859, and established himself in the Horse and Trumpet Yard. Against 1860 Baverstock had erected West Deyne. Yet another Eton friend, the Rev. W. F. Witts, joined the staff in 1861 and added another boarding-house, Highfield, opened in 1863. The Rev. Walter Earle took a house at the corner of School Lane in 1865 (closed since 1897), and Mr. H. Candler, West Bank in 1866. On 29 August 1865 the numbers reached 300, and the event was celebrated by a holiday. In 1867 Springfields was erected by Hodgkinson, and opened next year as the Lower School for boys between eight and twelve, with a curriculum of which English grammar and analysis formed the backbone. In 1870 there were eight boarding-houses for 30 and two for 16, all the freehold property of the various tenants; there were 310 boys in the Upper and 45 in the Lower School, of which number 340 were boarders. The Rev. E. Christian opened Fircroft in 1871, and against 1872 the Rev. Walter Earle had built a house for himself, Redgate, the last erected in Thring's time. Any further extension of the school⁶³ he strenuously

⁶² Parkin, *Life of Thring*, i, 61.

⁶¹ This summary of Thring's educational theory is based on Thring's *Education and School, The Theory and Practice of Teaching*, and *Addresses*; Parkin, *Life of Thring*; J. H. Shrine, *A Memory of E. Thring*; and H. D. Rawnsley, *E. Thring, Teacher and Poet*.

⁶³ In January 1871 there were 305 on the school roll. The numbers must have gone up after Borth. During Thring's last ten years the average of the annual admissions was ninety-five, very appreciably higher than in the decade preceding Borth.

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resisted, much to the dissatisfaction of some of his colleagues.⁶⁴

With the rapid growth of the school a chapel^{64a} and an assembly hall of adequate size became absolutely necessary. The old schoolroom was abandoned in 1858, and the halls of the boarding-houses were made to serve as class-rooms. Subsequently the old schoolroom was used as a carpenter's shop and afterwards became the studio. The new schoolroom was first ready, being opened on 18 June 1863; the chapel, 100 ft. long and 30 ft. in breadth, in the early decorated style, with an open roof of Memel timber, and magnificent carved wooden furniture, was begun in 1861, but was not finished till 1865, the opening ceremony taking place on 27 April. The staff made large contributions towards the cost in each case—Witts subscribing as much as £1,000 for the chapel. Both buildings were presented by the masters to the foundation. A gallery was added at the west end of the chapel in 1868, and a transept on the north side to accommodate the organ in 1880.

The apparatus and arrangements requisite for the working of the rest of the scheme came into existence quite as rapidly. On 24 November 1859 the gymnasium, the first possessed by an English Public School, was opened and placed in the charge of a proper instructor. The first music master, Herr Schäfer, was appointed as early as 1855. It was a sign of Thring's genius that, although physically incapable of appreciating music, 'the perceptive organ for which, a musical ear, nature had absolutely denied him,' he first made it an integral part of the life and work of a Public School. He assisted its development at Uppingham, not only by enthusiastic patronage, but by composing school songs of very high poetic merit, words worthy of the music which was to 'follow them.' Here, as elsewhere, he aimed at providing the best of its kind—Uppingham music reached such a standard that some distinguished composers and even the greatest performers were glad to assist in its development. The music staff came to consist of a director with six or seven assistants; the school choir passed the century; and in some years quite one-third of the school has received instruction in instrumental music. Needless to say, here as in other spheres Uppingham initiative has set the norm for other schools. Drawing was first successfully started

in 1856 by Herr Reimers, the second music master. Chemistry and German were introduced in the same year, both subjects being first taught by Dr. Benguerel. In 1862 manual instruction, in the shape of carpentry, to which metal work was later added, was welcomed. In 1863 a School Magazine was started.⁶⁵ A school cricket pavilion was erected by subscription among the boys. In 1869 a sanatorium was built. On 27 February 1871 school gardens were allotted for the first time, subsequently adorned with an aviary and aquarium. A swimming bath was built in 1882. In 1881 and 1882 the walls of the new schoolroom were decorated by the art master, Mr. Rossiter, and in 1884 the old schoolroom was similarly treated. In earlier days the school walls had been hung with photographs and later with autotypes.

In 1884, in an appeal made to old scholars and others on the occasion of the school tercentenary, Thring wrote: 'In the last 30 years a sum of £91,000 has been expended, almost entirely by the masters, in order to carry out their conception of what a school ought to be';⁶⁶ and in a memorial notice of Thring which appeared in *The Spectator* on 29 October 1887, £25,000 is suggested as the value of school property, in addition, which he secured for the Trust.⁶⁷

The first missionary effort of the school dates back to 1869. A missionary curate was supported, first in North Woolwich, under Dr. Boyd, now principal of Hertford College, Oxford, and later in connexion with St. Saviour's, Poplar. For many years an annual sum of about £150 was provided.^{67a} Here again Uppingham was the pioneer, initiating the settlement movement. A home for destitute lads in the Regent's Park district was assisted for more than twenty years, and in 1881 a scholarship of £30 a year to the College for the Blind, at Worcester, was established. A helping hand was also extended to missionary enterprise in more distant parts—in India, Canada, and Australia. In 1879 a league for mutual assistance in good works was formed among old boys. Friendly help to its more immediate dependants in the town of Uppingham was the earnest of reconciliation after the common calamity which fell upon both school and town in 1873-5. In this work again Thring showed his practical grasp of the situation: 'The most religious thing that can be done now is to provide good amusements for the poor, and to educate them to use them.' The Mutual Improvement Society had been in existence for some time when Thring became its president in 1877; but under him it underwent a vigorous extension.

⁶⁴ This account of the opening of the various houses is based on the list in *The Uppingham School Roll*; Parkin, op. cit.; *Early Days*, &c., and R. Pitcairn, *Uppingham School*, have also been used.

^{64a} In early days the school had attended the ordinary Sunday services at the parish church, occupying part of the gallery in the south aisle. Thring, soon after his arrival, obtained the use of the church for a special morning service for the school, the evening service being conducted in the school hall. Later still two special services were held in the church.

⁶⁵ An earlier magazine, *The Hospitaller*, was carried on from 1849 to 1853.

⁶⁶ Parkin, op. cit. ii, 150.

⁶⁷ H. D. Rawnsley, op. cit. 91-2.

^{67a} The School Mission is now associated with the Mersey Mission to Seamen.

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To the old choir, cricket and football clubs were added, for which he laid down a ground at his own cost. He secured a playing-field for the boys and girls; he founded a tennis club and gave methodical instruction to its recruits. He tried to improve Uppingham housekeeping by starting cookery and sewing classes. Carpentry provided a useful hobby, while drawing and elocution, with occasional lectures, ministered to the more refined interests.

The execution of so gigantic a task was uphill work for the leader. Most fortunate as he was on the whole in his lieutenants, there were many occasions of disagreement, the chief cause being Thring's uncompromising attitude towards any suggestion for increasing the number of boarders. No doubt they sometimes felt that a pedantic theory was robbing them of part of their deserved reward. Thring himself, however, was the chief sufferer—for the rest of his life he was oppressed by debt or want of money. An unfortunate appointment early in his reign involved him in considerable loss, as also did the undeserved notoriety which he gained as a flogging schoolmaster in 1862. It was with reference to this incident that *Punch* remarked: 'We don't know whether Mr. Thring trains the boys' minds, but he makes them mind their trains.' At no time did he receive much support from the Governors; General Johnson, of founder's kin and patron, was his chief supporter until 1863, then Mr. Robert Gladstone, and later, especially in the struggle with the Endowed Schools Commissioners and during the Borth emigration, Mr. W. T. Jacob of Liverpool, and Mr. T. H. Birley of Manchester. He received very little comfort from the Report of the Schools Inquiry Commission, and was driven to despair when the Endowed Schools Commissioners threatened to confiscate his interests. By dint of strenuous fighting he averted the disaster which was imminent. Contemporary with this trouble was the visitation of typhoid, through which—

A school as old as an old oak tree,
Fast by the roots, was flung up in the air,
Up in the air without thought or care,
And pitched on its feet by the sea, the sea,
Pitched on its feet by the sea.⁶⁸

Even when, the testing period past, he could look round with satisfaction and say—

Exegi monumentum aere perennius,

but when, with death not far removed, he no doubt acutely felt his need of money for his family,⁶⁹ he received some unkind cuts, having

⁶⁸ E. Thring, *Uppingham School Songs and Borth Lyrics*, The Colony, 47–50. In 1856 Thring composed a Cricket and a Fives Song, in 1866 the Football Song, and the School Song in 1873.

⁶⁹ Thring at death only left behind an inherited claim on the family estate in Somerset, and an insurance

his salary reduced to the minimum scale in 1886 and an application for increase refused next year.

It will be seen that there was no originality in Thring's main educational aim; the originality came out in the details of interpretation and execution ('I take my stand on detail'). On the side of theory it was shown in the way in which he sifted already existent elements in the organization of a Public School, the modifications which he made in such as he selected, the additions which he introduced, and his clear understanding of the proper relations of the parts to each other and the whole. His writings bristle with originality no less of thought than of expression. His appreciation in detail of the educational significance of buildings and their arrangement was also original, although the general doctrine had been preached eloquently and clearly enough by Plato more than 2,000 years before. The 'almighty wall' for him included a good deal more than what is denoted by 'genius loci.' His practical originality was shown in the means which he adopted for carrying out his plans and the certainty and rapidity with which the task was achieved. No head master before him—himself a poor man—had in just over 10 years converted a decadent school of 30 into a flourishing one of 300, organized with so complete and real a grasp of the problem, by the unaided efforts of himself and his staff. The migration to Borth is a unique incident in the history of Public Schools. As to one result of his labours at Uppingham, the conversion of a local grammar school into a great Public School, it is possible to take different views, but unnecessary to discuss them.

Mr. H. W. Eve, afterwards head master of University College School, then a fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and an assistant at Wellington, visited Uppingham in 1866 for the Schools Inquiry Commission.⁷⁰ He bore witness to the extent to which the recent development of the school was due to the generosity of the teaching staff. He singled out the 'complete division of labour in teaching,' by which the form-master was made entirely responsible for the teaching of his group, both in class and tutorial work, as the leading feature of the organization of the instruction. He saw no signs which justified the invidious reputation which Uppingham had gained, of sacrificing the clever to the average boy, while he regards it as an admitted fact that the average boy received full justice. Under protest from Thring, who contended that 'such flying examinations may be, and often are, utterly unreal as any test of average proficiency, though the effected on his life in his early days at Uppingham for the protection of his creditors (Parkin, *op. cit.* ii, 309).

⁷⁰ *Sch. Inq. Rep.* For Thring's views on inspection and examination see Parkin, *op. cit.* ii, 130–7.

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results stated in a report look real,' 'full of danger, and, if constant, serve to introduce strong disturbing influences into good steady school work,' he was allowed to examine three forms—the sixth, the lower sixth, and the upper fourth, and found the results good, but not remarkable. He seems to have been most impressed with the English composition. In mathematics the standard was low, and the arrangements for teaching the subject did not seem to be so efficient or so well considered as in the case of classics. Mathematics did not affect a boy's position in the school, there being a separate list for the subject. He considers that mathematics was officially regarded as an inferior study; it was taught by the ordinary form-masters, except in the highest class, which alone had a specialist teacher; the classes were too big, and the time set apart for it, the afternoon, liable to be encroached upon by extra half-holidays. With regard to modern languages, which were extras, Thring seemed to press German to the damage of French, especially with the upper boys. Chemistry was taught by the German master, but was not very popular; carpentry had some devotees. A good deal of attention was given to music, which, with foreign languages, was taught by foreigners, whose 'position appeared to be as fully recognized as that of any other masters.' Promotion depended entirely on the result of examination, and the ordinary mark system was not officially recognized or employed.

The assistant commissioner thought the domestic arrangements perfect. 'The bearing of details upon the character and training of the boys seems to have been recognised by the head master from the very first, and that to a much greater extent than was usual 10 or 15 years ago.' 'Of the tone of the school everyone to whom I talked spoke very highly, especially old pupils.' The school was not much used by the townspeople—in 1864 there were only seven day boys to 261 boarders; but, on the other hand, little desire was expressed for altering the arrangements of the school for the benefit of the residents.

Additional information supplied shows that the head master's salary from endowment was £152, while the usher received £130 from the same source; but fees from tuition and boarding brought the head master's income up to £2,000, and assured £1,000 a year for all house-masters, who were allowed to take 31 boarders each, one free of charge to provide a scholarship fund. Masters without houses were paid by the head master. The fees for boarders, including ordinary tuition, were £69 4s. Day boys paid £1 entrance fee and £12 7s. 6d. for ordinary subjects. There were additional charges for tuition (£10) and extra subjects—French, German, music, drawing, and chemistry, costing £8 8s. each, carpentry £1 10s., and singing

£4 4s. The average of boarders' school bills was £90.

In 1872, in reply to a question addressed to him by the Secretary of the Public Schools Commissioners, Thring made an interesting financial statement concerning Uppingham, and expressed his views with regard to the cost of education at a good boarding school:—⁷¹

At Uppingham we now employ for 300 boys 14 classical and mathematical masters, myself included, 1 mathematical exclusively, 1 German, 2 French, 2 music, 1 gymnastic and music, total 21, at a cost of about £23,535 per annum. We ought to have a regular science master at an additional cost of £500 per annum or thereabouts. Other school expenses amount to about £800 per annum, exclusive of funds for repairs, and for one or two minor pursuits, etc. This keeps about £80 per annum as the average cost of each boy in the gross.

Thring considers that the cost of education at a Public School depends largely on the number of pupils that can be properly taught in class together in the various subjects (he mentions 25 for most subjects, classics, mathematics, &c.; 8 for modern languages, and 60 for singing and music), and the number of boarders that can be properly cared for in a house (30). The prime cost for boarding he puts between £30 and £40. In any case a house-master ought to receive £1,000 a year, a suitable man being well worth that price; and the modern language and music masters £500 a year each, if dependent on tuition alone. These considerations fix the tuition fee at about £35, and the boarding fee at about £70. If there is to be also provision for adequate payment of the head master, the total cost of boarding and tuition, in a school with small endowment, ought not to be under £90.

Between 1875 and 1877 the school received a blow from which only the calm courage and daring enterprise of the head master, reinforced by the splendid devotion of his colleagues and the unswerving loyalty of boys and parents, enabled it to recover. Many of the schoolhouses had been erected with no proper drainage system, and all of them depended on wells for their water-supply. There was, it is true, a system of drainage in the town, but, owing to its faulty character, connexion with it was more likely to prove a source of danger than of safety. Early in 1875 the masters were disturbed by the prevalence of scarlet fever in Uppingham, and requested the guardians to have the water-supply analysed, but nothing was done. It was not until after the summer holidays that the school became involved, two or three cases of low fever occurring on 'that fatal fourth of October.' One boy died on 15 October and another on

⁷¹ Parkin, op. cit. ii, 189–93. *Quære* Public Schools Commissioners.

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17 October. In spite of panic among the parents, Thring was averse to sending the boys home, regarding such a step, except in extreme circumstances, as unjustifiably expensive and bad for school morale. At the same time he issued for the satisfaction of parents a statement of the principles by which he would be guided in dealing with the situation. At the end of October one of the school wells, which had previously been passed as satisfactory by a local sanitary inspector, was condemned by London analysts whom Thring had consulted. The trustees now called in the Local Sanitary Board, who condemned the drainage of the school. On 2 November the school broke up till after Christmas. On 5 November there was an attack on the school in *The Times*. With ruin imminent Thring appealed to the Local Government Board to send down 'two of its most experienced medical and engineering inspectors to make a searching inquiry.' In this letter the epidemic is described as enteric. During December, under the direction of a Local Government Board engineer and others, all the school premises were thoroughly dealt with, and finally 'certified by the highest authority to be in a perfect sanitary condition.' At the same time steps were taken towards establishing a proper water-supply. In spite of the favourable report the trustees would not allow the school to re-assemble until 28 January. About this time the local inspectors, no doubt disliking Thring's appeal to head quarters, issued a most hostile report on the sanitary arrangements of the school,⁷³ which, however, does not seem to have affected seriously the return of the boys. But barely three weeks of the term had passed when there was a fresh outbreak of typhoid. On 21 February Thring once more appealed to the Local Government Board, this time asking them to intervene and themselves instal a proper system of drainage in the town. On 4 March Thring was thinking of dismissing the school, and assembling after the Easter holidays somewhere in the Lake District. There was a precedent at Rugby in Arnold's time, when, during an epidemic, the school was scattered in reading parties. Uppingham, however, owing to its peculiar organization for teaching purposes, could not be treated in the same way; it must be moved as a whole. On 7 March the decision to migrate was taken by the masters; on 11 March the governors sanctioned the break up of the school, but decided to ignore the migration: 'they knew nothing of the school till it came back again.' Within two days Thring had visited Borth, secured the Cambrian Hotel and adjoining lodging-houses, and 'in fact entered into possession of the whole place.' On 27 March eighteen truckloads of beds and

mattresses arrived; and everything was ready for the reception of the boys against 4 April, when the first batch arrived. Next day the whole school, 290 odd, had assembled.⁷³

The great hotel was arranged to receive 150 boys, the head master, and his family, an assistant master and two matrons. A row of lodging-houses flanking the hotel take another 150 boys, and most of the masters; long narrow tables are run down the hotel passage on the ground floor, the large coffee-rooms and the billiard-room below are treated in the same way, and 350 people—boys, masters and masters' families—dine at one time by this extemporised arrangement. Twenty-seven lodging-houses in all, and a large public hall, have been secured for school use. A room, 83 feet by 20 feet,⁷⁴ is being put up of rough shingle behind the hotel, in order to hold the whole school when needed. The stables are turned into the school carpentry, the large coach-house shed into a gymnasium; a lavatory, with thirty basins, is being roughly put up; and altogether the school has shaken into place and got its working machinery in most unexpectedly good order. . . . An aquarium will be started this week. . . . The place is suggestive of shells and aquariums and sea-birds in front, and of botany and rambles in the rear. . . . Cricket goes on on the sand in the bay, and an excellent field, unfortunately 4 miles off, but on the railway, has been secured for half-holiday practice and matches. Sir Pryse Pryse, of Goderddden, may simply be said to have made a present of it to the school for the time. . . . The Bishop of St. David's, who owns some land near the hotel, has allowed the school to have what they want for cricket there, if practicable. . . . Various cottages receive some 80 or 90, as a substitute for the studies they have at Uppingham. The class-room accommodation is surprisingly good.⁷⁵

On 21 January 1877 Thring writes:—

I have some hundred and seventy boys out in the cottages, and we have not had a single case of complaint on either side, very creditable to the people as well as to them.

In spite of pecuniary difficulties—the masters had to provide their own funds, and Thring assumed responsibility for more than £3,000—the temptation to raise the fees and to increase the number of boys per house was resisted.

There was some talk of recalling the school to Uppingham for the autumn term; indeed, a resolution to that effect was carried at a governors' meeting, but it had to be withdrawn. Meanwhile, nothing seems to have been done to remedy the insanitary condition of the town

⁷³ 'No more than 3 failed to follow us down to Borth' (J. H. Skrine, *Uppingham by the Sea*, 23) . . . 'The Rev. R. J. Hodgkinson maintained the Lower School without infection in its isolated quarters, keeping the sacred fire alight on the altar of the tribe until our return to his side' (J. H. Skrine, *A memory of E. Thring*, 181, note.

⁷⁴ It was ready by April 29.

⁷⁵ Letter by Thring to *The Times*.

⁷² *The Late Visitation of Typhoid Fever in the School and Town of Uppingham, a Statement with Two Reports.* London [1876].

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until 4 September. A fresh outbreak of typhoid emphasized the importance of vigorous action, but Uppingham was not in a fit state to receive the school until the beginning of the following May. The confidence of parents remained unshaken, and in January 1877 Thring was able to say that the numbers came up to the standard maximum of the school—a fact which speaks volumes. At the end of the stay at Borth the villagers showed their appreciation of the head master and boys by a demonstration; and an enthusiastic greeting welcomed them back to Uppingham in May.⁷⁶

Thring regarded this episode in his mastership in different ways. The cause of it, the outbreak of the epidemic, he looked on as a rebuke to him for his incipient pride and confidence in his achievements; and the successful continuance of the school over the period of exile he compared to the passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea or the Jordan, and was convinced that it showed both that Uppingham had true vitality and also that it had been marked out by God to bear witness to the truth in education; to the rightness of the attempt 'to give each boy true justice in work or play, "none favouring, none forgetting."' The deliverance was afterwards commemorated year by year by a special service in the school chapel. The 'signal flags,' used instead of a school bell on the noisy, expansive beach, now 'rest in the schoolroom,'⁷⁷ and, with the great window, are visible reminders of those days spent by the sea. Other memorials are Thring's Borth Lyrics, and the Uppingham path at Borth itself, leading from the shore to the hills, opened by Thring in the summer of 1881, to which the school contributed £76.

Soon after the return a dispute arose as to whether the governors were legally bound to recoup the masters for the great expenses to which they had been put. The point was ultimately decided by the Charity Commissioners in favour of the masters, on the ground that, although the governors did not actually sanction the migration, they did so in fact by sharing in the management of the school while it lasted. As a result the governors proposed to raise money by increasing the numbers. Against this Thring fought as a surrender of the main principle for which the school stood, and, ultimately, as a compromise, the fees were increased, without a word of protest from the parents.

The educational and financial arrangements of the school in 1880 are presented in clear outline in the following statement by Thring:—⁷⁸

All have to learn classics. All have to learn mathematics. All have to learn either one modern language

or drawing or science. All have to learn some history or geography. About 25 out of 320 learn science, the rest French and German, with the exception of the three lowest classes, about 50 boys, who have to learn drawing. All have to learn singing who can. About 200 are engaged in singing, exclusive of those whose voices are broken. There are about 120 pupils learning instrumental music at an additional charge. We also make private arrangements at a small additional charge for bringing on pupils who require it in special subjects, classics excepted, which, as being the main subject of the school, receives no extra teaching. I frame the annual plan of studies, as far as power goes, *alone*. But, as a matter of fact, I have just been working with a committee of masters whom I selected to revise and draw up schedules. . . . I do not present the plan to the Governing Body. They have no authority whatever over the internal working of the school. . . . Each boy pays £70 per annum to the house-master. This sum does not pass through the hands of the Governing Body. Each boy pays £40 per annum as tuition fee. This sum does pass through the hands of the Governing Body, and is now distributed as follows:—One sixth, £6 15s., to the head master, fixed by law as the lowest proportion; £24 18s. per boy is assigned for the payment of masters up to the number of 320 boys; £1 10s. per boy for current expenses; £6 15s. per boy for reserve fund. £100 per annum is assigned for lectures, readings, concerts, &c.; £100 per annum for prizes in the school. There is also a sum of £1,100 per annum from the original foundation, which is mainly expended in providing exhibitions from the school to any university or place of higher education, of the value of £60, £50 and £40, three every year, tenure for three years, and in a small salary of £200 a year to the headmaster. The headmaster has no vote on the governing board. . . . The Governing Body are bound by law to consult the headmaster. . . . The masters meet in my study once a week to discuss school questions. The headmaster is not bound by their opinions.

During Thring's last decade, there was only one conspicuous event in the internal history of the school, the celebration of the tercentenary of its foundation in 1884, which was equally the celebration of its recent re-foundation no longer as a local grammar school, but as a public school for the whole country. For the occasion a festival cantata was composed, with the appropriate title *Under two Queens*, the Rev. John Huntly Skrine being responsible for the lyrics and Herr Paul David for the musical setting. A considerable fund, to be devoted to school purposes, was raised at this time. The affair went off better than Thring had anticipated, who hated anything like self-advertisement or self-glorification and firmly believed that in many important directions his work at Uppingham had failed. Both the school and its second founder were now under the public eye; the one was regarded as a model for future schools of the same type, and the other as an inspired prophet wherever a living interest was felt in the subject of education. His chief writings, *Education and School*, first

⁷⁶ J. H. Skrine, *Uppingham by the Sea*, 119–36.

⁷⁷ From 'The Flags,' a school song, printed in *Uppingham School Songs and Borth Lyrics*, 77–9.

⁷⁸ Parkin, op. cit. ii, 201–2.

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published in 1867 at a dead loss, and *The Theory and Practice of Teaching*, first published in 1883, were in great demand, and he kept up a busy correspondence with admirers in all quarters of the globe—in the United States, Canada, New Zealand, Germany, and Hungary. He was constantly being requested to address education societies or institutions, in quarters so remote as to preclude all possibility of his personal attendance, and he always helped gladly. Uppingham and its head master in this way could claim as most enthusiastic pupils many who had never attended the one or sat under the other. Even those of his professional brethren who had smarted under his scathing condemnation of things which they could not help had long since come to treat him with respect; and the women teachers, whose conference was held at Uppingham in 1887 at his invitation, openly acknowledged him to be the first man who had treated them as fellow workers. It was just at this time when his ideas were beginning to meet with wide acceptance that the end came. While reading the communion service in chapel on Sunday, 16 October 1887, he was seized with sudden illness, which just left him strength to walk to his death-bed. He lies buried in the ancient churchyard, close to the Old School in which he commenced his labours at Uppingham. A fine statue by Brock has been set in a memorial chapel to suggest to future generations what sort of man in physical presence the second founder was.

To give a list of the distinctions achieved at the universities by Thring's pupils would be beside the mark. 'What have we to do with results? Hang results!' are the words in which he showed his contempt for tests which are not tests of character. No doubt the recollection of this saying gave piquancy to the pleasure of the examiner who could 'make hash' of one of his favourite pupils. Success of this sort was as nothing to Thring compared with a good deed done or a bad deed undone in some obscure sphere by a dull man through the stimulating or restraining influence of the name of Uppingham.⁷⁹ Yet distinguished pupils he had, and it must have been with great satisfaction that he saw some of the most distinguished of them become distinguished teachers also.

Thring's successor was the Rev. Edward

⁷⁹ 'His praise as master has always seemed to me to be this, that he yearly sent out into the world so great a proportion of boys with sound characters.' Yet 'neither by superannuation nor by less formed and visible methods did he think it right to get rid of . . . "unpromising subjects"' (J. H. Skrine, *A memory &c.*, 235-6. Contrast Arnold's attitude towards this problem (A. P. Stanley, *Life of T. Arnold*, cap. 3).

Carus Selwyn, D.D., like himself an Etonian and scholar and fellow of King's. He was Newcastle scholar at Eton, and at Cambridge he gained the Carus prize, and was Bell scholar, Browne's Medallist, and sixth classic. He came from the Principalship of Liverpool College, which he had held since 1882, and stayed until 1906, being followed by the Rev. Harry Ward McKenzie, M.A., of Keble College, Oxford, who graduated in 1874 with a second class in the final classical school. He had had a wide experience, having been assistant master at Loretto, tutor and bursar of Wellington College, head master of Lancing (1889-94), and then second master and head master in succession of Durham School. Under Selwyn considerable additions and alterations were made to the buildings. Among the former may be mentioned a new head master's house, three boarding houses (the Hall in 1891, Meadhurst in 1894, and Farleigh in 1896) in place of two which were closed (Red House and the house at the corner of School Lane), new class-rooms, science laboratories and lecture rooms, the 'David' concert-room, a gymnasium, new rifle-butts, and a new water-supply; and among the latter the conversion of the Old Schoolhouse or Hospital into a beautiful library by throwing the two floors into one, leaving the front untouched. There are at present thirteen boarding-houses, each taking 33 boys; the school numbers have been well maintained, or rather increased, since Thring's time, now totalling about 400. The average per form is 20, and there is a staff of 30 masters. In the lower part of the school the aim is to give an elementary general education, the subjects emphasized, apart from Divinity, being Latin, English (including history and geography), French, and elementary mathematics; drawing and natural science are also taught. The upper division is organized into a classical and a modern side. There are special army and engineering classes, both working extra hours, as well as a class preparatory for the London University Matriculation examination. The charges are: £6 entrance fee, and, for boarders, £42 a year for tuition and £73 for the house. The tuition fee for day-boys is £30. There are six entrance scholarships, two worth £70, two worth £50, and two worth £30 a year, all tenable for four or more years. Three school exhibitions to the universities, tenable for three or more years, the founder's exhibitions, are awarded annually, of £60, £50 and £40 in value. There are still four exhibitions at each of the four colleges at Cambridge, also established by Archdeacon Johnson, now worth £22 a year. A member of the founder's family, Mr. A. C. Johnson, is chairman of the governing body.

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RUTLAND ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS FOUNDED BEFORE 1800¹

BELTON.—Charles Roberts, by will 19 April 1768, devised his messuages, cottages, closes, lands, and hereditaments, in Belton and Bisbrooke to his nephew, Charles Roberts, his heirs and assigns, upon condition that within six months after the decease of testator's wife the sum of £200 should be invested by him or them in his or their names, and in the name of the vicar of Belton, or in the names of persons appointed by his nephew, his heirs and assigns, and by the vicar of Belton, and that the proceeds, after paying charges attending the execution of the trust, should be devoted to the benefit and educating of the poor children of the parish, the number to be settled from time to time by the possessor of testator's real estate in Belton. The widow died in 1800, and next year £200 was invested in the purchase of £329 18s. of three per cent. consols. The dividends, amounting to £9 17s. 6d., were paid to the parish schoolmaster for instructing twelve children of the parish, nominated by the vicar with the concurrence of the nephew, in the three R's, free of charge. £4 7s. a year was also paid in 1820, and probably for many years previously, from the Charity for the Poor to the schoolmaster for teaching twelve poor children of the parish, chosen by the trustees of the charity, to read and write. This charity was investigated by Commissioners under the statute of Charitable Uses in 1688, and the endowment certified to consist of 34 acres assigned to the parish in 1630 at the time of the disafforestation of Leighfield, £10 given by Sir Richard Dewney, £5 each given by Francis Exton, Thomas Jerman, Valentine Cotton, and Endymion Canning, £3 6s. 8d. given by George Pilkington, and 40s. by Thomas Bonnor. In 1820 the total income of this charity from land and stock amounted to £83. The Schools Inquiry Report gives the income of the school in 1866 as £10, and the number of children in attendance as 12 boys, who all received free instruction. The school had apparently ceased to be supported from the Poor's Charity. In 1907 the average attendance was given as 74. The present building was erected in 1870.

BRAUNSTON.—Augustin Burton, formerly of Braunston, by indenture of 1587, gave 'unto Sir Thomas Burton and his issue male all that my annuity of £30 yearly issuing out of the manor of Hollstead, in the county of Leicester . . . to these purposes following: that is to say, I do

give of that annuity £5 to be paid by the said Sir Thomas Burton and his heirs, for ever, to the chaplain and curate of Braunston successively, as they shall come to the place, to teach 20 of the poorest men's children in the said town such as Sir Thomas Burton and the rest of my name shall think fit, that shall be in the town. And if the said chaplain or curate, at any time hereafter, shall deny to teach them, my will is, that the £5 shall be and remain to 12 of the poorest people dwelling in the town, to have, every Sunday, a loaf of a penny a piece, and a pennyworth of ale a piece for ever, to be paid by the said Sir Thomas and his heirs for ever.' In 1820 it was reported that the curates and ministers had not been in the habit of instructing the children themselves, but had paid the annuity to the parish clerk for doing so. About 1810 the number of scholars to be instructed free was reduced to 8. In 1820 the 8 freescholars were instructed in reading and the Church Catechism; there were also paying scholars. This school is not included in the Schools Inquiry list of Endowed Elementary Schools. In 1907 the average attendance of the Braunston National School was 85. The present building was erected in 1846.

EMPINGHAM.—By indentures of lease and release, 19 and 20 August 1692, Henry Forster conveyed and released to Bennett Lord Sherrard and others, justices of the peace for the county of Rutland, and their heirs, all his messuages, lands, and hereditaments in Swineshead, Lincolnshire, Sewstern, Leicestershire, and Thistleton, Rutland, with the appurtenances, and all other his lands and tenements wheresoever, upon trust, after his decease, for the charitable and other uses to be declared by his will. By his will, bearing date 26 August 1692, he directed that the said premises should be let to the best advantage, and the yearly rents and profits, among other purposes, be devoted to the support of a sufficient and fit schoolmaster in each of the parish towns of Thistleton, Greet-ham, Exton, Langham, and Empingham, to be chosen in each case by the ministers, churchwardens, and overseers, who should instruct gratis all such poor children, being inhabitants within the said towns and parishes, in the English Bible and Catechism, whose parents were not able to procure their said children to be taught. Each schoolmaster was to be paid £10 a year, and if a schoolmaster should not be appointed in any of the parishes, the amount of the stipend was to be employed in clothing and apprenticing poor children there. He directed that the schoolmasters should be unmarried, and follow no other employment; unless the minister or ministers of the parishes should think fit to

¹ This account of the Elementary Schools is based upon the report of the Commission for inquiring concerning Charities and Education (1820), the Schools Inquiry Report (1867), and the latest list of Elementary Schools published by the Board of Education.

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take upon them to teach and instruct the poor children, in which case the salary was to be paid to them. Forster, by a codicil dated 10 September 1694, gave his house and lands in Thistleton wholly, and by another codicil dated 5 June 1700, other lands and tenements in Swineshead partly, for the purposes of his will. The total rents in 1820 were £393 9s. Each of the schoolmasters received a salary of £10, for which he was required to instruct all the poor children belonging to his parish in writing, reading, arithmetic, and the Church Catechism. A charge of about 2s. 3d. per child was made for slates, books, and firing, and the masters were allowed to take paying pupils. All the schools were conducted, as far as possible, in accordance with the National System. The number of free scholars at the schools was as follows:—Greet-ham 28, Exton 32, Langham 34, Empingham 26, and Thistleton 32. No particulars were given of these schools to the Schools Inquiry Commission in 1867, except in the case of Empingham. This school was conducted by the vicar with an assistant. Fifty boys and 13 girls received instruction at fees varying from 2d. to 4d. and 6d. a week, and the amount received from endowment was £35. The school was not under Government inspection. In 1907 the average attendances were—Greet-ham Church of England 87, Exton National 80, Langham National 108, Empingham National 122, and Thistleton National 23.

EXTON.—See under EMPINGHAM.

GLASTON.—William Roberts, by a codicil to his will dated 12 September 1725 gave to his brothers Thomas and Edward £100 to be invested in lands, the rents, after deducting taxes and necessary charges, to be employed in maintaining a schoolmaster or schoolmistress, to be appointed, ruled, and discharged by the said Thomas and Edward, their survivor and his heirs, who should instruct not more than 10 poor children of the parish gratuitously in reading the English tongue, and saying the Church Catechism. Suitable land for the investment could not be obtained; accordingly Thomas Roberts, by indenture dated 1 April 1734, gave to the Earl of Harborough for the purposes of the trust a rent-charge of £5 a year on land belonging to him in Blaston, Leicestershire. The land from which the rent-charge was paid, and the right of appointment and dismissal of the teacher, had before 1820 passed to the Earl of Harborough through marriage. In 1820 £5 was paid to a schoolmaster for instructing 10 children, boys and girls, in reading and the Church Catechism. The admission age was four years, and the boys left at nine, the girls at ten years of age. In 1867 the income and number of scholars remained the same. The school has apparently ceased to exist. Glaston children now attend the school at Bisbrooke,

erected in 1854 (upper department) and 1873 (infants' department) by the late Lord Carbery.

GREETHAM.—See under EMPINGHAM.

HAMBLETON.—Mark Clayton and Mary his wife by deed, 24 October 1760, assigned £110 19s. Old South Sea annuities to trustees, the yearly dividends to be paid to a schoolmaster or mistress at Hambleton, to be appointed by them, for instructing nine poor children of the parish, either orphans or such whose parents were not worth 40s. over and above their necessary household furniture, in the principles of the Church of England, in reading, writing, and casting accounts and other useful learning, or in work or employment fitting for such poor children. They were to be nominated by the vicar between the ages of seven and eleven, and were not to continue in the school after fourteen years of age. The trustees were to appoint and dismiss the teacher, and the churchwardens and overseers, in default of the vicar, to nominate the scholars. In 1820 the dividends, amounting to £3 6s. 6d. a year, were paid to a schoolmistress for teaching nine poor children of the parish to read, and the girls among them also to knit. The school does not occur in the Schools Inquiry list of Endowed Elementary Schools. The Hambleton Village National School had in 1907 an average attendance of 49. Clayton's Charity in 1904 brought in £3 10s. The present building was erected by subscription on land given by the late Mr. George Finch.

KETTON.—A piece of land called the White Bread Close, rented in 1820 at £10 a year, had for a long time been devoted to the benefit of the poor. Previous to March 1819 the rent had been employed in purchasing flannel and clothing, but it was then decided to pay it to the master of the national school at Ketton.

By her will 21 April 1791, Sophia Elizabeth Edwards, late of Ketton, directed that the sum of £30, being interest on £1,000 reduced annuities, which she desired to appropriate to charitable purposes, should be employed, either to the support of a school of industry at Ketton, if such should be established there on a liberal plan, well calculated to promote religion, morality, and industry amongst the poor, or to the education of poor female children born in the parish, by placing them at a school where they might acquire useful knowledge and habits of industry, and like moral and religious principles. Testatrix's executrix died in January 1808 intestate, and letters of administration of her personal estate were granted on 22 January to her brother, Sir Gerard Noel Noel. In 1820 nothing had been done by him to carry out his sister's intentions. The teacher's residence at Ketton was subsequently built with the accumulations of this legacy. In 1907 the average attendance at the Ketton National School was 185.

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In 1904 the rent of White Bread Close, which was let for £14 per annum, was divided between the Provident Club and the school. The school also enjoys Mrs. Edwards's endowment.

LANGHAM.—See under EMPINGHAM.

NORTH LUFFENHAM.—This school is first heard of in connexion with property known as the 'Town Lands,' which formerly belonged to the Gild of Our Lady and seems to have been given by some unknown donor or donors for the use of the church and poor of North Luffenham and the schoolhouse there, and other public and charitable uses.² In an indenture of feoffment of 3 September 1538 the property is described as consisting of two messuages, two cottages, and four closes in North Luffenham, 97 acres of arable land in North Luffenham and Sculthorp, 32 acres of pasture, and 6 acres of meadow in North Luffenham, and 1 rood of meadow in 'Wellonde'; but the earliest declaration of trusts, already quoted, occurs in a later indenture of 13 October 1688, which mentions among the trust property 'a tenement in North Luffenham called the Schoolhouse.' The income of the charity estate in 1820 amounted to £79 12s., and, as for many years previously, was applied to the support of the school, the purchase of coal for the poor, and the provision of a salary for a town apothecary. Beside £3 for managing the Sunday school, the schoolmaster received £20 for teaching reading, writing, accounts, and the Church Catechism to

² There are 23 deeds in existence in connexion with the property, bearing various dates between 1309 and 1502.

15 poor boys of the day school; he also taught girls, whose education was defrayed by subscription. No information was obtained concerning this school by the Schools Inquiry Commission in 1867. In 1907 the North Luffenham Church of England School, which was the property of the 'Town Trust,' had an average attendance of 74 scholars. In 1900 the school endowment was worth £41 a year. The present building was erected in 1858, and was much enlarged and improved in 1874.

LIDDINGTON. — Mary Parnham, by will 9 September 1721, gave £300 to purchase land, one-third of the rents of which was to be employed in teaching five poor children of the parish of Long Liddington to read and write. Another one-third was to be similarly employed in Lavington or Lenton, in Lincolnshire, and the remaining one-third in maintaining two parsons in their meeting-houses in Nottingham. The legacy was invested in land at Nether Broughton, Leicestershire, which in 1820 was rented at £37 3s. 1½d. Of this sum £9 16s. 10d. was paid to the schoolmaster at Liddington for instructing five poor children to read and write. He also received paying scholars. Two other sums of £9 16s. 10d. were paid to the schoolmaster of Lavington and the Meeting House Institution in Nottingham. In 1867 the income of the school at Liddington is given as £11, and 10 boys received free instruction. In 1907 the Liddington National School had an average attendance of 73 scholars. The present building was erected in 1870.

THISTLETON.—See under EMPINGHAM.

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FOX-HUNTING

THE COTTESMORE

THE Cottesmore, which dates from the same period as the Earl of Yarborough's historic pack at Brocklesby, is one of the oldest hunts in the kingdom. Unfortunately the records of the Rutland hounds are not quite complete, for during the first sixty years of its existence the pack was the property of Mr. Thomas Noel, and was kennelled at Exton Park. It was not until 1788, when the hounds were purchased by Sir William Lowther, who built kennels at Cottesmore village, 4 miles from Oakham, that the hunt took its present name.

Mr. Thomas Noel was an enthusiastic hound breeder, and in 1732 wrote one of the first books ever published on the subject. His hounds gained a great reputation for showing sport, and hunted an enormous tract of unclosed country, extending over Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, and Northamptonshire, in addition to their own country.

In 1788 Mr. Noel's hounds were purchased by Sir William Lowther,¹ who, after hunting a pack of his own in the north, came to Melton and established the Cottesmore Hunt. He held two masterships of the Cottesmore, from 1788 to 1802, and from 1806 to 1842. Of him 'The Druid' says:² 'Perhaps the oldest foxhound blood in England at this time is to be found in the kennel of the Earl of Lonsdale at Cottesmore. The venerable peer himself has now superintended the pack for nearly fifty years.' Under his rule the hounds established a high record for excellence, and the sires were used by such famous kennels as the Belvoir, Badminton, Brocklesby, and Fitzwilliam. The standard of height was 24½ in., and the noble master superintended the management and breeding of the

hounds himself, making sure that the huntsmen carried out his instructions.

His skilled management during that half-century had a marked influence on the establishment of the type of the hound of the present day. Lord Lonsdale bred for work, favouring the slower system of hunting in preference to that shown about this period by Mr. Meynell, which so delighted the Meltonians; and his massive type of hound was admirably adapted to the requirements of the country, which abounded in huge tracts of deep woodland.

Between 1781 and 1843 we find it recorded that so classic a pack as the Brocklesby drew extensively on the Cottesmore blood, using among numerous sires Dashwood, Damper, Galliard, Millwood, and Lexicon. The Belvoir lists of the same period show that the Dukes of Rutland and their huntsmen laid store by the Cottesmore kennel, Dashwood, which sired a dog for Belvoir of the same name, being much in request as a stallion hound. Other famous sires were Dexter, Spider, Ajax, Sailor, Palafox, Lounger, and Marshal.

The Badminton lists of hounds show that the Dukes of Beaufort and their huntsmen were breeding largely from Cottesmore Juggler, Jester, Lictor, and Jason, hounds of great size and stamina that mated well with bitches of that kennel. The Fitzwilliam also, with Tom Sebright managing the kennel, turned to Cottesmore for an outcross.

It is worthy of note that Mr. Osbaldeston's celebrated Furrier, which enters the pedigrees of more hounds than any other known sire, was grandson of Lord Lonsdale's Wonder. This famous hound, bred at Belvoir by Thomas Goosey, huntsman in 1820, was a 24-in. hound. His pedigree combined the best hunting blood of the day, for he was by Belvoir Saladin out of Fallacy by Lord Lonsdale's Wonder. It may also be noted that Lord Lonsdale's Lounger

¹ Created Earl of Lonsdale in 1807.

² *Silk and Scarlet.*

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(1840) comes into the pedigree of Belvoir Rallywood, son of Brocklesby Rallywood, to whose excellence the beautiful quality of the Belvoir blood at the present day is in a great measure due.

An old record, brought to light by a writer on the Cottesmore in the *Sporting Pictorial*, says, 'Sir William Lowther—afterwards first Earl of Lonsdale—lived at Uffington when married in 1781, residing there three or four years, and then took Stocken, where the present lord was born; he remained there till 1796. The late earl kept harriers when at Uffington, and at the Duke of Ancaster's death converted them into foxhounds, and made rides which still exist in Bourn, Kirkby, Aslackby, Grimsthorpe, Balby Hall, and Dusby Woods. When Lord Lonsdale's hounds were sold the pedigree of his pack went back 130 years.'

The same authority gives the boundary of the Cottesmore Hunt in 1842, when Lord Lonsdale gave up the country.

To the east as far as possible. To the south it is bounded by the River Welland as far as Duddington; it then extends to the Wakerley Woods, joining the Welland at Harringworth, which again divides the country as far as Rockingham. To the west the brook that runs from Rockingham to Allexton is the division; Allexton Wood is neutral; the remaining part of the west side of the country is marked by the boundaries of the lordships of East Norton, Tugby, Skeffington, Tilton, Newton, Marefield, and Burrough; these lordships are all in the Cottesmore country with the exception of the coverts on Newton Hills, which are neutral. To the north, the lordships of Little Dalby, Burton Lazars, Stapleford, Wymondham, Sewstern, Gunby, Stainby, Colsterworth, are all in the Cottesmore; the road that runs between Easton and Witham Woods to Irnham Village divides the country; the Burton Woods, Easton Wood and Pasture, Bitchfield, Osgoby Coppice, Irnham Old Park Wood, Stoke Park Wood, Bulby Hall, Keisby, Aslackby, and Dunsby Wood being neutral. In 1807 Lord Sherard made a covert in Stainby, conditionally that it should be hunted alternately by the Cottesmore and Belvoir packs. On the 11th March 1822 it was agreed by Lord Forester on the part of the Duke of Rutland, and Colonel Lowther on the part of Lord Lonsdale, that Stoke Park Wood, Keisby, Kirkby, and Aslackby Woods should be given up to the Belvoir Hunt.

The first Earl of Lonsdale kept the Cottesmore hounds until he was eighty, and died two years after resigning the mastership. Mr. C. J. S. Birch Reynardson³ gives some interesting reminiscences of the Cottesmore in 1826:

You could see at a meet at Woodwell Head or Little Dalby the pick of England, amongst whom were such men as Lord Clanwilliam, John Moore, Sir James Musgrave, Sir Francis Burdett, Gilmore, Val Marr, Lord Chesterfield, Frank Forester, Lord Wilton, Maxse, Horatio Ross, Lord Kennedy, Charles Wynd-

ham, Otway Cave, and Lord Alvanley. Punctual to the moment also arrive Lord and Lady Lonsdale and Lady Frederick Bentinck in their red habits, and Colonel Lowther, sitting on his horse as if he and his horse had been cast in the same mould.

Jack Slack was huntsman at that time, with Jack Lambert as first whip, and Jack Abbey as second whip, each rising in due course to the post of huntsman.

The author gives an amusing description of the headgear of the Cottesmore hunt servants:

. . . the tall chimney-pot hats, which had as much nap on them as there is wool on many a Southdown sheep's back, and which were much in the shape of a garden pot—regular chimney pots. The said hats were wonderful to behold, not only from their height and shape, but also for their marvellous discomfort, for when they got wet through they became as soft as tripe, as heavy as if they had been made of sheet lead, and a mixture of something after the manner of gum or glue would trickle down one's face and neck to one's endless discomfort. They took a deal of drying and ironing with a hot iron to get them into any kind of shape again. The hat of those days was very unlike the light silk affair that we cover our brains with in these days; but in spite of this the servants of the Cottesmore Hunt preferred them to caps, and were always allowed to wear hats, making an excuse that with caps the rain got down their necks.

Of the huntsman our author says:

Jack Lambert was a wonderfully keen fellow; he had an eye like a hawk, was a capital rider, knew his business thoroughly well, and was withal left-handed; and with his left hand he was wont, if put out, to punish a hound with a peculiar cut, given under the horse's neck. The poor, good old earl could not bear to hear a hound punished, and many is the time that I have heard him say, 'Oh, that fellow Lambert! why does he hit those hounds in such a savage way!'

Lord Lonsdale's long reign was divided by Sir Gilbert Heathcote's short mastership of four years. During that time hounds were kennelled at Normanton Park by Stamford, and at Stocking Hall on the borders of Lincolnshire. Jack Abbey was huntsman, and the celebrated Dick Christian was engaged as rough rider, the hunters in consequence at Sir Gilbert's dispersal sale making prices that compare with those of to-day.

'The Druid'⁴ tells much that is of interest about the Cottesmore Hunt in the time of the first Lord Lonsdale and Sir Gilbert Heathcote, in the words of Dick Christian, who saw a great deal of hunting with the Leicestershire packs.

Mr. Meynell and Mr. Noel; I mind they once joined in the Ranksboro' country. Noel's had all the best of it; Arthur Abbey hunted them. Mr. Smith and Lord Lonsdale clashed three times when I was out, and Mr. Smith got the fox every time. . . . Lord Lonsdale's were not so quick in the open, but they had the longest runs. They had a fine wild

³ *Sports and Anecdotes* (1887).

⁴ *Silk and Scarlet*, 19.

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country, and they were capital killers. They went off latterly; I've seen 'em run tail for a mile. They were never so good after the madness; that would be in 1830. Lambert wasn't so keen. My lord, he built a kennel at Stocking Hall; then he brings them back to Cottesmore and lived there a many years. He was a grand man for hounds, was his lordship. . . . The oldest gentleman as kept hounds in this country was that Mr. Noel of Exton. Arthur Abbey was his huntsman; he was a big, heavy man, with a rasping, strong voice. Many a tuppence I've had for taking off his spurs when he come home from hunting. Lord Gainsborough kept on the hounds as usual after Mr. Noel; and when he dies, Lord Lonsdale—Sir William Lowther as was then—took them with Philip Payne. Philip was a first rate little fellow—always swore by Lord Lonsdale's blood. His lordship gave them up to Sir Gilbert for a few years, and then he had them back again.

Speaking of his post as head groom to Sir Gilbert Heathcote, Dick Christian said: ⁶

He bought Sir William Lowther's hounds, and gave me head over forty or fifty horses. I was head groom ten years; the last two we had no hounds; he gave them up when Sir William came to the title. Sir Gilbert used to buy the biggest three-year-old thorough-breds he could lay his hands on; he wouldn't stop at £300 for them. When Sir Gilbert gave up the hounds, thirty of them were sold at Tattersall's, and they made all manner of prices, from £250 to £500. After the sale he gave me £100 for the condition I had put them in; there wasn't one I hadn't broke myself.

Sir Richard Sutton succeeded Lord Lonsdale in 1842, bringing his own hounds from the Burton country. His reign was a comparatively short one of five seasons, and then he moved on with his pack to become master of the Quorn.

Then came Mr. Henley Greaves, a welter weighr, 'a great sportsman and wonderful hound-man,' but, like John Warde, erratic and fond of change, being in his time master of the Pytchley, Essex, and Old Berkshire. Five years was enough for him in the Cottesmore country, and Mr. Burrows, who followed him, only retained the mastership three seasons, to 1855.

Sir John Trollope, afterwards Lord Kesteven, must be considered one of the greatest masters of the Cottesmore. He was in office fifteen seasons, from 1855 to 1870. A large landowner on the Lincolnshire side of the country, he built kennels at Bytham near to his residence, Casewick Park. At first Sir John hunted the country with a pack borrowed from Mr. Drake of the Bicester, Ben Goddard coming with them as huntsman. At the end of two years Mr. Drake reclaimed his hounds, and Sir John resigned, but the following autumn saw him in harness again with a new pack, made up chiefly of big hounds drafted from the Belvoir, the Brocklesby, the Grove, and Lord Henry Bentinck's. Jack West,

who came from Badminton, where he had whipped-in to Tom Clarke, was his huntsman.

A provisional arrangement was made between Sir John and Mr. Tailby; the Cottesmore hunting east of Melton, Oakham, and the Uppingham road, whilst Mr. Tailby took the rest of the territory, which for a time was joined to the district now hunted by Mr. Fernie.

In 1870, when Lord Kesteven resigned the mastership, Colonel Henry Lowther bought the pack, from which the present-day Cottesmore hounds are descended. Colonel Lowther built kennels and stabling at Barleythorpe, near to his own house, as the kennels at Little Bytham were falling into disrepair.

⁶The portion of country which had been ceded to Mr. Tailby, and hunted by him, was now reclaimed. . . . Colonel Lowther succeeded to the title of Lord Lonsdale soon after taking the country,⁷ which unhappily he did not live long to enjoy, as he died some three years afterwards. He was a very heavy man, and consequently could not ride much himself; nevertheless, he was a good sportsman and knew how the thing should be done. At his death there was some fear that the country would again have been vacant, but arrangements were speedily made for his successor to continue the hounds.

St. George Henry, the fourth Earl of Lonsdale, son of the late master, was in office for only two seasons. Jack West left in the spring of 1876, and William Neal, the first whip, who was promoted to carry the horn in his place, continued to do so until 1880.

During this period the hounds were conveyed in a van by road to distant meets, with four horses and postillions, a practice that was abandoned when Mr. W. Baird came into the mastership in 1880.

The hounds and kennels were lent to the country by the Lonsdale trustees, and Lord Carrington was appointed master. His reign, unfortunately, was a short one of two seasons, from 1878 to 1880. The hunt staff were William Neal carrying the horn, with Jim Goddard as first whip, a combination that was successful in showing many a good run. When Lord Carrington resigned the country, Mr. William Gosling purchased the pack from the Earl of Lonsdale's trustees and presented them to the Cottesmore country, whose property they are to this day.

In 1880 Mr. William Baird came from the north of England to be master of the Cottesmore, and started with William Neal as huntsman, to whom succeeded George Gillson in 1888. Mr. Baird's reign was a consistent one of peace and good sport during the twenty years that he held office. New kennels, roomy enough

⁶ J. N. Fitt, *Covertside Sketches*.

⁷ He succeeded his uncle as 3rd Earl of Lonsdale of the 1807 creation, 4 Mar. 1872, and died 15 Aug. 1876.

⁶ *Silk and Scarlet*, 37.

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to hold a hundred couple of hounds, with stabling for fifty horses, besides houses for the huntsman, whips, and stud groom, were built by the members of the hunt, in the vale between Ashwell and Oakham.

Mr. Baird bred mainly from the Brocklesby, Fitzwilliam, and Belvoir strains, with the object of getting pace and smartness. He mounted his staff on a good stamp of hunter, short-tailed horses of a wear-and-tear pattern, with good backs and legs.

The new huntsman, George Gillson, had been whip to the Quorn. Promotion came to him when Lord Ferrers gave him the offer to carry the horn for a pack of hounds hunting on the Donnington side of the Quorn country. But this pack was dispersed when the Quorn claimed this slice of country to themselves, and Gillson migrated to the York and Ainsty. Here he remained until Mr. William Baird gave him the appointment of huntsman to the Cottesmore in 1888, with beneficial results to the breeding of the pack.

George Gillson in the field was a sound consistent huntsman of the old school, a contemporary of Tom Firr and Frank Gillard. When Mr. Baird decided to relinquish the mastership in 1900 George Gillson laid down the horn to take a well-earned rest, which unfortunately he did not live long to enjoy. To bring the Cottesmore kennel up to its full strength Mr. Baird purchased for £500 half of Captain Johnstone's hounds, which had hunted in the Yorkshire country round Scarborough and were bred on Belvoir lines. Mr. Wroughton of the Woodland Pytchley purchased the other half of the pack.

Numerous subscribers in the country presented Mr. Baird on his retirement with a life-size equestrian portrait of himself by John Charlton, which was exhibited in the Royal Academy. The presentation was made by the Earl of Ancaster, chairman of the hunt committee.

Mr. Baird's successor in 1900 was Mr. Evan Hanbury of Braunston by Oakham, a well-known follower and bold rider with the Leicestershire packs and already identified with the county of Rutland by his marriage with the second daughter of the late Right Hon. George Finch of Burley on the Hill.

The new huntsman was Arthur Thatcher, who had made his mark in eight years' service whipping-in to Mr. Fernie's. A faster era of sport distinguished Mr. Hanbury's mastership, which attracted large fields representative of the best known people in the world of fox-hunting.

Latterly, the pack appearing to be lacking somewhat in bone and ribs at the expense of quality, Lord Fitzhardinge's sires were used to get bigger bone and stuff.

With Arthur Thatcher as huntsman the Cottesmore was quite the most popular pack in

the shires, and Mr. Evan Hanbury's seven seasons of mastership produced a record of exceptionally fine sport. On his resignation a general meeting of subscribers was held at Oakham in the spring of 1907, and the only name put forward for the mastership was that of Hugh Cecil, fifth Earl of Lonsdale, who was unanimously elected master. That the Cottesmore should again be ruled by one of a family in which the mastership had been held for so many years was a cause of great congratulation to the whole country side.

Arthur Thatcher resigned to go as huntsman to Mr. Fernie, and Lord Lonsdale's choice fell on Sam Gillson, son of the famous Cottesmore huntsman in Mr. Baird's time. Sam Gillson served his apprenticeship as whipper-in to the Belvoir, first under Frank Gillard and afterwards under Ben Capell, and came to the Cottesmore after carrying the horn for the Bedale Hunt in Yorkshire.

The hunt stables were filled with over a hundred hunters to carry the master and hunt staff; they were all chestnuts, and of a thoroughbred pattern with long tails and their manes cut off.

It has always been a rule with Lord Lonsdale to have in his kennel the best hounds procurable, and his first care on taking up the mastership of the Cottesmore was to purchase a pack of fifteen couples of bitches, bred by Mr. Reginald Corbet, and hunted by him in the North Cheshire country. The fame of these hounds in their work was well known, and Lord Lonsdale paid as much as 125 guineas each for two of the number, named Hecuba and Warcry, sired respectively by Belvoir Helper and Warwickshire Sampson from South Cheshire bitches. Tarnish, another beautiful bitch in the pack, bred Sampler, a young dog which won the championship at Peterborough for the Hertfordshire in July 1907. The full price of the purchase was over 2,000 guineas, the combined sixty-four couples placing the Cottesmore kennel in the front rank of the kennels of the day. The foundation of the new purchase was Belvoir and Warwickshire blood, without crosses to Lord Portsmouth and the Oakley, being further strengthened by the purchase from Mr. Corbet of the young entry of 1908.

The reign of the new master opened most auspiciously with a run right at the beginning of the season that left nothing to be desired on the score of pace, direction, and finish. The meet was on 31 October 1907 at the 'Noel Arms,' near to Loddington, and hounds ran an 8-mile point in fifty-eight minutes, finding at the spinney by Leesthorpe and finally killing their fox handsomely in the open before he could reach Owston Bog Wood.

During the season 1907-8 scent was very indifferent, and the state of the going most of the time very heavy owing to the continuous wet weather. When Sam Gillson was laid up for

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several weeks Lord Lonsdale hunted hounds himself four days a week, showing excellent sport. Many time-honoured meets were revived, and his lordship has the best of wishes with him that his reign over the Cottesmore will be as long as those of his ancestors, who established the fame of the hunt in the country in which he was bred and born.

MASTERS OF THE COTTESMORE

Mr. Thomas Noel . . .	c. 1730-1788
Sir William Lowther . .	1788-1802
Sir Gilbert Heathcote . .	1802-1806
Sir William Lowther, afterwards 1st Earl of Lonsdale	1806-1842
Sir Richard Sutton . . .	1842-1847
Mr. Henley Greaves . . .	1847-1852
Mr. Burrows	1852-1855
Sir John Trollope, afterwards Lord Kesteven .	1855-1870
Col. Henry Lowther, afterwards 3rd Earl of Lonsdale	1870-1876
St. G. Henry, 4th Earl of Lonsdale	1876-1878
Lord Carrington	1878-1880
Mr. William Baird . . .	1880-1900
Mr. Evan Hanbury . . .	1900-1907
Hugh Cecil, 5th Earl of Lonsdale	1907-

⁸ For perfection of country the Cottesmore has no equal, possessing as it does some of the grandest scenting grass in the world, with deep woodlands harbouring a stout breed of foxes that show the best of sport. No wonder the following of the Cottesmore has always been large and representative of the world of sport and fashion, for it is the one country of all others where a good man on a bold horse may enjoy himself. Added to this the competition is keen for pride of place, with the best from Melton and Oakham following the tuneful cry of hounds. Cottesmore domains are in Rutland and Leicestershire, extending about eighteen miles from north to south, and twenty miles from east to west. On the north and east it is joined by the territory of the Belvoir running up to Melton Mowbray, which is the apex where the three Leicestershire packs meet. . . . The Cottesmore's nearest meets for Melton are Stapleford Park, Wyld's Lodge, or Leesthorpe, from which fixtures a run across their best country is insured, with an excursion over the borders of a neighbouring hunt. Famous in the annals of hunting history is the name of Ranksboro' Gorse, that looms on the hill top by the side of the Oakham and Melton high road, a covert that inspired Mr. Bromley Davenport's spirited poem. Below, the sloping vale stretches away to the woods at Burley, the nature of the soil and the fences being all conducive to the full enjoyment of a ride to Woodwell Head, a famous starting point for many an historical gallop. On the western borders of the Cottesmore adjoins the territory of the Quorn and Mr. Fernie's, all ground that may be described as a

fox-hunter's paradise if his heart and horse are good enough. The towns of Oakham and Uppingham are handy for this side, which is somewhat hilly and picturesque. The great North road between Stamford and Grantham practically marks a division line of the Cottesmore country, and that lying to eastward is perhaps some of the wildest and most densely-wooded of any to be found within touch of Leicestershire—rare training ground for hounds. The town of Stamford is on the extreme southern border adjoining the Fitzwilliam, who meet just outside at Burghley House, the seat of the Marquis of Exeter.

The best centre for the Cottesmore is undoubtedly Oakham, within two miles' distance of the kennels at Ashwell, and a very favoured district around which new hunting boxes spring up every successive season. In the western Leicestershire territory a striding galloping horse is the best conveyance to keep the fleeting pack in view across the fine expanse of grass with untrimmed fences. A much stouter horse is the better mount for the stiff ploughs of Rutland which are to be met on the eastern side of the hunt, where the land is badly drained and boggy, the wood rides being celebrated for their depth and tenacity of mud. The four days a week on which hounds hunt are equally divided between the two sides of the country, which we have shown varies so in character and soil.

A very graphic description of the Cottesmore country was given by Major Hughes-Onslow in the pages of the *Badminton Magazine*.

Wardley Wood . . . has its rides beautifully kept, and is one of the best fox coverts in England, being drawn every alternate Saturday during the season from 20 August to 1 April. Mr. Fernie's hounds are often in it the other Saturdays, for it is a covert that carries a good scent, possessing fine trees and undergrowth not very thick.

Burley Wood . . . is a splendid covert, larger than Wardley Wood, but it hardly carries such a scent. It is well ridged and clothes the south slopes of the hill, overlooking the vale of Catmose.

Owston Wood is a huge jungle close on two miles long and half a mile broad; it is a grand stronghold for foxes, and the wonder is it does not harbour bears and wolves in its impenetrable fastnesses with menacing boggy rides.

Launde Wood and Priors Coppice are two splendid fox coverts of nice convenient size—sure finds—and surrounded by grand country. Perhaps the most delightful tracts in the whole country are those which surround Priors Coppice and Berry Gorse. It really does not matter in which direction hounds run from these famous coverts, good scenting and perfect riding country lies on all sides of them. They are quite ten miles apart, and a run from one to the other could not be improved upon, even if it could be equalled by any line of country in the world. Taking an absolute straight line from one to the other, not a ploughed field need be crossed, nor would a railway, river, or any other obstacle be met—nothing but good sound grass and fair hunting fences. Berry Gorse lies on the edge of the Burton Flats, and here the inclosures are not too large and the fences just a nice size. The historic Whissendine Brook comes into the line and is a horrible obstacle, though in places it is a nice jump.

⁸ Sir H. de Trafford, *The Foxhounds of England*.

A HISTORY OF RUTLAND

The Cottesmore country is especially fortunate in being chiefly in the hands of large landowners, good friends of fox hunting. . . .

Most of the coverts are woodland, some of them very large, and there are only a very few gorse coverts,

Berry Gorse, Ranksborough, and Manton Gorse in the west, Gunby Gorse, Cottesmore Gorse, and Lax Hill in the east being the most important. Happily there are no artificial earths, which are modern developments.

RACING

There is no flat-racing meeting now held in the county, nor has there ever been as far as we are aware. The annual steeplechases in connexion with the Cottesmore Hounds are run over the Burton Lazars course, which is just outside the county boundary.

The Marquess of Exeter's Point to Point Races have been held at Tinwell, and seem likely to become an annual fixture. There are generally four or five races on the card.

There are some good training gallops in Exton Park, where Mr. E. C. Clayton has trained racehorses for the last twenty-five years with considerable success, Noble Chieftain and King's Messenger being among the best of them.

On Barrowden Heath are traces of the gallops that were at one time used by Sir Gilbert Heathcote.

SHOOTING

The eastern half of the county, in which there is a good deal of ploughed land and some large woodlands, holds a good stock of game and gives some excellent shooting. The large estates of Burley, Exton, and Normanton, owned respectively by Mr. Finch, the Earl of Gainsborough, and the Earl of Ancaster, yield good bags of partridges, pheasants, hares, and rabbits, with a few woodcock and snipe. The big wood at Burley is a particularly pretty shoot. It clothes the side of a steep hill, and the trees are so high that the pheasants get up splendidly and give most sporting shots; the Greetham Woods on the same estate also provide an excellent day's sport. The chief coverts on the Exton estate are Cottesmore Wood, Tunelly Wood, and Barnsdale Wood. A few years ago as many as 800 to 1,000 pheasants used to be got in a day in Cottesmore Wood, but so large a number are not reared there now. On the Normanton estate the coverts in the Park and Empingham and Bloody Oaks Wood are heavily stocked and yield large bags.

Owing to the nature of its soil, which is in the main somewhat wet and heavy, Rutland cannot compete with Norfolk and other more favoured counties in the matter of partridges; but it holds a very fair stock, and bags of from 30 to 40 brace have been often got by three or four guns. Partridge-driving on a large scale has never been attempted, as the county could hardly carry a sufficiently heavy stock of birds to make it worth while.

The western half of the county, comprising the parishes of Whissendine, Braunston, Brooke, Ridlington, Uppingham, Wardley, and Liddington, is almost entirely under grass, and therefore

cannot be expected to hold a large stock of game. It is, however, a most interesting country for a lover of wild nature, for here the game and their natural enemies have to fight it out between themselves with little or no interference from keepers and others interested in the gun, and more magpies, jays, carrion crows, and hawks are met with here than in most parts of England.

Foxes, of course, are plentiful, and badgers are quite common. Old farm labourers who have lived in the county all their lives say that badgers have increased greatly in number during the last fifty years. Quite recently, when shooting in Tunelly Wood, the writer saw three foxes and two badgers cross a ride near at hand, almost together, a beautiful glimpse of wild life. One does not often meet a badger in the middle of the day, but these two had been stopped out of their home in the rabbit warren just outside the wood owing to a net having been run all round it during the night to keep out the rabbits.

In common with the rest of England woodcock are probably scarcer in Rutland than they were thirty or forty years ago. Six or seven are now considered quite a satisfactory addition to a day's covert shooting, and twelve is the best bag known to us in the last five or six years. There are a few cases on record of woodcock breeding in the county.

Snipe are plentiful in the Welland Valley, and a few may be met along the banks of the various little streams and brooks, such as the Eye, Gwash, and Ashwell Brook. They are also found about Fort Henry Lake and Burley Fish Ponds.

A few pair of wild duck and teal generally nest on the Burley and Exton ponds and a good

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many more visit the Welland Valley in winter, especially when the floods are out.

Hares are plentiful on the Burley, Exton, and Normanton estates, but are scarce in the western half of the county.

Rabbits are found in all the coverts and in a good many of the hedgerows, but the strong nature of the soil prevents them from increasing very rapidly and becoming the nuisance that they are in some localities.

ANGLING

The followers of Izaak Walton have but few opportunities of testing their skill in Rutland. Fort Henry Lake in Exton Park, the Burley Fish Ponds, and the Oakham Canal for a mile or two towards Ashwell are almost their only chances. All of these are well stocked with the ordinary coarse fish, and some good catches of pike have been made in the Burley Ponds. Thanks to the kindness of Lord Gainsborough and the late Mr. Finch, Fort Henry Lake and the Burley

Ponds are industriously fished, and a lot of amusement and many fish got out of them in the course of the year.

The Stamford Angling Association, of which Mr. H. N. Fisher of Stamford is the secretary, preserves and stocks a considerable length of the Welland and the Quash, and in both streams good sport is obtained. Both trout and grayling do fairly well in the waters of the Quash.



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